

Abstracts

The Scholarly Interpretation of Whole-Process Cooperation and the Practical Logic of the Belt and Road Initiative

Xu Xiujun (2)

【Abstract】Cooperation is an eternal theme of human society. However, in the international community, sustained and effective cooperation among countries is rare, and how to deepen cooperation in a pluralistic, multidimensional and diverse world has become a major theoretical and practical issue of our time. On the basis of reflecting on the existing international cooperation theories and observing the practice of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) international cooperation, this paper proposes a whole-process cooperation mode in which the consultation-actualization-distribution (CAD) links are organically connected and synergistically promoted. The whole-process cooperation embodies the whole-process nature of cooperation concept, cooperation action and cooperation function, and reflects the dialectical unity of cooperation practice and knowledge, cooperation holism and individualism, cooperation procedure and result, cooperation purpose and law. In the whole-process cooperation system, consultation is the foundation of cooperation and an important link through all stages; actualization is the main body of cooperation and the most energetic and creative part; distribution is the destination of cooperation and the source of power of cooperation. At the same time, the consultation, actualization and distribution are also the sub-systems of the organic connection of various elements. From the BRI principles of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits, and its practice, the whole-process cooperation has become a distinctive mark of the BRI. Moreover, under the guidance of the principles, the BRI has created a model of bilaterally concerted multilateralism (BCM), exerted the synergistic effect of complementary advantages, and promote the distributive justice of common development. Based on the theoretical analysis and successful practice of the whole-process cooperation, it is evident that the high-quality development of the BRI requires high-level policy coordination and strategic alignment, high-efficiency cooperative actions and common development, and high-standard synergistic mechanisms

and distributional norms.

【Key Words】whole-process cooperation, consultation-actualization-distribution mode, the Belt and Road Initiative, bilaterally concerted multilateralism, extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits

【Author】Xu Xiujun, Professor at the School of International Politics and Economics, University of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Senior Fellow at the Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Discursive Practice and the Construction of the Meaning of China's Responsible Power Identity in the New Era

Zhao Yang (27)

【Abstract】Discursive practice is a significant mechanism for the construction of the meaning of state identity, which can be further divided into communicative action and narrative. In international relations, communicative action usually refers to the process in which a state leader puts forward his/her understanding concerning the meaning of state identity in the face-to-face contact with leaders from other countries, in order that this particular understanding could be recognized by other leaders, while narrative involves the process in which a state leader publicly expresses the meaning of state identity to international society as a whole. The state identity shaped through discursive practice is a “commitment-identity”, for which the norms and obligations involved can be considered a commitment made to others. Through an analysis of China's discursive practice to shape its identity as a responsible power since the 18th CPC National Congress, this paper argues that facing different alters, China employs communicative action and narrative respectively to construct “to build a community of shared future for mankind” as the latest meaning of “a responsible power”, making the shape of communities of shared future at different levels a responsibility committed to others. In the interaction with its neighbors, China mainly relies on face-to-face dialogue to shape the affective linkage, thus constituting “the principle of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness” as the core of “a responsible power”. And when interacting with international society or community as a whole, China mainly relies on the public narrative at multilateral regimes to constitute “the idea of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits” as the core of its state identity. On the basis of con-

tinuous discursive practice, a relatively intensive consensus regarding the meaning of China's state identity has emerged at regional and global levels, and the idea of "a community of shared future" is receiving more and more acceptance.

【Key Words】discursive practice, communicative action, narrative, commitment-identity, a community of shared future for mankind, responsible power

【Author】Zhao Yang, Associate Professor at the School of International Relations, University of International Business and Economics.

Regional Competition, Alignment Relationships and Asymmetric Statecraft

Huang Yuxing (58)

【Abstract】Under what circumstances does a great power deal with multiple weaker neighbors through either uniform or selective strategies? A regional competition theory argues that the number of regional competitors and alignment relationships both shape a great power's regional diplomacy, with regard to uniform strategies or selective strategies. To engage with regional competitors in different contexts, a great power adopts either uniform strategies or selective strategies toward weaker allies or non-allied states. The regional competition theory advances both external threat theory and domestic-ideological theory. The regional competition theory enables a more dynamic way to account for foreign policy changes by integrating aid providing capability, regional competition, and relationship variables. The theory is evaluated based upon two historical cases: French policies in Central-Eastern Europe during 1919–1935 and Soviet policies in the same region during 1933–1941. These cases demonstrate that the regional competition theory offers better explanations than the existing scholarship on asymmetric statecraft. As the number of regional competitors increased, France changed its selective strategies to uniform strategies toward weaker allies. As the number of regional competitors decreased, the Soviet Union changed its selective strategies to uniform strategies toward weaker non-allied states. The regional competition theory is of policy implications. Owing to its non-alignment policy, China has not given security commitments to any of its neighbors in the post Cold War era. China should maintain a uniform strategy toward weaker neighbors in the South China Sea; and practice selective strategies in South Asia.

【Key Words】regional competition, alignment relationships, asymmetric statecraft, do-

mestic-ideological theory, exteymal threat theory

【Author】Huang Yuxing, Associate Professor with Tenure at the Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University.

