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冯维江 张宇燕

从规则到秩序

——国际制度竞争的逻辑

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中美竞争与“一带一路”阶段属性和目标

高 程



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Abstracts

The Ideological Origin, Practical Basis and Theoretical Logic of the National Security for a New Era

Feng Weijiang Zhang Yuyan (4)

[Abstract] The national security for a new era is a new discipline and theory on national security that has arisen in China after socialism with Chinese characteristics has crossed the threshold into a new era and there is a new historic juncture in China's development. From the perspective of ideological sources, the national security for a new era has realized the enrichment and development of the basic principles of Marxism, the national security thought and the Marxism in China, the inheritance and sublation of Chinese traditional national security thoughts, and the extraction and transcendence of Western national security theories. From the perspective of practice, the national security for a new era is a study with distinct practical qualities that has grown up since the reform and opening up, especially in the context of the complex struggle for national security since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. It reinforces the national security awareness in the new era and promotes major practices in preventing major risks, safeguarding national core interests, and opposing corruption and improving government effectiveness. From the perspective of theoretical logic, the national security for a new era focuses on the philosophical characteristics of the "overall" of the holistic approach to national security. At the level of worldview, it states that the holistic approach to national security will promote the community of shared future for mankind with the holistic rather than fragmented, dynamic rather than static, open rather than closed, relative rather than absolute, common rather than isolated approach. On the epistemological level, it points out the essence of the trinity of people's security, political security and the supremacy of nation-

al interests. On the methodological level, it emphasizes the coordination methods, including the coordination of development and security, of risk prevention and disposal risks, and of maintaining security and shaping security. The struggle and cooperation practice around national security is still going on, and the national security for a new era as a theory and discipline will continue to improve.

[Key Words] a new era, national security, holistic approach to national security, national interests

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From Rules to Orders: The Logic of International Institutional Competition

Li Wei Luo Yifu (28)

[Abstract] International institutional competition is becoming an increasingly important phenomenon with the significant changes in the nature of international system. Both leading countries and participating countries of international institutions try to achieve their goals on power, interests or values through establishing or acting on various kinds of institutions, which leads to an active performance of international institutional competition at both global and regional level and in multiple issue areas. There are several forms of international institutions, upon which the institutional competition patterns from low to high can be divided into four patterns/dimensions: international rule's competition, international regime's competition, international organization's competition and international order's competition. As the starting point and basis of institutional competition, rule's competition lays the foundation of the other three patterns of competition. International regime's competition and international organization's competition are both "physical" patterns and the former one is the most direct carrier of rule competition

and a higher stage of institutional competition. As an entitative competition pattern, organization's competition is more complex and have a greater effect on the evolution of international system than the previous patterns. It is an advanced stage of institutional competition. As the most abstract pattern, international order's competition is also the highest form and final purpose of institutional competition. Countries always compete on international institutions for an international order in their favor. This article aims at introducing and analyzing these four patterns of institutional competition and providing a sufficient empirical basis for the theoretical research on international institutional competition.

[Key Words] international institutional competition, international rule's competition, international regime's competition, international organization's competition, international order's competition

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Phased Aims and Characters of BRI in Context of Competition Between China and United States

Gao Cheng (58)

[Abstract] The paper examines the nature of BRI and the relationship between its economic aims and strategic goals in the current phase based on the analysis of the relationship between rising China and the international system dominated by the U.S., including the trend of this relationship. By assessing the limits and development points of BRI as well as the paradigms, models, contents, area extensions and implementation methods, it argues that currently China has still in the initial stage of economic rising, and its vulnerabilities include its dependence on world economy order dominated by the U.S. and the challenges brought by the U.S. constant preventive pressure. Due to

those factors, the bilateral relations between China and US and its tendency are exhibiting zero-sum game characteristics. The essay points out that currently competition between China and the U.S. does not focus on the struggling on world leadership. The present critical danger of China is how to avoid the trap of economic pressure built by the U.S. preventive constraint measures which aim at slowing down or even sabotaging the comprehensive strength accumulation of China. China needs to refrain from the miscalculation that China's development still relies on the U.S. support and its support would last. China needs more self-confidence on its independent development and at least needs to prepare for the decoupling between China and US. Meanwhile, China also needs to notice the misleading trend of sacrificing China's own development chances and even crucial interests to defuse the structural confrontation between these two world giants. Last but not least, China also need to resist the temptation to try to formulate its own parallel regional cooperation system, providing an alternative plan of world order dominated by the United States, for such ambition would inevitably make the bilateral relations completely trapped in a zero-sum game. Based on these assessments, the paper concludes that currently BRI should keep its nature as a long term development initiative and serve the aim of maintaining external environment required by China's economy development. China should reduce its dependence on the U.S. world economy order and focus on building its independent and sound regional cooperation structure so as to find an alternative plan for China's sustained economic growth. China should reduce constant relying on the U.S. dominant system and meanwhile resist the ambition to topple down current world economy order. BRI should concentrate more on this long-term development approach by phased, directed and sufficient resources investment.

