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世界经济与政治

WORLD ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

因应国际社会

——论近代中国天下思想的创造性转化

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注定的失败:

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民族主义如何影响对外决策

谢超



中国社会科学院
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Abstracts

Responding to the International Society: Creative Transformation of the Tianxia Thought in Modern China

Zhao Siyang (2)

[Abstract] China's integration into the international society is often seen as a process of transition from the traditional Tianxia to the modern world. In fact, the thought of Tianxia as a traditional cultural resource has still been present. After the creative transformation by modern Chinese scholars, Tianxia thought has not only adapted to the modern international society, but also demonstrated the consistent ideal of human community and China's responsibility for the world. This article uses the historical documents and methods from the history of modern Chinese thought to analyze how modern scholars developed the Tianxia thought, and its theoretical and practical significance. Firstly, in the comparative study of Chinese and Western history and society, modern scholars have re-evaluated the value of the Tianxia thought by interpreting the historical evolution logic of international society and reconstructing the social theoretical logic of home-country-world. Secondly, the Tianxia thought was creatively transformed into the responsibility for the common world, the Chinese pacifist tradition, the politics of mind and the interconnection of ideas, and the importance of people in the modern international society. Finally, the Tianxia thought has also played an important role in the diplomatic practice of modern China, such as participation in international organizations and collective security norms, establishing an international united front of weak countries, and promoting international cultural exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations. The rediscovery of the Tianxia thought in modern China and the in-depth exploration of the contemporary values behind it have important historical and theoretical implications for developing and innovating Chinese School of IR theory.

[Keywords] Tianxia thought, international society, modern China scholars, traditional culture, a community with a shared future for mankind

[Author] Zhao Siyang, Associate Professor at the School of International Studies/Academy of Overseas Chinese Studies, Jinan University.

Diplomacy, Foreign Policy or Foreign Relations: On the Disciplinary Dilemma of Contemporary China Diplomacy Studies**Zhang Qingmin (31)**

[Abstract] China's diplomacy, China's foreign policy, and China's foreign relations are three commonly used concepts in the study of contemporary China's diplomacy. They are often used interchangeably and alternatively, reflecting their intimate relations. As different sub-disciplines of international politics, they share the same purpose of discovering and explaining the laws in their respective subjects; however, they differ in their specific research objects, focuses, angles of researching questions and methods in research design. As scholars in the IR community have recently called for elevating the threshold and level of specialization of IR studies, it is imperative to clarify their respective research objects, design different research agendas, and explore their inherent patterns. Doing so will, in theory, raise the level of academic specialization, enhance professional responsibility of researchers, and upgrade scientific degree of this discipline. In practice, it helps clarify some fuzzy understanding of China's diplomacy resulted from lack of specific knowledge on this subject, which is conducive to creating a sound and rational domestic environment for China's diplomacy. To promote progress in these sub-disciplines, a global perspective is needed to put the study of China's diplomacy, China's foreign policy, and China's foreign relations in a larger context of comparative studies of diplomacy, foreign policy, and foreign relations. At the same time, ontological consciousness is needed to make sure that these studies are rooted in Chinese practice so as to contribute Chinese experience and Chinese wisdom to constructing general and global theories in these fields.

[Key Words] China's diplomacy, China's foreign policy, China's foreign relations, diplomatic studies, foreign policy analysis

[Author] Zhang Qingmin, Professor at the School of International Studies, Peking University.

Destined Failure: The Sunk Costs and the Dilemma of War and Peace in the Southern Song Dynasty's Interaction with the Jin Dynasty**Yu Haiyang (53)**

[Abstract] From the failure of the Kaixi campaign to the collapse of the Song Mongoli-

an coalition in the first year of the Duanping era, the Southern Song Dynasty's policy towards Jin in the past 28 years was a classic case of repeated self-negating in strategic decision-making. The sunk cost theory in prospect theory assumes that the cost of initial investment will interfere with decision-makers' risk perception, thereby affecting the development of subsequent policies. However, although the painful costs paid by the Southern Song Dynasty in the Song-Jin relationship constituted the sunk costs of its decision-making group, these costs failed to prompt the Southern Song Dynasty to adopt a firm Northern Expedition policy. The explanatory power of the existing research is insufficient, and we need to revise them: there are differences in the sensitivity of decision-makers to sunk costs, and there are also differences in the types of sunk costs within the decision-making group. The competition and ranking of sunk costs caused by sensitivity and type differences lead to the complexity of common sunk cost effects. At this point, even if the decision-making group has common sunk costs, it may be affected by other sunk costs and generate serious internal disagreements. The new assumption largely explains the hesitation and repetition of the Southern Song Dynasty's decision-making group on the issue of the war with Jin Dynasty: the monarch, the prime minister, and the Scholar-Bureaucrat group were all deeply influenced by the humiliating history of their interactions with the Jin dynasty, but they had a clear sensitivity difference in choosing the diplomatic route with Jin dynasty, namely, whether to attack or keep the peace. The general sense of insecurity caused by domestic politics, as other types of sunk costs, interfered with the consensus reached by the decision-making group. Finally, the political infighting caused the Southern Song Dynasty to lose its final period of strategic opportunity and fail to make a firm choice between attacking and maintaining peace.

[Key Words] sunk cost effect, sensitivity difference, the Southern Song Dynasty's policy towards Jin, Kaixi Northern Expedition, Jiading Peace Negotiation

[Author] Yu Haiyang, Professor at the School of Public Administration, Jilin University.

