

Abstracts

4 New Game Expects New System

Tingyang ZHAO

[Abstract] Globalization has ushered in new political conditions and new political issues which goes beyond modernity. Internal politics and international politics, two political layers of the framework of modern political thinking, cannot effectively expound and solve political problems on the global scale, hence the need to introduce a global political analytical framework befitting the new global conditions. In contrast with modern political thinking which is based on the concept of hostile and competitive game, globalization has promoted universalization of knowledge, information and technology, and consequently symmetrical imitation of strategies will bring no gains but self-destruction. Moreover, with the high interdependency in economy and existence resulting from globalization, a new power, made up of global capital, shared technology and common media, is exerting its networked global dominance. This new power derives its authority not from its strength but from service, and its new power formula is: service is power. Thus the challenge for the global politics is not hostile competition but the optimization of co-existence. The new all-under-heaven system, based on non-exclusive co-existence, holds the best chance to the resolution of political and economic problems on the global scale and world peace.

[Key Words] strategy imitation; internalized world; co-existence; all-under-the-heaven system

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14 The Evolution of China's Security Challenges and Grand Strategy

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[Abstract] This article examines changes in China's security perceptions since 1949 and sketches the evolution of China's grand strategy. In tracing the evolution of China's security perceptions and grand strategy since 1949, it identifies elements of change as well as continuity. The changes reflect dramatic developments in the PRC's capabilities and the international circumstances it faces, both of which have shaped the grand strategic choices of China's leaders. During most of the Cold War decades, a relatively weak China's vulnerability to serious military threats from much more powerful adversaries led the CCP to adopt grand strategies focused on coping with a clearly defined external security challenge. After the Cold War and especially in the 21st century, an increasingly complex array of internal and external security

concerns confronts China's leaders with new challenges. The paper concludes with a discussion of the significance of the recently established National Security Commission and offers brief observations about its potential significance for the CCP's leadership in their fight against the new domestic and international security challenges it faces. The novelty of China's security challenges at home and abroad in the 21st century is a consequence of the end of the Cold War international order and perhaps more importantly, a consequence of China's successful modernization since 1979.

[Key Words] security challenges; China's security perceptions; grand strategy; China's strategy

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32 **Securing the New Silk Road**

Jonathan HOLSLAG

[Abstract] The renewed Chinese ambitions to develop trade along the different branches of the Silk Road bring several new traditional and non-traditional security challenges. The Chinese government has vowed to address them with new security concepts. Yet, these concepts might not be adequate to advance China's security interests. Moreover, China seems to have difficulties overcoming the contradictions between different security interests: the quest for prosperity and the safeguarding of security; China's economic aspirations and their consequence of becoming the largest economy; peaceful development and unification with Taiwan and the regain of lost territories; and the dilemma in the guiding diplomatic principles. As a result of these contradictions, Europe faces three uncertainties: How will the tensions in the Pacific develop? How will China seek to defend its interests along the New Silk Road? How will the tensions in the Pacific affect China's behaviour in the common Eurafasian interface? These uncertainties bring about two more strategic choices for Europe: trying to continue its work with China along the Silk Road and balancing; prioritizing the huge challenges in the wedge of hardship and Europe's immediate neighbourhood and responding calls to join the United States in its rebalancing to the Pacific. This will make it difficult to establish meaningful cooperation and to work towards burden sharing with the European Union at the other end of the Silk Road.

