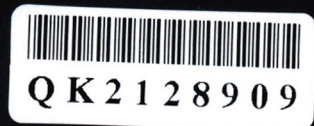


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# 世界经济与政治

WORLD ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

中国共产党世界观的百年探索与思考

吴志成 李佳轩

美国政治信念与对外政策

韩召颖 李圣达

不确定性视角下的美国战略威慑  
与信号博弈

祁昊天



中国社会科学院  
世界经济与政治研究所

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## Abstracts

### **A Century's Exploration and Reflection of CPC's Worldview**

**Wu Zhicheng Li JiaXuan (4)**

**[Abstract]**In the century since its founding, the Communist Party of China(CPC) has scientifically understood the conditions of the Party, the country and the world, rationally analyzed its relationship with the world, constantly improved its overall understanding of the world, and formed a worldview that responds to the development of the times and reflects Chinese characteristics. The worldview of the CPC as a whole reflects its mission, fundamental interests, status and role, as well as its general views and fundamental perspectives on such basic issues as “How the world is” and how to deal with the relationship between China and the world, includes the core elements of the CPC's identity positioning, the view of the times, the view of the world order, the view of foreign relations, global strategy, and diplomatic thought. The worldview of the CPC has gone through four historical stages, including the period of the New Democratic Revolution, the period of Socialist Revolution and Construction, the period of Reform and Opening Up and Socialist Modernization Drive, and the New Era of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. After a century of development and refinement, the worldview of the CPC has demonstrated such distinctive features as the guiding ideology of Marxism, the fundamental requirement of seeking truth from facts, the cognitive method of courageous practice, the value orientation of people's supremacy, the national wisdom of harmony and winning together, and the international image of openness and self-confidence. The worldview of the CPC is the ideological basis for all its theoretical creation and practical activities, which has not only become a powerful ideological weapon for the CPC to lead Chinese people to victory in China's revolution, construction and reform, but also made important contributions to the peaceful development of the world and the progress of human civilization.

**[Key Words]**the Communist Party of China, worldview, view of the times, view of the world order, global strategy

**[Authors]**Wu Zhicheng, Vice Dean and Professor of Institute for International Strategic Studies, Party School of the Central Committee of C.P.C (National Academy of Governance); Li Jiaxuan, Ph.D. Candidate at Zhou Enlai School of Government, Nankai University.

**American Political Beliefs and Foreign Policy: An Operational Code Analysis on the National Security Strategy of the United States Following the Conclusion of the Cold War****Han Zhaoying Li Shengda (23)**

**[Abstract]** Since the conclusion of the Cold War, the United States (US) foreign policy has been changing with the adjustment of its national strategy, which has significantly impacted the development of international relations. IR Scholars have analyzed various reasons for these changes, such as structural factors, party turnover, and presidential influence. However, while the US foreign policy retained general continuity, there were still various aspects of change. Most of the extant research primarily focused on the changes, but few studies concentrated on both changes and continuity of the US foreign policy after the Cold War. Additionally, theoretical explanations are not completely consistent with empirical observations. Based on previous research, this paper provides an alternative perspective to explain the changes and continuity of the US foreign policy after the Cold War by employing operational code analysis to examine American political beliefs. Operational code analysis is a text analysis approach utilized to measure the political beliefs of decision makers. It contains five philosophical beliefs and five instrumental beliefs as criteria to determine how policy makers view the political world and their choice preference for policy tools. Reports on The National Security Strategy of the United States have been issued by successive presidents, thereby representing the views and positions of the US government, which directly reflect its foreign policy strategic thinking. Therefore, the operational code analysis on the reports concerning The National Security Strategy of the United States not only offers a comprehensive understanding about US political beliefs after the Cold War, but also provides a better interpretation on the logic between political beliefs and foreign policy adjustments. Three major findings are identified in this paper: 1) The continuation and changes in US foreign policy after the Cold War are closely related to US political beliefs; 2) The continuation of the US foreign policy is related to its philosophical beliefs, and successive administrations have similar perceptions concerning the international political environment, while the political world is somewhat harmonious and has a high degree of confidence in US hegemony; 3) The changes in US foreign policy are related to its instrumental beliefs, and successive administrations have demonstrated different preferences in determining political goals and selecting policy tools. In general, Washington will insist upon maintaining its own hegemony, and is more inclined to select policy instruments based on its own political goals. This will have an impact on the future stability of international politics and Sino-US relations.

**[Key Words]** political beliefs, operational code analysis, foreign policy, the National

Security Strategy of the United States, international order

【Authors】Han Zhaoying, Professor at Zhou Enlai School of Government, Nankai University; Li Shengda, Ph.D. Candidate at Zhou Enlai School of Government, Nankai University.

