

Abstracts

Mandala in International Relations Studies: Theory, History and Reality Discourse

Lyu Zhengang (2)

【Abstract】The concept of mandala has innovative potential for the development of international relations theory and case studies, but this does not mean that the concept of the mandala is an all-encompassing concept. The analysis of the international system is a better starting point. The rich primary documents in Southeast Asia and the classic works of Southeast Asian historiography are helpful to reconstruct the whole picture of the history of international relations in Southeast Asia. With the help of these documents, mandalas can be used to explain the history and laws of interaction between countries in ancient Southeast Asia. Throughout the history of Southeast Asia, there has been a series of political actors such as charter states, port polity, highland polity and village polity. The interaction of different political actors constitutes an intertwined mandala. In regional terms, it was a plural regional order. The polycentric interactions form three stable models of historical relations, namely, the central-edge model, the upstream-downstream model and the upland-lowland model. Contrary to what has been studied, we point out that mandala was an independent regional order that did not depend on tributary system for its existence. Although there are many similarities between the two systems, there are many differences in the conception of order, tribute and warfare, and mandala never depended on tributary system for its existence. Secondly, the mandala remains an illuminating concept for modern international relations studies. It has the potential to develop the theory of international relations itself and is equally useful in analyzing and explaining current Southeast Asian politics and even world politics. Finally, the current academic research on this system is only a preliminary research agenda, calling for more specific and in-depth theory and case analysis.

【Key Words】mandala, tributary system, international system, regional order, South East Asia

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Soft-Hard Power Relationship: An Empirical Study

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【Abstract】The concept of soft power has been used for more than 20 years and incor-

porated into many states' development strategies in various forms. In comparison to the practical level, theoretical and empirical research is still underdeveloped. Especially, there has been no consensus on some fundamental issues like the hard-soft power relationship, which to some extent hinders scholars' understanding of the power structure and dynamics in contemporary international relations with high involvement of soft power. To fill this gap, we developed a theoretical framework based on classical power theory and soft power theory, which identifies three possible influences of soft power on hard power: enhancing directly, enhancing indirectly, and weakening. We examined the theoretical inferences with a novel measurement of soft power based on the intergovernmental-organization network on cross-national time-series data from 1945 to 2005. The results rejected the common expectation that soft power directly enhances hard power. Instead, the empirical evidence showed that they pointed to different directions of power development. The substitutive effect of soft power on hard power was statistically robust and theoretically challenged the positive prediction of the two power's relationship by the prevalent "smart power" theory. Further moderation effect models found that increasing soft power had a negative effect on transforming economic factors into hard power but helped improve the efficiency of transforming military factors into hard power.

【Key Words】soft power, soft-hard power relationship, power, network analysis, intergovernmental organizations

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Competition and Death of International Organizations: An Ecological Perspective **Luo Hang Li Boxuan (51)**

【Abstract】A host of international organizations have played an increasingly important role in global governance, while many other international organizations have been dead or are going to die. Existing studies explaining the death of international organizations usually focus on internal factors of international organizations (such as the duration of existence, scale of membership, span of geography and structure of power), or talk about the impact of major historical events (such as the First and Second World War and the end of Cold War) as the external environment on the rise and decline of international organizations, while few attention has been paid to the competition among international organizations. Considering the interactions between international organizations and countries are much more frequent than the direct interaction between international organizations, this paper focuses on the indirect competition among international organizations mediated through member countries. By introducing the concept of apparent competition from ecology and the measurement of potential for apparent competition

among biological populations, we try to present the structure of competition among international organizations and measure the potential competitiveness the international organizations have and the competitive pressure they bear, taking multilateral development banks as an example. Furthermore, the relationship between the competitive pressure among international organizations and the death of international organizations is examined by statistical methods, and we find that the excessive competitive pressure brought by too many international organizations with similar membership and close business fields within a region is an important cause of the death of international organizations.