[Key Words] Chinese security thinking; European perspective; Sino-European cooperation; New Silk Road

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45 **Security, Development and Co-Prosperity**

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[Abstract] Under the guidance of the Overall Concept of national security, China is in need of a national security strategy centered on "effective security", which is targeted at enhanced, relative, open, sustainable, developmental, common, coordinated, and moderate security. In this paper five strategic guiding principles are tentatively set forth for China's national security: combination of security and joint development;

integration of reactive and pro-active approaches; elimination of both direct causes and root causes; enhancement of cooperation and defensive capacities; balance of domestic and international security. It is also suggested in the paper that more proactive actions should be taken to enhance its capacity in shaping and creating favorable security environment and a centralized, efficient, professional and rule-based national security mechanism should be built to ensure effective and efficient security and security strategy. This article further addresses China's national security strategy in ten functional areas, and proposes measures to cope with the security threats. In particular, it argues, China should learn from the misguided excessive security concerns in the post-911 United States and the former Soviet Union in the late phase of Cold War era. The complementarity of security and development and sustainability of security with Chinese characteristics are indispensable to China's national security, and its due contribution to world peace and development of entire human race.

[Key Words] China's national security; effective security; development and security; international security

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78 **State Capacity and Recurrence of Civil Conflicts**

Lingyu LU

[Abstract] The impacts of state (extractive) capacity upon renewed civil conflicts are non-linear and conditional and it is shaped by three contradictory mechanisms: in the long run, the enhancement of state capacity increases the opportunity cost and difficulty of military rebellion; but in the short run, extractive efforts would aggrieve tax payers and incentivize their sympathizing with potential rebels, but weaken the credibility of governmental peace commitment, thereby threatening the post-conflict peace. This is empirically supported by a large N analysis. In the meantime, the function of state capacity is found to be essentially a domestic process. In particular, the connection between state extractive efforts and recurring conflicts is significantly shaped by the outcome of the previous episode of the conflict. On the contrary, international factors, namely peace-keeping operations and foreign aids, do not help consolidate the contribution of state capacity to post-conflict peace. Instead, they may well dampen the independent pacifying effects of state capacity.

[Key Words] national security; state (extractive) capacity; civil conflicts; recurrence

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110 **Soldiers in Political Transition: Nature of Army and the Outcome of Coup**

Yiqi ZHOU

[Abstract] This article studies the impact of the nature of the army on the outcome of military coups based on case studies of Iran, Turkey and Egypt. Instead of investigating the causes of the coups as most researches do, this article analyzes the factors and mechanisms that ensure the army's success, and argues that the nature of

the army prior to the political transition is a key variable in the outcome of a military coup. There are basically two types of army: autonomous one and dependent one, and they can be further differentiated in three dimensions: control mode, degree of involvement in domestic politics, and self-identity. All these three factors determine the outcome of a coup through their impacts on an army's operation capabilities, construction of discourse power and flexibility. An autonomous army, with its powerful operational capability, popularity and flexibility resulting from its long-term detachment from the old regime authority, is likely to succeed in a coup. However, a dependent army is more likely to fail and be captivated by civilian authority due to its fragile operational capability, popular grievance and rigidity resulting from its deep involvement in the old regime.

[Key Words] outcome of a military coup; nature of army; political transition

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136 From Conflict Management to Peace Management: The UN Peacekeeping and Security Governance in Post-conflict Countries

Yixiao ZHANG

[Abstract] Armed conflicts in today's world take place more often within a country than between countries. Proper security and peace management is significant not only to post-conflict countries but also to the region and the world. As an important means of maintaining world peace, the United Nations peacekeeping operations have been engaged in peacekeeping and peacebuilding tasks in post-conflict countries. The UN peacekeeping has evolved from the management of inter-state conflicts to that of intra-state ones, and has now become an active participant in the overall peacebuilding process. However, as a result of deferred implementation of the evolved peace theory, growing peacekeeping tasks bring only limited and hard-won successes. An analysis of UN multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations in Africa (UNMISS in particular) reveals that peacekeepers have achieved more in peacekeeping than in peacebuilding tasks. This can be partly explained by several paradoxes in peacekeeping. To be more effective in security management in post-conflict countries, the UN needs to redefine its role as that of a supporter instead of an interferer, and properly handle the relations of the following factors: national security and human security, peacekeeping and peacebuilding in the field, and the role of UN and that of other actors.

[Key Words] security governance; post-conflict countries; UN peacekeeping operations

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