Changes in Relations and Norm Feedback: A Case Study of Attitude Shifts Between China and the US Towards the Establishment of Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone

He Jiajie (83)

【Abstract】The relational theory assumes that relations hold ontological priority in relators' norm feedback. How does the changing relationship between a norm entrepreneur and a norm target affect the latter's attitudes toward the norm? This article examines the changes in relationships from two dimensions: the degree of emotional connection in the relationship and the geopolitical value, and analyzes the mechanism by which the logic of relationality plays a role in the normative feedback of the target country. As it finds, when there is no significant emotional connection and geopolitical value in the relationship between the norm entrepreneur and the norm target, the latter's attitude towards the norm depends on rational considerations, including the degree of compatibility and appropriateness between external norms and its existing practices. When the degree of emotional connection in the relationship increases, the norm target may become more open in negotiations regarding normative content, either by trusting the entrepreneur and letting go of previous concerns or by maintaining a close relationship with them. The upgrade in the geopolitical value of the relationship drives the target country to take more proactive measures towards the norm in order to gain a relative advantage in the entrepreneur's relational circle or to prevent its competitor from gaining such an advantage. In the process of norm socialization, the norm entrepreneur may exert its agency by setting socialization goals and managing relationships. Since the signing of Treaty of the Southeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon Free Zone, the attitudes of China and the US toward the non-proliferation norm of the ASEAN have been continuously adjusted, and the logic of relationality explains well the dynamics of this transformation and the active role played by ASEAN in it.

【Key Words】the logic of relationality, norm entrepreneur, norm feedback, Protocol to the Southeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon Free Zone Treaty

【Author】He Jiajie, Assistant Professor at the School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University.

Why Deep Reconciliation Between Japan and South Korea Is Difficult to Achieve: Power Distribution, Strategic Demands, and Interstate Reconciliation

Zhou Fangyin Zheng Xiaoyan (117)

【Abstract】Unlike the Franco-German reconciliation, Japan and South Korea have made several reconciliation efforts after World War II, but only a shallow reconciliation has been achieved, and the degree of reconciliation failed to deepen over time. On the basis of the initial reconciliation achieved through the normalization of relations in 1965, the two reconciliation efforts after the 1990s were not solid and did not lead to a stable improvement in relations between the two countries, but rather reinforced South Korean society's perception of Japan's insincere attitude toward the historical issue, which made it more difficult for Japan and South Korea to reconcile. The particular process and development of Japan-South Korea reconciliation provides an important case of interstate reconciliation. Historical factors, social psychology and social culture, changes in political leadership, US attitudes, and domestic politics of the two countries are not sufficient to fully explain the many twists and turns and difficulties that emerged in the process of Japan-South Korea reconciliation. This paper argues that there are structural factors behind the difficulty of deepening Japan-South Korea reconciliation, especially the failure of two important reconciliation efforts since the 1990s. The asymmetry of the Japan-South Korea power distribution and its changing degree, as well as the changes in Japan-South Korea mutual strategic demands, have had an important shaping effect on the Japan-South Korea reconciliation process, making it exhibit a special pattern. Constrained by the asymmetry of power distribution and the dynamics of Japan's and South Korea's mutual strategic demands, Japan and South Korea still face insurmountable obstacles to achieving deep reconciliation in the coming period.

【Key Words】interstate reconciliation, Japan-South Korea relationship, power asymmetry, Northeast Asian security

【Authors】Zhou Fangyin, Professor at the School of International Relations, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies; Zheng Xiaoyan, Master's Student at the School of International Relations, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies.

The Psychological Origins of Foreign Policy Orientation: A Comparative Study Based on the Foreign Policy Belief Systems of Chinese and American Netizens
Ma Deyong Lu Ming (144)

【Abstract】Whether a particular belief system exists in the public mind and it influences foreign policy orientations has long been a key concern of academia. This paper explores if such a belief system poses a constraint to the foreign policy orientations of the public through examination of netizens surveys from the culturally and institutionally different cases of China and the United States. Drawing from psychology, the authors constructed a model for a hierarchical belief system comprised of the layers “basic fundamental idea elements”, “general political views” and “foreign policy orientation”. Statistical analysis showed that although there were differences in the foreign policy preferences between the two publics, there existed similar structures in the respective foreign policy orientations and its psychological roots. Differences between hardline or moderate foreign policy orientation of the Chinese and American public stems from differences between the two general political values of state collectivism and international realism. These general political values are rooted in the fundamental psychological motives of group subordination and certainty preference. It is shown that the public has a systematic political belief system and its foreign policy orientation is influenced by the hierarchical values structure, in which the superficial idea-elements are constrained by the deep, and the concrete idea-elements are constrained by the abstract. While it is generally understood that ideology and political sophistication are influential factors in foreign policy orientation, this paper shows their influence is not stable.

【Key Words】foreign policy orientation, belief system, general political values, basic fundamental idea elements, political attitude

【Authors】Ma Deyong, Professor at the School of International Studies, Renmin University of China, and the School of Government at Shenzhen University; Lu Ming, Ph.D. Candidate at the School of International Studies, Renmin University of China.