

国家社会科学基金资助期刊

ISSN 1006-9550
CN 11-1343/F



世界经济与政治

WORLD ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

新冠肺炎疫情与亚洲安全治理转型

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对冲策略及对中国—东盟关系的意义

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王涛 杨影淇



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世界经济与政治研究所

主办

万方数据

2021 1
总第485期

世界经济与政治

(月刊)

2021年第1期(总第485期)

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1979 年创刊

2021 年 1 月 14 日出版

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Abstracts

Mapping the World Structure in the Post-COVID-19 Era: A Tri-Polar World with Multi-Great Powers?

Zhang Yuyan (1)

COVID-19 and the Transformation of Security Governance in Asia

Wang Yajun (5)

[Abstract] As a global and systemic crisis facing humanity, the COVID-19 has far-reaching political, economic, social and security implications. Asia is an important and unique part of the global security governance landscape. The COVID-19 will not only pose a severe challenge to Asian countries in strengthening regional security governance, but also provide an opportunity for them to explore new mechanisms and models of regional security governance. This paper takes the complex and diverse impact of COVID-19 on the international political and economic situation as the breakthrough point, analyzes the characteristics, trends, and shortage of current security governance system in Asia, explains China's role and influence as a responsible power in Asian security governance, and points out that China actively advocates new security concepts, promotes regional security cooperation, provides new international public goods, and participates in solving regional hotspot issues, and has become an important force in regional security governance. In the future, in promoting the innovation and development of regional security governance, China should not only actively act in the "stock" field, but also forge ahead in the "incremental" field, and continuously promote the transformation of security governance in Asian.

[Key Words] the COVID-19, regional security governance, public health security, Asian security cooperation

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Hedging Strategy and Implications for China-ASEAN Relations

Wang Yuzhu (22)

[Abstract] In recent years, more and more scholars have borrowed the terminology "hedging" from financial realm to describe the behaviors of small countries. Furthermore, they defined hedging as the third strategic choices in parallel with balancing

and bandwagoning. The current scholarship indicates that most concepts of hedging separate themselves from its original meaning as a financial terminology, lacking a behavioral design of lowering or avoiding uncertain risks. This article redefines hedging and further points out that hedging is in fact a strategy that transfer risks to a third party but fails to remove risks from the system. However, actors in the international system don't share a same risk appetite as investors in the futures market. Therefore, even though small countries adopt the strategy of hedging, the risks cannot be transferred. Hedging will only help countries maintain the balance of power in the region so as to lower the risks when they have chosen the side incorrectly. Hedging has thus become a strategy of deferred-bandwagoning. In practice, hedging occurs when a small country cooperates simultaneously with two great powers, resulting in the balance of power. Or it is also hedging when a small country adjusts its relationship with one great power by measuring its relationship with another. In terms of China-ASEAN relations, the concept of hedging is conducive to understanding why ASEAN countries rely on China for economy but America for security. By the same token, ASEAN countries are able to reject the hugs from great powers when adopting hedging strategy. In that case, it is rarely effective that China can promote its political influence in Southeast Asia through close economic ties, leading to inadequate mutual trust.

[Key Words] hedging strategy, balance of power, the rise of great power, China-ASEAN relations, bandwagoning tactics

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Periphery Dilemma and the Spring and Autumn Hegemony: Extended Discussion Based on Moral Realism

Shen Chen (51)

[Abstract] The core-periphery pattern is a kind of heterogeneous structure in the sense of geography, culture and politics. In the core-periphery pattern, there is a significant legitimacy dilemma in the construction and maintenance of hegemonic order by peripheral countries, namely, "periphery dilemma". Even if the peripheral countries catch up economically and militarily, the political and cultural differences between them and the heartland are difficult to be eliminated in the short term, leaving them subject to persistent discrimination, exclusion and even repression in the international system. The international relations in the Spring and Autumn Period showed a typical core-periphery pattern. Chu, Wu and Yue were on the periphery of the system. On the one hand, under the program of "respecting the king and reining in the Barbarians", the division

between the central plains area and the peripheral countries was constantly strengthened. On the other hand, Chu, Wu and Yue succeeded in breaking through the shackles of “respecting the king and reining in the Barbarians”, and realized a magnificent transformation from the objects of balances to the leaders of the alliance. The theoretical starting point of moral realism is the unit level, especially the political leadership and foreign strategy of the rising powers. As one of the types of rising powers, peripheral countries undoubtedly follow the basic logic of moral realism. However, moral realism does not focus on the distinction between national attributes and underestimates the legitimacy dilemma of the rise of peripheral countries. This paper proposes that peripheral countries must adopt continuous norm-learning and acquire a higher moral level than the hegemonic power in a long period of time, so as to fundamentally alleviate the negative impact of periphery dilemma. In addition, the peripheral countries should adjust the combination of norm-learning and alliance choices according to the changes of domestic and foreign situations, aiming at improving their medium and long-term development environment.

