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构建天下有治的国际体系

Toward a
Stable
Global
System



清华国际安全论坛研究报告 No.6

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内容提要 ...

- ◆ 2011年，国际金融危机的后果开始溢出经济和金融领域，向社会和政治领域蔓延。各国内部冲突不断，国际金融体系失灵，大国之间的矛盾逐渐加深、地区冲突频发，恐怖主义和核扩散的威胁不断上升。
- ◆ 全球化时代，国际国内社会的极化倾向不断加强是危机发生的根源；国际社会缺乏有效领导，国际机制权责不符则是导致国际秩序混乱的重要根源。
- ◆ 2012年，世界经济仍难有起色，大国政治摩擦和社会暴力冲突将继续增加。为缓解危机，应改革国际机制，在国际政治和国际经济领域分别建立具有自适应（self-adaptability）的新制度。
- ◆ 中国在国际制度改革进程中应发挥与自身实力地位相称的作用，调整对外政策原则并提出有助于国际秩序稳定的国际体制改革主张。

构建天下有治的国际体系

今年，国际金融危机的后果开始溢出经济和金融领域，向社会和政治领域蔓延，国际社会和国内社会都呈现出混乱的态势。世界秩序的现状与美国学者福山的“历史终结论”相差甚远，而且出现了一种相反的可能，即西方国家所不愿见到的绝对自由市场经济的“历史终结”。这一变化很可能使“动乱”（turmoil）成为2012年国际政治的关键词。如何认识当前乱象丛生的趋势，如何理解其深层的原因，如何建立持久稳定的国际秩序正是本报告的研究目的所在。

一、国际社会动荡不安

（一）各国内部冲突不断

2011年是一个动荡不安的年份，引发不安的首要因素不是国家之间的冲突，而是社会矛盾激化导致的国内动乱。2010年12月17日，突尼斯一个失业大学生与警察发生冲突后自焚的事件引发了国家骚乱，本·阿里政权由此倒台。随后，突尼斯骚乱在整个阿拉伯地区引起了连锁反应。埃及、阿尔及利亚、也门、巴林、利比亚、叙利亚等国也相继出现了一系列动乱或内战。埃及总统穆巴拉克被迫辞职并且面临牢狱之灾，利比亚爆发了战争，卡扎菲政权被推翻，其本人最后被打死。

世界其他地区也爆发了社会动荡。5-9月间，西班牙、希腊和以色列等国家相继出现大规模抗议示威，英国伦敦发生了令人瞠目的骚乱。在亚洲，印度也发生了大规模的反腐败游行，最终结果是印度议会同意了反腐活动家哈扎雷团队打击贪腐的三大关键原则。8月30日，英国《金融时报》的文章把2011年称为“全球愤怒之年”，但认为美国是愤怒之年的例外，美国人是通过媒体和投票箱宣泄愤怒情绪。孰料9月17日发生的美国民众“占领华尔街”运动就否定了这种判断。

“占领华尔街”运动起初由网络杂志《广告克星》组织在网上发起，旨在抗议美国金融体系主要维护权贵阶层的利益，有媒体将这场活动称之为美国式的“革命”。参与者把9月17日称为“美国版的愤怒日”，宣称“要将曼哈顿变成埃及的解放广场”。《华盛顿邮报》甚至问：“阿拉伯之春要在美国出现吗？”从9月17日到10月6日，类似的抗议扩散到美国其他地区，“占领芝加哥”、“占领洛杉矶”等示威活动陆续展开，并蔓延到旧金山、华盛顿、波士顿、丹佛等美国50多个大城市。示威者称他们准备在室外过冬，打一场持久战。自上世纪60—70年代的反战运动之后，这是美国第一次发生如此大规模的全国性抗议活动。10月15日，“占领华尔街运动”迎来第一次全球同步的行动，多达71个国家的示威者，在伦敦、东京、罗马、巴黎、马德里、首尔等

全球700多个城市上演了类似的示威行动。经济形势相对较好的德国也未能幸免，有50个城市出现了规模不等的游行，法兰克福举行了“占领欧洲央行”为主题的抗议活动。这些示威活动的动机如出一辙，都是抗议全球金融危机，追究政治家和金融行业的责任。

不公正和不公平是这次“金融危机后遗症”的深层原因。出现骚乱的国家有一些相似的社会与经济状况：贫富差距不断拉大、中产阶级生活水平面临威胁，民众对于政治与商业精英阶层的特权及腐败的愤怒不断上升。发展迅速的信息技术通过网络把人们紧密地联系到了一起，让“星星之火可以燎原”的说法得到了最现实的诠释。

