

地多经济与化治

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中国经济如何置身全球"长期停滞"之外

礼治与国家建设 田 野

"三足鼎立"的新全球化双层治理体系 鞠建东 彭 婉 余心玎





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Abstracts

How Can Chinese Economy Be Immune to Global Secular Stagnation?

Cai Fang (4)

[Abstract] Population stagnation and population aging have resulted in savings glut in the developed countries. The deterioration of income distribution and the inefficacy of macroeconomic populism prevent consumption from filling the demand gap made by inadequate demand for investment. That brings the world economy into a state of secular stagnation. The deglobalization trend starting after the financial crisis of 2008-2009, the tendency of countries to focus on domestic market and the decoupling of supply chains fomenting during the Covid-19 pandemic all tend to deepen the secular stagnation. Meanwhile. China is experiencing economic growth slowdown and population aging, while approaching its population peak. That means that China's long-term growth will have to tackle demand-side challenges that come from both domestic and external environments. By discussing the theoretical arguments, root causes, and current developments of the secular stagnation and its relevance to China, this paper suggests that making efforts to expand domestic and external demands is as important as it is to increase potential growth rate from supply side. It recommends that to expand effective demand of the Chinese economy requires combining comparative advantage and value chains strength to be firmly embedded in the global division of labor, as well as combining breaking infrastructure bottleneck and finding new growth areas to tap potentials of investment, and finally combining income growth, income equality, and redistribution to expand consumption.

[Key Words] secular stagnation, deglobalization, population stagnation, structural inadequacy of demand

[Author] Cai Fang, Senior Fellow, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Promoting Multilateralism and Global Governance from China's Perspective Wu Zhicheng Liu Peidong (23)

[Abstract] Multilateralism has a profound ideological origin, a long history of practice and rich theoretical connotations. With the development of globalization and multi-polarization, multilateralism has become the universal consensus of the international community to promote global governance. The essence of multilateralism is equality, mutual benefit, cooperation and consultation, and its basic principles include mutual respect, equal consultation, openness and inclusiveness, compliance and win-win cooperation. Multilateralism seems inherently consistent with global governance, and their commonalities are manifested in the multi-win of the goal, the multi-layer of the agent, and the diversity of the field and the path. Multilateralism has made significant contributions to promoting global governance in terms of concept updating, platform consolidation, legitimacy enhancement and model transformation. However, multilateralism has also faced many challenges in recent years, such as the increasing deficit of multilateral mechanism, the growing unilateralism and protectionism, the rising risk of withdrawal and separatism, and the negative impact of globalization. As the mainstay of upholding multilateralism, China has always adhered to the goal guidance, value pursuit, basic principles, platform support, behavior basis and action orientation of multilateralism. At the same time, China has actively innovated the concept of multilateral cooperation, improved the existing multilateral mechanisms, created new platforms for multilateral cooperation, consolidated multilateral international forces, and demonstrated the responsibility of great power in promoting multilateralism with practical actions.

[Key Words] multilateralism, global governance, win-win cooperation, China's standpoint, China's practice

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ance); Liu Peidong, Ph.D. Candidate of Zhou Enlai School of Government, Nankai University.

Rule of Rituals and State Building: Introducing a Chinese Perspective into the Political Order Theory

Tian Ye (45)

[Abstract] From a transcultural comparative perspective, Fei Xiaotong presents the proposition of "a social order based on the rule of rituals". While keeping the core of this proposition, this paper extends the meaning of rituals and thereupon introduces the "rule of rituals" into the political order theory. In a social order based on the rule of rituals, when ritual institutions conform with the spirit of rituals, every member of the society should abide by these institutions consciously. After the drastic change from the Shang Dynasty to the Zhou Dynasty occurring in the early history of China, the Godcentered natural religions gave place to human-oriented rule of rituals, thus leading to the rise of a civilization different from the rule of law developed in the context of monotheism or ethical religions in Europe, India and the Middle East. Since the rule of rituals in the Western Zhou Dynasty appeared prior to the modern state in the Qin Dynasty, the modern state has been subject to the constraint of the rule of rituals in the post-Qin China. Consequently, a balance has been achieved between different political institutions. As an outcome of the mutual embedding between rule of rituals and state building, a "state ruled by rituals" has come to be established since the Eastern Han Dynasty, and gradually spread to the Korean Peninsula, Vietnam and Japan. Despite the shock from the West and modernization, the tradition of the rule of rituals has managed to survive in the East Asia in a new form, and exerted a subtle impact on the contemporary political development in this region.