How Nationalism Influences Foreign Policy Making: A Study on the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Factors in Modi Government's Foreign Policy Redirection
Xie Chao (76)

[Abstract] In India, the Hindu nationalism organizations as represented by the Rash-

triyā Swayamsevak Sangh are increasingly influencing the foreign policy making, which has become a typical case on understanding how nationalism influences national behavior. The relevant mechanism can be settled by identifying the motivations and paths on how the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh can influence Indian government decisions and introducing a power position measurement framework, so as to understand the process in three stages; from the initial concessions or mutual concessions to vetoing Modi government's key policies to claim more economic and foreign policy power; and after 2019 general elections, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh strengthened its control over the institution of general organization secretaries of the Bharatiya Janata Party at its central, paradesh, vibhag and district levels and hence dominated its ideological and organizational affairs, which helps to increase its influences on Modi government's economic and foreign policies. Its influences over Modi government's policies on China have witnessed a similar process, and after 2017 it switched from the initial co-ordination style to active intervention into issues such as bilateral trading and border stand-offs with China, so as to drive Modi government to handle bilateral differences with tougher positions. Since 2019, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh pushed for a full-round confrontational policies vis-à-vis China and the trading relations were elevated as issues of national security concerns. It started mobilization campaigns under the theme of sovereignty and tried to turn its hostile thinking towards China into actual policies, and the competition and cooperation relationship between India and China is falling into a status of all-round competition and confrontation.

[Key Words] Hindu nationalism, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the Bharatiya Janata Party, foreign trade policy, India's China policy

[Author] Xie Chao, Associate Professor at the Institute of International Studies, Fudan University.

The Punctuated Equilibria Evolution of Strategic Rhythms: An Analysis of the China-US-India Time Horizon in the Indo-Pacific Strategic Competition

Cao Dejun (104)

[Abstract] The strategic rhythm of great power competition is a dynamic process in which decision makers adjust the speed of development and the degree of fluctuation according to domestic and foreign situations. Under the constraints of internal and ex-

ternal factors, strategic rhythm changes are characterized by non-linear changes of acceleration or delay, smoothness or ups-and-downs, fracture or continuity. The diplomatic strategic rhythm that develops steadily at a specific time may change sharply and deviate from its original trajectory under occasional external shocks. According to punctuated equilibria theory, two variables, namely, feedback from external shocks and the degree of competition among major powers, drive the strategic rhythm into the pattern of "equilibrium-shock-intermittence-equilibrium". According to the positive and negative feedback of exogenous shocks and the degree of power competition, the strategic rhythm can be divided into four types: radical change, active actions, timing compliance and delayed wait-and-see. In the uncertain environment of the unprecedented changes in the past century, the rhythm of competition among major powers in the Indo-Pacific region shows a superposition of gradual stability and drastic changes. At the historical stage of Chinese great national rejuvenation, China's diplomacy has shifted from "keeping a low profile" to "striving for achievement", showing an active strategic rhythm. Under the framework of the Indo-Pacific Strategy, the United States has abandoned its delay-and-wait strategic rhythm and stepped up strategic checks and balances on China. India under Modi's administration is actively grasping the opportunities of the Indo-Pacific order change, showing a kind of radical change strategic rhythm. In the face of the adjustment of the China-US-India triangle, China should balance the dual impact of great power competition and external shocks, and maintain an appropriate strategic rhythm in its great rise.

【Key Words】strategic rhythm, punctuated equilibria, Indo-Pacific strategy, great power competition, China-US-India relations

【Author】Cao Dejun, Lecturer at the School of International Relations, Renmin University of China.

Policy-Making Climate, Exogenous Spillover and the Coming out of General Data Protection Regulation

Fang Fang Liu Hongsong (133)

【Abstract】The introduction and enactment of General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) are considered as an integrated process of data regulation in the European Union which is affected by functional spillover, policy-making climate, countervailing forces

and exogenous spillover. On the basis of Neo-functionalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism, the paper puts forward a revised neofunctionalist framework to examine and analyze the whole process of GDPR's adoption. It finds that the adoption of GDPR was driven internally both by Single Digital Market plan and EU fundamental rights protection, and was intellectually supported by key individuals in the legislature and the active participation of EU relevant institutions. Meanwhile, the friendly policy-making climate shaped by NGOs of privacy protection also helped the European Commission to adopt a higher-standard draft. While the draft was making its way through the European Council, such strong countervailing forces as sovereignty awareness of member states in the EU and lobbyists from multinational corporations heavily blocked the legislation process. However, the "Snowden Revelations" promoted the issue salience of personal data protection, propelling actors into forging a strong discourse coalition and shaping a more favorable intra-EU policy-making climate. Thus, the legislation is smoothed and further driven forward. While the draft was making its way through the Council, the lack of exogenous forces and the competition between the driving and countervailing forces led to a compromise between sovereignty awareness of member states in the EU and norms at EU level. A large number of relevant provisions regarding the data processing principles were modified in the Council-version draft, partly catering for the interests of business corporations and EU member states.

【Key Words】personal data protection, global data governance, PRISM, the revised neofunctionalism

【Authors】Fang Fang, Associate Professor at the Research Center for International Legal Discourse, East China University of Political Sciences and Law; Liu Hongsong, Professor at the School of International and Public Affairs, Shanghai Jiao Tong University.

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