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这些抗议和示威的频频发生体现出现有社会制度和规范的无力，原先通行的规则和价值观缺乏效力，但是新的规则和价值观又尚未形成。这些问题使国际社会进入一个需要变革的时代，不改变正在失去问题解决能力的现行机制和规范，国际社会将会陷入更大的动乱之中。

（二）金融危机与制度失灵

经济不振、失业率上升和分配不公自然会导致社会动乱。然而，人们关心的是，为何现有的经济制度和规范为无力应对这些经济和社会问题。金融危机发生后的事实证明，西方的市场经济和民主制度缺乏应对经济危机和社会危机的有效功能。美国和欧洲国家政府虽然出台了一系列刺激经济发展的政策，但都收效甚微。金融体系失灵，失业率上升，社会两极分化的加深使得世界大多数国家都分为两个阶层：即既得利益阶层和中低收入阶层。两个阶层的矛盾不断加深，成为金融危机之后造成社会分裂的主要因素。

面对经济不振、失业率居高不下和社会分配不公，西方的市场经济和民主制度在化解危机上显得捉襟见肘。一方面，单凭市场的力量无法缓解不断恶化的经济状况。首先，市场不能提供足够的就业岗位，而充分就业是恢复经济和稳定社会秩序的关键因素。其次，在过去数十年中，西方国家的经济结构严重失衡，虚拟经济超越实体经济成为国家经济发展的主要动力，金融危机后虚拟经济的崩溃导致在实体经济丧失竞争力的国家快速陷入危机。

另一方面，在金融危机影响下，西方国家内部均出现了严重程度不等的政治危机。如何解决危机往往与选举挂钩，这导致不同党派相互攻击，不仅对解决本国经济问题造成影响，还影响到世界经济的复苏。2011年7月，美国民主与共和两党在提高主权债务上限问题上的争斗，不仅使得美国主权信用被降级，而且再次对世界经济造成严重伤害。欧洲在是否以及如何救助欧元区国家的问题上也存在严重分歧。德国内部在是否救助希腊问题上出现严重分裂，自民党和基社盟强烈反对默克尔援助希腊的计划。民调显示，超过80%的德国民众也反对默克尔解决欧债危机的政策，三分之二的民众反对德国出手援救希腊或者对其他陷入债务危机的欧盟国家。另外，德国与法国在如何救助欧元区国家问题上也存在较大的分歧。虽然双方勉强达成共识，欧盟出台了救助

希腊的方案，但是希腊政府在接受求助方案上的决策无力，使欧洲摆脱危机的决策受到影响。

（三）大国矛盾加深、地区冲突频发

从2008年开始，国际体系的两极化趋势出现，大国之间的阵营分界显现，同时领土、宗教和历史原因引发的地区性冲突加剧。这些地区性冲突主要发生在中小国家之间，但冲突的烈度较高，突然性较强，成为破坏地区安全的最直接因素。

从2008年开始，国际体系的两极化趋势出现，大国之间的阵营分界显现，同时领土、宗教和历史原因引发的地区性冲突加剧。

国际体系两极化的苗头已经显露。2011年中国经济可实现9%以上的增长，而西方国家则仍在为摆脱经济危机而努力。2011年中国的GDP总量可达到6.5万亿美元，相当于美国的44%。舆论普遍认为中国的GDP可以保持世界最高增长速度，于2025年赶上美国。与此同时，中国的军事实力和综合实力都会得到相应的提高，中国将成为美国之外的另一个超级大国。与此同时，中美两国有进一步拉大与其他世界大国实力的可能。日本、法国、德国由于经济增长速度低于中美，因此实力差距不可避免地会拉大。俄罗斯和印度的经济增长速度虽然可以高于美国的2-3%，但他们的经济规模只有美国的十分之一，因此GDP差距的绝对量仍会增加。从物质实力角度看，国际体系的实力分配结构将有向两极化发展的趋势。随着中国崛起的加速，世界各大国正面临“选边站”的困境。

俄罗斯选择加强与中国战略合作关系的战略。自冷战结束以来，俄罗斯始终把中国当作最重要的战略合作伙伴。1996年，两国建立了战略协作伙伴关系。2001年，两国签署了《中俄睦邻友好合作条约》，标志着两国形成了“准同盟”关系。十年来，在双方共同努力下，当前中俄战略协作伙伴关系正在全面、健康、稳定、快速发展。今年10月俄罗斯总理普京访华的重要目的就是继续强化中俄战略协作伙伴关系，特别是要改善经济合作力度不足的缺陷。在未来五年，新一届两国政府有可能进一步提升双边战略合作的程度。