【Key Words】death of international organizations, ecology, apparent competition, overlapped regionalism, multilateral development bank

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The Viability of ASEAN Centrality: A Research Based on the Perspective of Organizational Ecology

Dong He Yuan Zhengqing (77)

【Abstract】The viability of ASEAN centrality has been an important issue of concern for both policy and academic circles in recent years. Most of the existing studies believe that ASEAN centrality is experiencing severe challenges and facing the risk of being weakened or even dissolved. This research adopts a systematic perspective of organizational ecology and uses a SWOT analysis model to explain the logic of the viability of ASEAN centrality in the dimensions of organizational form and organizational environment, and reexamines the basis of ASEAN centrality with the concept of niche, providing a new way to explain this problem. According to the logic of organizational environment evolution and niche competition, ASEAN's niche width is constructed by its own organizational form and the favorable factors endowed by the East Asia regional cooperation environment, and the adaptability of ASEAN in the regional cooperation environment is restricted by the disadvantages in organizational form and the threats in the environment. These compound factors jointly determine the viability of ASEAN centrality. The multidimensional analysis of ASEAN centrality at the institutional and interactive levels by mapping the East Asian regional cooperation environment and extracting its structural characteristics shows that ASEAN, as a 'Generalist' organization, is more adaptable in the 'Coarse-Grained' East Asian regional cooperation environment and has more advantages in the competition with other actors in terms of niche. The foundation of ASEAN centrality remains solid. Despite the complex internal and external pressures, ASEAN will continue to maintain its centrality and play a key role in regional cooperation by consolidating and strengthening its niche advantages and promo-

ting the evolution of the regional cooperation environment in East Asia towards a more collaborative and symbiotic direction.

【Key Words】ASEAN centrality, organizational ecology, niche, viability mechanism, East Asian regional cooperation

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Political Parties, State Capacity, and Economic Boom and Bust: Evidence from East Asian and Southeast Asian Economies

Yang Gongyan Bi Sheng (104)

【Abstract】Political parties play an important role in the rise and fall of states, but the impact of political parties on national economies and their mechanisms of action have not been systematically discussed so far. The authors establish a theoretical analysis framework on the political parties' leadership and the rise and fall of national economies based on a new perspective of state capacity, and empirically test the theoretical hypotheses using long-term historical data for East Asian and Southeast Asian economies. The results show that there is a significant causal relationship between political parties' leadership and sustained smooth macroeconomic performance, which significantly increases the short- and long-term economic growth rates and reduces the risk of recession and the probability of crises in East Asian and Southeast Asian economies. Political parties with strong leadership build close ties with their populations through tight organization, integrate more efficiently into society and promote positive interaction between the state and society, significantly enhancing the country's ability to mobilize resources; they will constrain members and strengthen coordination among members by improving the party system, reduce the possibility of policies being captured by specific groups, ensure the consistency and continuity of policy goals, and improve the country's overall resource allocation and use capabilities. Political parties' leadership is one of the important influencing factors for the improvement of state capacity in East Asian and Southeast Asian economies, laying an important foundation for the rise of East Asian economies. The research in this paper provides a new perspective to explain the economic miracle of East Asia; it also provides a theoretical explanation for how strengthening the ruling party can enhance national capacity.

【Key Words】political party, state capacity, economic boom and bust, party construction, East Asian and Southeast Asian economies

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Empirical Rationality in International Politics: Local Practices and Experience of Interaction

Yu Yang (127)

[Abstract] Diversified local practices in international politics can be regarded as a source of theoretical innovation. These interactions with situational characteristics are often difficult to be properly explained by universal theories alone. Based on the reflection on theoretical rationality, empirical rationality includes the experience of interaction into its analytical framework with a focus on non-universal elements in local practices. Its basic logic is that the experience of interaction formed in a certain situation will have its influence on actors' next interaction in the same field. The interaction experience formed in practice includes two elements: the recognition of other actors' role identities and practical skills of interaction. Experience generated in early interactions will be embedded into the background of practice through tacit repetition (or sometimes reification), and then cause the actor to behave adaptively. The logic of empirical rationality provides an analytical framework for explaining local practices. Taking local practices in East Asia as examples, during the interaction between China and ASEAN on the South China Sea issue, China gradually formed the recognition of ASEAN's role identity as a neutral coordinator and a skill of flexible interaction on multilateral occasions, which constituted the interaction experience influencing China to actively adapt, initiated a "dual-track approach" and negotiated a "Code of Conduct in the South China Sea" with ASEAN. In the case of APEC, Asia-Pacific powers realized that ASEAN worried that its role identity as a center of regional cooperation might be weakened by APEC, and they gradually developed a skill of promoting trade liberalization in an open, unconstrained and gradual way. Guided by the interaction experience, Asia-Pacific powers adapted and developed two different paths of liberalization outside APEC. Case studies test the logic of empirical rationality, and indicate that an analytical framework including practical experience of interaction can make up for the drawbacks of universal theories in explaining local practices to some extent.

[Key Words] empirical rationality, theoretical rationality, local practices, South China Sea issue, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

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