[Key Words] Belt and Road Initiative, Gaming between China and the U.S., trap of economic development, long-term developing initiative

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Integrating Belt and Road Initiative with UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda: Connotations and Routes**Zhu Lei Chen Ying (79)**

[Abstract] Since its introduction in 2013, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has made great progress. While attracting more and more worldwide attentions, it also received some concerns, doubts and opposition from the outside world, which may block its further development. Being the latest outcome of global sustainable development process, the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2030 Agenda) represents an important consensus in the international community. This paper argues there are many similarities between BRI and 2030 Agenda. Based on these similarities, integrating BRI with UN 2030 Agenda will help to remove the misunderstandings, which is of great significance for further construction of BRI. Focusing on some important theoretical and policy issues, this paper analyzes the connotations and approaches to integrating BRI and 2030 Agenda from the dialectical relationship between actions and goals, reality and trend of the future. The purpose of integration includes building capacity in global governance, supplying global public goods, promoting global sustainable development and implementation of SDGs in developing countries along the Belt and Road. The routes of integrating BRI with 2030 Agenda include the integration of visions, goals and mechanisms.

[Key Words] Belt and Road Initiative, a community of shared future for mankind, 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Sustainable Development Goals

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Multiple Institutional Relationship in China's Economic Partnership Network**Sun Yi Sun Yuchen (101)**

[Abstract] China is gradually becoming a prominent actor on the stage of international economic diplomacy. By signing various economic agreements such as Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) and Currency Swap Agreements (CSAs), China is constructing its own economic partnership network in a pretty institutional way. When it comes to the choice of economic partners, there are two main factors that affect China's decision: one is the trade reliance of the partner country on China, the other is the similarity of political position between China and its counterpart. China tend to to construct multiple institutional relationships with those who have higher reliance on China in trade, as well as those who show similar position toward some political issues with China. Furthermore, these two factors also influence the ways that China choose to construct multiple institutional relationships with different partners. For a partner country that presents higher scores in the two aforementioned dimensions, there is bigger possibility for China to sign an economic agreement that has stronger political meaning as a first step, which can help China release intense political signals and establish partner's position in China's economic partnership network. In other circumstances, China is more likely to first sign economic agreements that has less political meaning with a partner country, and then move to sign more demanding and difficult economic agreements as the cooperation foundation has gradually been laid and consolidated. The econometric model and case analysis have proved the hypotheses. These findings help to explore the construction logic of China's economic partnership network, and provide instructive understanding for the implementation of China's economic diplomacy towards various partner countries.

[Key Words] economic partners, multiple institutional relationship, types of partner countries, China's economic diplomacy

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University of China; Sun Yuchen, Ph.D. Candidate at the School of Finance at Renmin University of China.

Capitalist Industrialization, International Distribution of Surplus Production and Political Transition

Wang Shikai (129)

【Abstract】Democracy has a higher economic cost, and it can only be built on a higher level of economic development. Capitalist industrialization is the basic way to achieve wealth growth, so it has become the deep root of the establishment and consolidation of democracy. Since capitalist industrialization has been carried out worldwide, the ability of a country to establish and consolidate democracy will depend on whether it can obtain a sufficient share from the global surplus created by capitalist industrialization. The international distribution of production surplus is highly unequal. Western countries get the lion's share of the global production surplus. Therefore, they are the first group of countries that established democracy. Since the third world countries can only get a small share from the global surplus distribution, it is difficult for them to establish and consolidate democracy. Competition among the superpowers will change the result of the international distribution of surplus. China's rejuvenation means that the share of other countries will be reduced accordingly, and therefore, the liberal democracy originating in the European and American countries will face great uncertainty.

【Key Words】capitalist industrialization, political transition, modern world system, international distribution of surplus production

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