美国选择了防范中国的新亚太战略。奥巴马政府的“重返东南亚”战略竭力宣扬美国将会坚定地帮助东亚国家应对和防范来自中国的威胁，强调美国在地区层次上承担应对“中国崛起”的安全义务。围绕中国周边问题，美国主动出招，向菲律宾、韩国、日本、印度尼西亚等国承诺美国的可依赖且强大的同盟责任，进一步密切与印度的战略合作，同时开展与越南的战略合作。美国高调介入南海问题，宣布美国在南中国海有“国家利益”，并通过一连串的军事演习和密切军事关系的举动，来强调美国不会忽视“中国影响力上升”的信息。与中国存在矛盾的东盟国家与美国相互利用，达到各自的目的，但这对地区安全秩序和中美关系造成严重影响。奥巴马执政以后，先后三次对台售武，两次接见达赖。2010年1月29日，美国宣布对台军售，包括60架黑鹰直升机、爱国者三型导弹系统等，总额达63.92亿美元。

日本和印度选择了强化与美国战略合作的立场，共同遏制中国的崛起。由于中国总体经济实力超越日本，中日两国之间的结构性矛盾日益突显。日本意识到其在东亚地区的经济主导地位一

去不复返，因此试图通过建立同盟防范中国，并提高其在东亚地区的战略地位。日本不仅在钓鱼岛和东海海洋权益问题上与中方缠斗，而且积极强化日美安保同盟。另外，为牵制中国，日本还主动与越南、菲律宾、印度等国加强协调，企图介入南海争端。日本首相于10月30日接受《金融时报》采访时竟然说：“越来越强势的中国要遵守海事原则。”

中国与印度虽然同为地区新兴大国，但经济上的共同利益并不能防止其战略矛盾的扩展。中印战略矛盾已非是领土争端，而是正在形成结构性矛盾，即印度视中国为其在亚洲崛起的主要竞争对手。为此，印度采取与地区外的国家合作，制衡中国崛起的策略。印度与美国加强关系，在核技术和军事方面展开合作，遏制中国影响力的提升。印度还逐渐卷入到中国与其他周边国家的争端中，试图通过与东盟国家合作，共同制衡中国。今年9月，印度外长克里希纳与越南外长在河内举行会晤，宣布印度石油天然气公司准备与越南进行合作，开发位于南海的两块油气田。10月，印度外长访日，与日方讨论南海的航行安全问题和11月召开印日美三国防长会议的问题。

由于经济困难，欧洲大国目前尚未在中美之间选边站。不过从这次G20峰会可以看出，欧洲在全球战略问题上与美国和中国都有重大分歧。无论欧洲大国在中美战略矛盾中是选边站还是采取独立立场，都决定大国之间的冲突与矛盾只会加剧而不是缓解。

地区性冲突不断加剧，表现在一些传统的宿敌国家之间，主要出现在中东和亚洲地区。首先是朝韩矛盾。韩国李明博政府上台以后，停止前几任政府的对朝“阳光政策”，对朝核问题采取较为强硬的态度，朝韩关系出现严重恶化。在经济方面，朝鲜关闭开城工业区，停止与韩国的经济合作。在安全方面，朝韩几度陷入完全对立、随时可以引爆战争的境地。2010年3月的“天安舰”事件和11月的“延坪岛炮击”事件之后，朝韩双方至今无法实现紧张关系的转还。韩国对于六方会谈不抱希望，因此为六方会谈恢复设定了先决条件，而朝鲜则提出应无条件恢复六方会谈。双方各执己见，使六方会谈难在2012年恢复。

印巴冲突不断发生。印巴领土争端长期存在，是影响两国关系的主要因素。近年来，来自巴基斯坦的恐怖主义活动成为影响印巴关系的另一个重要因素。2008年孟买恐怖袭击发生后，印度认定是巴境内的极端组织所为，要求巴基斯坦承担责任，但巴拒绝交出印度认定的犯罪嫌疑人，两国关系交恶，中美纷纷进行斡旋。2011年7月，印度孟买再次发生连环爆炸，据调查仍与在印度或巴基斯坦的恐怖主义势力有关。这些新因素的出现使得印巴关系“旧伤未愈，又添新病”，难以得到改善。