【Key Words】 core-periphery pattern, periphery dilemma, the Spring and Autumn Period hegemony, the rise of great power, moral realism

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Mutual Respect and Interaction Between Great Powers: A Comparative Case Study of EU-Russia and Sino-Russia Interaction Model in Common Neighborhood **Zeng Xianghong (73)**

【Abstract】 The geopolitical competition among great powers has once again become fierce, which is both the important reason and a concrete manifestation of the “great changes unseen in a century”. However, constructing a new type of major power relationship with the core principle of “mutual respect and mutual benefit” is an effective way to alleviate these uncertainties. This paper aims to prove this argument by respectively examining the interactions between Russia and the European Union, Russia and China in their common neighborhood areas, given that one of the most important aspects of the great powers’ interaction happens in their common neighborhood. In Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, Russia and the European Union have been practicing an interaction model of disrespect-resistance, which has serious negative impacts on bilateral relations and regional stability. The Russia-Georgian war in 2008 and the Ukraine crisis in 2014 are vivid examples. By contrast, Russia and China have formed an interaction model of respect-cooperation in Central Asia, which notably contributes to the mutually beneficial cooperation for Sino-Russian relations and the stability in

Central Asia. The development of Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the strategic docking of the Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union are typical embodiment of this model. It is difficult for great powers to maintain and consolidate the respect-cooperation mode in their interaction, which requires both sides to be highly sensitive to each other's identity and demands, and constantly confirm them through symbolic gestures and practical actions. A slight carelessness may undermine the established respect-cooperation mode, or even slip into the disrespect-resistance mode. Considering the significance of the positive interaction between the great powers for maintaining world peace and stability, it is vital to promote mutual respect between them and cultivate the respect-cooperation mode.

[Key Words] interaction between great powers, mutual respect, common neighborhood, interactive model of disrespect-resistance, interaction model of respect-cooperation

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The Path and Dilemma of Germany's "Embedded Rise"

Xiong Wei (106)

[Abstract] Existing studies on power transition in international relations focus exclusively on cases that led to or experienced the risk of the "Thucydides trap", but neglect the possibilities of alternative paths to great power status. As a result, those arguments and theories suffer from selection bias. For instance, very little attention has been paid to the "embedded rise" of Germany in the post-Second World War era. When searching for the great power status, Germany "embeds" itself into the value system and international order established and maintained by the status quo hegemon. It internalizes the dominant western values and chooses its identity as a "western" country, which serves a premise to its rise. Accordingly, Germany adopts a different rising strategy from those rising powers intensively discussed in the literature. This strategy is to focus on obtaining and wielding "shaping power" by emphasizing norms and institutions and condemning realpolitik in international affairs. Following "embedded rise", Germany has steadily increased its status as a major power while avoiding tensions with the hegemon. This paper traces the trajectory of German "embedded rise" and builds a theoretical framework to understand such a paradigm of rising powers. Furthermore, based on comparative studies, this paper points out the limitations of "embedded rise": there exists a dilemma between embedding and rising, which highlights itself in the domain of international security. Great efforts have been made by Germany to overcome the obstacles in the way of its rise, but it is still unclear whether and how Germany can resolve the intrinsic dilemma of "embedded rise". Nonetheless,

the German case demonstrates a possibility of avoiding the “Thucydides trap” and provides valuable experience in peacefully shaping the global order as a rising power.

【Key Words】 German foreign policy, international security crisis, embedded rise, shaping power

【Author】 Xiong Wei, Professor of China Foreign Affairs University.

The Nested Regime and the Effectiveness of the Transboundary River Cooperation Mechanism

Wang Tao Yang Yingqi (126)

【Abstract】 The transboundary river cooperation mechanism is committed to coordinating the interests of all states in the basin, resolving conflicts and achieving good governance of rivers. It is of great significance for improving the governance of transboundary rivers to achieve the effectiveness of the transboundary river cooperation mechanisms. Based on the perspective of mechanism interaction, the authors propose that nested regime meets four conditions of power, institution, identity and externality, which is conducive to improving the effectiveness of the transboundary river cooperation mechanism. The nested regime is a linkage structure composed of the transboundary river cooperation mechanism and the regional political and economic community that nests the functions of the transboundary river cooperation mechanism. The nested regime mainly includes two key processes: issue bridging and structure bridging. Issue bridging involves the establishment of the paths of information sharing, coordination and consultation, issues shaping and integration. Structure bridging refers to the construction of the paths to regulate compliance and resolve disputes. Through the analysis of three cases of International Commission for the Protection of the Danube River (ICPDR), Mekong River Commission (MRC), and Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), the authors conclude that the integrity of the Nested Regime composed of the transboundary river cooperation mechanism and the regional political and economic community is positively related to the effectiveness of the transboundary river cooperation mechanism. The nested regime reveals the influence of the depth and breadth of regional integration on the effectiveness of the transboundary river cooperation mechanism, and provides a new perspective for understanding the relationship between regional political and economic community and functional organization.

【Key Words】 transboundary river cooperation mechanism, nested regime, issue bridging, structure bridging, effectiveness of mechanism

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世界经济与政治

2021年第1期

(1979年创刊·月刊)

第四届(2018)中国出版政府奖期刊提名奖

第三届(2013)中国出版政府奖期刊提名奖

中国百强报刊(2017)

中国百强报刊(2015)

中国人文社会科学期刊评价报告

顶级期刊(2014)

CNKI中国最具国际影响力学术期刊

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中国人文社会科学核心期刊

RCCSE中国权威学术期刊

中文社会科学引文索引来源期刊

中国期刊全文数据库来源期刊

ISSN 1006-9550

CN 11-1343/F

邮发代号: 82-871

定价: 48.00元(国内)

25.00美元(国外)

国内外公开发行

万方数据

World Economics and Politics

No.1(2021) (Monthly, Began in 1979)

Compiler: Editorial Department of the Journal of World Economics and Politics (5 Jianguomennei Dajie, Beijing)

Postal Code: 100732

Telephone: 85195784

E-mail: sjzjbj@cass.org.cn

<http://www.iwep.org.cn/>

Editor-in-Chief: Zhang Yuyan

Publisher: World Economics Journal Publication Office

Printer: Longlin Printing Limited Company of Sanhe City

Distributor: Social Sciences Academic Press (China)

Subscriptions:

Domestic: Post Office

Overseas: China International Book Trading Corporation
(Box 399, Beijing 100044, China)

Subscription Price: \$ 25.00 (overseas)
¥ 48.00 (domestic)

ISSN 1006-9550