[Key Words] rule of rituals, state building, state ruled by rituals, political order
[Author] Tian Ye, Professor of International Relations at Renmin University of China.

Realism of Necessity (άνάγκη): A Thucydidean Framework of Power Li Junyang (72)

[Abstract] It is plausible, yet problematic to believe that Thucydides' causation of the Peloponnesian War exemplifies Structural Realism. This paper offers an alternative realist reading of Thucydides, that is, the Realism of Necessity (ἀνάγκη), through a contextualized, close reading of Thucydides' power narrative. The two most important scenarios of decision-making in the History of the Peloponnesian War, namely, that Sparta declares war and that Athens develops her Empire, are of the same structure: both contains necessity, fear, and a decision to act. A sequence of these scenarios forms the Thucydidean framework of power interaction between city-states. Never has Thucydides exemplified Structural Realism, because his framework of power differs from as well as enriches Structural Realism ontologically, in that these "necessity scenarios" and their sequence provide a more comprehensive answer to the agent-structure debate. Realism of Necessity is also a more accurate reading of Thucydides, as a more comprehensive theoretical schema to Political Realism.

[Key Words] Thucydides, structural realism, necessity, power

[Author] Li Junyang, Associate Researcher at the Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Relational Security and ASEAN's Practices

Ji Ling (101)

[Abstract] Since its establishment in 1967, ASEAN has been playing a vital role in building and maintaining a long peaceful regional security eco-system in Southeast Asian and even in East Asia as a whole. Meanwhile, existing researches fail to sufficiently explain the success and the rationale behind its multiple and flexible security practions.

between their substantialist thinking and the relational nature of international security. To understand and explain ASEAN's security practices entails employing relationalism thinking and breaking through the individualistic methodology associated with substantialism. Based on the fundamental hypotheses of the Relational Theory of World Politics on co-existence, relational identity and relational rationality, relational security argues that relational identity verification, which is oriented towards maintaining coexistence and seeking shared interests, is a way to accomplish the goal of sustainable security featuring a combination of ontological security and physical security, and active and creative practices in line with relational rationality are key to the success of the verification process. The concept of relational security overcomes the problem of isolated defining of security interests, neglects of psychological security dimension and irrational security outcomes, and thus provides a new perspective and framework to understand the success of ASEAN's efforts on constructing long peaceful security eco-system and its diversified and flexible security practices.

[Key Words] relational security, relational identity, relational rationality, security ecosystem, ASEAN

[Author] Ji Ling, Associate Professor, Institute of Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University.

A Dual Architecture with a Tri-polar Regional Order for Global Governance in the New Globalization Era

Ju Jiandong Peng Wan Yu Xinding (123)

[Abstract] From 1970s to 1990s, the representative view of global governance structure in academia is hegemonic stability theory that a stable global system is one in which a hegemonic state provides global public goods and dominates the establishment and maintenance of international order. Although the debate on the theory has declined, the

intuition has always been influencing the discussion of global governance system. The hyper-globalization that began in the 1980s is no longer sustainable, and the global disorder is increasingly prominent under the circumstance of COVID-19 pandemic. The essence of the current global disorder is the basic contradiction between the superstructure of globalization and the economic base, to be specific, the incompatibility between the United States-led global governance and "tri-polar" world economic structure. The era of the "new globalization", featured with innovation-driven and the block pattern, is approaching. The solution to the problem of global disorder is to reform the superstructure to make it adapt to the globalization economic base. Based on quantitative analysis and historical case study, we discuss the realistic possibility of constructing an optimal governance system in the New Globalization era from the perspective of public goods provision, and this paper proposes a theoretical explanation on the features of global governance structure. It is argued that a dual architecture consisting of global and regional governance institutions with a tri-polar order at the regional level is a feasible structure for global governance under current circumstances. And this architecture is beneficial to the promotion of efficiency in the provision of public goods, the stability of the international order, and the maintenance of effective regional competition.

[Key Words] new globalization, global governance, tri-polar order, dual architecture [Authors] Ju Jiandong, Unigroup Chair Professor at PBC School of Finance in Tsinghua University, Director of Center for International Finance and Economic Research (CIFER) of Tsinghua NIFR, Chang Jiang Scholar of the Chinese Ministry of Education; Peng Wan, Ph.D. Candidate at the London School of Economics and Political Science; Yu Xinding, Associate Professor at the School of International Trade and Economics, University of International Business and Economics, Research Fellow of Center for International Finance and Economic Research (CIFER) of Tsinghua NIFR.

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