中东的地区矛盾从以巴矛盾为主向多个矛盾并发的方向发展。除巴以冲突继续存在外，利比亚过渡政府尚无力控制国内安全局势，各派武装力量正在争夺政治权力，出现新内战的危险尚无法排除。土耳其在加入欧盟暂时无望的情况下，返身介入中东事务，目前与以色列和叙利亚的矛盾正在加剧。也门和叙利亚的局势仍然扑朔迷离，不排除爆发更大冲突的可能性。美军在今年底全部撤出伊拉克后，伊政府是否能控制住国内局势不得而知，反政府势力很可能再次通过恐怖暴力活动显示自己的力量。以色列则正在酝酿明年对伊朗实施军事打击。

（四）恐怖主义威胁增长

从9·11事件开始，世界进入了一个“全球反恐”时期，美国同时在阿富汗和伊拉克进行了两场大规模战争，然而全球反恐形势却是越反越恐。9·11事件之后，全球各地发生无数次恐怖袭击事件，中亚、南亚的阿富汗和巴基斯坦时有恐怖袭击发生，中东各国的恐怖活动则呈现出不断升级的趋势，西亚、北非，“基地”分支更是活动频繁。

从9·11事件开始，世界进入了一个“全球反恐”时期，美国同时在阿富汗和伊拉克进行了两场大规模战争，然而全球反恐形势却是越反越恐。

2011年5月，“基地”组织领导人本·拉登被美军击毙，但是世界安全形势似乎没有得到任何改善。首先、民众对恐怖主义的担忧不断加深，日常生活受到严重影响。2011年9月6日，美国福克斯新闻网就“恐怖袭击影响”进行了民意调查。结果显示，75%的人还认为美国将在不久会再次遭到大型恐怖袭击，约24%的人认为这种袭击的可能性非常大，33%的民众认为美国比以前更不安全。受反恐战争的影响，美国社会从一个开放宽容的社会转变成为一个保持高度警惕的社会。其次，恐怖组织的数量逐渐增多，从基地组织“一家独大”的局面到现在“四处开花”。恐怖组织地方化的趋势愈加明显，在反对现有国际秩序的口号下，各恐怖组织都有具体的、地方性的诉求。比如，索马里的“伊斯兰青年运动”希望能推翻现政府，并在全美执政；巴基斯坦的恐怖组织多针对克什米尔问题；伊拉克的反美势力要求美军全部撤出等等。

恐怖主义活动的新变化说明化解地区性冲突和矛盾是解决问题的根本。美国发动的两场战争及其在中东和平进程中的负面作用激化了这些地区国家和种族间的矛盾，印巴之间的矛盾则成为滋生南亚地区恐怖主义活动的主要根源。在这些地区矛盾得到有效解决之前，恐怖主义不会销声匿迹，而将愈演愈烈。

（五）核扩散威胁上升

2010—2011年，全球核军控在停滞了十几年之后，出现积极变化，但从实际效果来看，其象征性意义更为明显，核扩散趋势难以得到有效控制。在安全形势没有得到改善的情况下，人们更加认为核武器是重要战略筹码，特别是卡扎菲的下场会使一些国家的领导人更坚信核武器是维护政府和领导人生命的最根本保障。故此，核扩散的危险将进一步上升而不是下降。

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美国没有放弃现有的核威慑政策。2009年，美国总统奥巴马上台伊始，提出了“建立无核武器世界”的主张。2010年上半年，核军控成为国际社会瞩目焦点。美国高调调整核战略，美俄达成新的核裁军协议，国际核安全峰会和《不扩散核武器条约》审议大会成功举行。但到了2010下

半年和2011年初，美国却进行了三次地下临界核试验。这说明美国很难放弃现有的核威慑政策，“无核世界”的构想只是美国根据现有形势做出的战略变革。

美国军控政策的调整源于其对国际安全环境的评估和判断。美国认为，后冷战时代世界安全状况发生了重大变化：核大国之间发生全球性核战争的可能性已微乎其微，而非国家行为体的恐怖主义问题凸显。恐怖组织一旦获得核技术，会毫不犹豫地制造核恐怖灾难。这是美国面临的最危险的现实威胁。对于这种威胁，美国庞大的核武库和核威慑无能为力，只有构建更有效的防核扩散机制，防止恐怖主义组织染指核武器或核材料，才能有效应对这一威胁。从深层次看，美国的军控新政有策略上的考虑，意在扭转小布什政府执政八年期间美国在军控外交方面所处的被动局面，改善国际形象，取得更有道义支撑的话语权和主导权。另外，从技术角度看，美国调整核战略不会影响美国的核威慑力。布什政府利用国际核军控的“间歇期”，在核技术研究和开发方面投入巨资，使美国核武器的更新换代基本完成。