**US Strategic Deterrence and Signaling Game from the Perspective of Uncertainty  
Qi Haotian (48)**

【Abstract】The United States is continuously strengthening its strategic forces, adjusting its nuclear strategy, and taking actions such as highlighting capabilities of actual combat, strengthening its systematic warfighting capability, and blurring the boundary between nuclear and conventional forces. From the perspective of the external security environment of the United States, the necessity of these choices is not strong enough, and they are associated with high costs and may lead to strategic instability. The existing literature offers three explanatory approaches, focusing on external security environment, technological influence and cognitive preferences respectively. But these explanations cannot address the inner contradiction and long-term pattern of the evolution of US strategic forces and nuclear strategy. As an addition and refinement of the existing literature, the mechanism of deterrence effectiveness in signaling game and the evolution of American long-term strategy can explain the current adjustment of American strategic forces against the background of systemic uncertainty. Strengthening the US strategic forces reflects the intention of reducing or eliminating the risks in national security and improving the systemic redundancy. But the very act of strengthening may contradictorily lead to strategic instability and insecurity. Based on multi-methods such as formal modeling, process tracing, and content analysis, the development and orientation of US strategic forces can be explained and predicted along the two dimensions, namely the certainty in security environment and systemic redundancy. Signaling mechanism and evolutionary pattern were present in different developmental stages of US strategic forces and nuclear strategy. They can also contribute to making predictions about the future direction of this development and evolution.

【Key Words】US nuclear strategy, strategic deterrence, signaling game, systemic uncertainty, redundancy

【Author】Qi Haotian, Assistant Professor at School of International Studies, Peking University.

**Political Rhetoric, Securitization and the Revision of the US's China Policy  
Yue Shengsong (78)**

【Abstract】Ever since the securitization theory has been applied in foreign policy analy-

sis, observers in this field are able to investigate the cause, momentum and evolution of security-relevant policies via the perspective of decision-making. The adoption of securitization framework also makes it possible for analysts to predict policy tendency and its impact for certain state-to-state relations. In interpreting the revision of US's china policy, the securitization theory argues that it is the unilateral increase of the US's threat perceptions toward China that leads to the structural transformation of the US's identity cognition toward China, which strengthens its willingness of enlarging the scope of US-China frictions from only the material field to a wider range of ideological competition. Inspiring as the viewpoint is, the existing literature in terms of securitization theory fails to further explain that how exactly the US decision makers "securitized" China as a pressing "threat" to the US's fundamental national security interests, and how they successfully acquired the authorization of getting tough on China by "all necessary steps" through certain policy discourse. Drawing from the inspirations from the political rhetoric theory (PRT), this essay intends to provide an alternative explanation to the US securitization and de-securitization actions in the process of making China policy. It is of theoretical values to revisit the securitization theory in the most typical and practical case of US's policy turn vis-a-vis China, since China-US relationship has indisputably become one of the most significant bilateral ties. As for China, considering its growing importance on the world stage as well as its consistently expanding international interests, it is essential to further improve its security strategy in foreign policy through a better knowledge of security studies in IR theories.

**[Key Words]** securitization theory, foreign policy analysis, political rhetoric theory, US's China policy, China-US relations

**[Author]** Yue Shengsong, Assistant Research Fellow at the National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

### **Why International Institution Complexity Goes to Fragmentation**

**Zhuo Ye (104)**

**[Abstract]** It is obviously common that international institutions overlap in international affairs, which brings about institution complexity, namely a system of global governance induced by a set of functionally overlapping and nonhierarchical international institutions with partially same members. Within institution complexity, fragmentation, which means no core goal in the overall setting or architecture of institution complexity, not only becomes a cure for institutional overreach and competition, but also shapes the architecture of international institutions. For previous research on the origination of fragmentation within institution complexity, there exist defects including lack of systemic analysis. This paper adopts a transaction cost approach, and attributes the

fragmentation to transaction cost, namely the negative externality from architecture of institution complexity including bounded rationality, opportunism and assert specificity. Following the principle of the least-likely cases, this paper chooses the currency cooperation in East Asia (2000–2008) as a crucial case of institution complexity. It shows that transaction cost within the complexity induces the fragmentation of institution complexity.

**[Key Words]**international institution complexity, fragmentation, transaction cost, Chiang Mai Initiative, currency cooperation in East Asia

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### **ASEAN's Normative Influence and Its Application to the South China Sea Issue He Jiajie (127)**

**[Abstract]**Of late, while bilateral territorial disputes between China and South China Sea (SCS) claimants escalate and Sino-US geopolitical competition intensifies, the cooperative security norm has been increasingly institutionalized and become resilient among regional countries. What explains this relative stability despite bilateral and structural uncertainties surrounding the SCS issue? And what are the mechanisms driving this outcome? This paper argues that ASEAN's normative influence has played significant roles in it. Normative influence refers to a lesser actor's intent on softly influencing its target countries and their self-identification by the norms it believes in through non-coercive means and on the basis of the latter's reevaluation of interests; the latter's new identification further drives the former to play greater roles in the normative arena. Three norms are important in the SCS issue, including the sovereign norm insisted by SCS claimant states, the cooperative security norm supported by ASEAN, and the politicized freedom of navigation norm held by the United States. Utilizing (de-)issuization, consistent communication and practice with crisis, ASEAN has convinced SCS claimant states to separate the construction of regional security order from bilateral sovereign disputes, prevented geopolitical competition at the system level from spilling over to the regional level and ensured the neutralization of the norm of freedom of navigation, and facilitated the norm of cooperative security to dominate the regional security order construction. Despite its limitation, the positive role of ASEAN's normative influence in constructing regional security order is worth China's welcome and support.

**[Key Words]**normative influence, cooperative security, the norm of freedom of navigation, regional security order, the South China Sea issue

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