

论文

从国际合法性视角看新兴大国群体崛起对国际秩序转型的影响

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摘要:

国际合法性与社会共识有着密切联系,而社会共识又是国际秩序的基础,因此,国际秩序存在的合法性程度与国际秩序的稳定直接有关。发展中国家与发达国家能否在有关共同利益和共同价值观念上形成基本共识,不仅涉及国际秩序的合法性,而且事关国际秩序的稳定。新兴大国的群体崛起有力地推动了国际社会在改革现行国际经济秩序的问题上形成基本共识,而且它们倡导的秩序理念和原则也将深刻影响国际政治秩序的转型。新兴大国的秩序理念既与历史上的国际秩序主导思维模式——均势理念不同,又与冷战结束后西方国家倡导的民主、人权为核心的国际秩序理念明显不同。尽管目前各方都希望国际秩序朝着有利于自己的方向发展,但未来的国际秩序在很大程度上仍然取决于传统大国和新兴大国在国际秩序的原则和理念上形成某种共识。

关键词: 国际合法性 国际秩序转型 新兴大国群体崛起 理念原则

A Study on the Impact of the Rise of Emerging Powers on the Transformation of International Order :An International Legitimacy Perspective

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Abstract:

In recent years,the impact of the rise of emerging powers on the transformation of international order has been a focus for scholars at home and abroad . However ,most scholars mainly remain to pay more attention to the importance of the distribution of international power on the transformation of international order,attaching less importance to the concepts and rules of legitimacy . In fact,the transformation of international order relates not only to the distribution of international power,but also relates to function of norms and concepts of legitimacy because any international order is the results of the interaction of these elements : the distribution of international power,international institution and the dominant ideas of values .International legitimacy involves two dimensions : the core principles of legitimacy and the practice of legitimacy,both of which have intimate relations with social consensus .Consensus is fundamental to international order because it is itself the product of the shared values of a society .As a dimension of legitimacy,consensus is not simply about procedural matters,it expresses the substantive values of the society more generally . Obviously,the degree of legitimacy present in any particular international order is directly related to the stability of that order .Whether the developing and developed countries will attain the basic consensus about the common interests and common values in international order relates not only to the legitimacy of the extant international order,but also concerns the stability of the extant international order . International order generally includes international political order and international economic order . The defects of the extant international economic order lie in not only its inability to cope with complex challenges posed by the contemporary global economy,but its outdated system which fails to reflect the reality of the shifting global economic landscape in the age of the emerging economies'rise . These defects of the current international order are due to the instability of U . S dollar,the insufficiency of the decision-making mechanisms of IMF and the World Bank and the lack of financial supervision in these organizations and etc .As a result,the effectiveness and legitimacy of the IMF and World Bank have been seriously questioned .The rise of emerging powers and their demands to change the unreasonable state of the current international financial system and reshape such a system have strongly pushed forward the formation of common consensus of the international society on such questions as raising the representation and the voice of the emerging economic powers in IMF and World Bank . The concepts and principles advocated by the emerging powers will surely influence the transformation of international political order . The emerging powers argue that the new international order should be founded on respect for state sovereignty and other recognized principles and norms of international law .Some of the guiding principles they emphasize include the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and that

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international exchanges should be fair, just, reasonable, mutually beneficial, mutually respectful, and that negotiations should be done on an equal footing. The concepts and principles advocated by emerging powers are significantly different from the dominant mode of thinking found in those international order in history—the concept of balance of power—and they are also obviously different from the concepts and the norms of international order based on democracy, human rights as advocated by the Western countries after the end of the Cold War. Although all current parties hope the international order in favor of its own direction of development, the future of international order will largely depend on the traditional powers and the emerging powers to obtain fundamental consensus on the principal norms and procedures governing international order. Whether the Western powers can meet the requests of the emerging powers about fair changes of international order to a certain degree, and whether they can further establish a global system through the cooperation of new and old powers based on equal status and extensive consultations, will decide on the success or failure of cooperation between the traditional powers and the emerging powers.

Keywords: international legitimacy; the transformation of international order; the rise of emerging powers; concepts and principles

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