其次，在美国大力倡导“无核世界”的背景下，朝核与伊核危机仍无法得到有效解决。2009年，朝鲜宣布退出“六方会谈”，迄今为止，朝核问题没有取得任何进展。在朝鲜面临政权更迭的情况下，坚持发展核武器仍是朝鲜保障政权稳定的重要筹码。伊朗核危机也面临类似的问题。在伊核问题上，美国仍坚持执行原有路线，即同时施加强大压力和进行对话，不轻易减缓对伊朗的制裁力度和缩短制裁时间，这种情况下，伊朗核危机的僵局很难打破。

二、失灵的国际机制与混乱的国际秩序

上述事件出现在不同领域，看似没有必然联系，但值得思考的是，为什么这些混乱局面在近几年集中出现？导致混乱因素在历史不同时期都曾存在过，例如中国和周边国家间的边界分歧是长期存在的，阿拉伯国家的独裁体制一直如此，美国的金融体系长期只为富人服务，欧洲债务问题其实已经存在几十年了，但为什么到2011年这些因素会集中引发国内和国际动乱。如果我们能回答这些问题，就能发现一些国际乱局的深层因素，在此基础上寻找有效的解决方案。观察当今国际政治的乱局并将之与冷战时期以及冷战刚刚结束的国际形势进行对比，可以发现，国际环境已经发生了重大变化。

（一）全球化导致国际国内社会两极分化

冷战结束以后，东西方两大市场得以统一，世界开始快速进入经济全球化进程。在这一进程中，世界经历了重大的分化，并逐渐向极化方向发展。首先是国家之间的分化。在经济全球化的过程中，发达国家的工业和资金向发展中国家转移，一些发展中国家依靠廉价的劳动力，逐渐成为世界工厂。实体经济的快速发展使发展中国家积聚了大量财富，与发达国家之间的实力差距不断缩小。其次是国家内部的分化。在自由市场经济的主导下，国家内部经济发展严重不平衡，财富分配不公、两极分化逐渐加深，这使得国内社会不断发生分裂，社会不稳定成为影响经济发展

的重要因素。

国际国内两极化现象的出现和发展是当前国际秩序混乱的大背景。从国际角度来看，国家间实力结构向均衡的方向发展，一些发展中国家从依靠发达国家发展经济逐渐转向发达国家的竞争对手。在全球经济不景气的情况下，世界大部分国家都成为竞争对手，甚至采取以邻为壑的恶性竞争手段，设置贸易壁垒，提高关税，或者通过货币贬值的方式刺激出口。这些因素使得联系紧密的世界经济更加难以走出困境。在国内社会，经济发展的严重不平衡造成了社会的分裂。一方面社会分裂不但制约本国经济摆脱困境，实现可持续的发展，而且影响到其他国家的经济发展；另一方面社会分裂成为引发国内政治危机的重要原因。一些大国和地区的内部分歧使得国家之间很难采取合作的态度应对危机。

(二) 国际社会缺乏有效领导

美国领导世界的能力相对下降，现有其他大国既无力弥补美国的领导地位，也建立不起一个集体领导的结构，现有的国际组织无一能为国际社会提供强有力的领导。国际政治领导的“青黄不接”很可能是导致国际秩序发生混乱的首要因素。

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在国际环境发生变化的情况下，美国实力地位的下降使其无法为国际社会提供必需的公共物品。冷战刚刚结束时，美国是全球唯一霸主，可以运用其强大的经济、政治和军事实力维护自身和盟友的安全，按照美国的意志打造世界秩序，推行美式民主制度和自由市场经济。但9/11之后的十年反恐战争搞得美国疲惫不堪，再加上金融危机的打击，美国的实力开始下降。在经济、政治和安全领域，美国只能考虑自身利益，采取一些不负责的行为，对国际秩序造成了较大伤害。

在经济领域，金融危机和国债危机已打破了美国的“经济安全”神话。经济不振、失业率上升成为美国社会的主要议题。金融危机前后，预算赤字和储蓄赤字、贸易赤字一起构成了美国经济的最大挑战。美国失去了世界经济第一发动机的地位，对世界经济的领导力严重衰退。美元作为最主要储备货币的地位开始弱化，进而打击了全球投资者的信心，使世界金融体系更加无力恢复全球的经济增长。

在反恐领域，“越反越恐”局面的出现使世界对美国领导的反恐战争失去信心。美国在反恐领域采取双重标准，即只对影响美国安全的恐怖组织采取行动。结果“基地”组织被削弱了，但其他恐怖组织不断滋生出来。美国采取偏袒以色列的政策，阻止巴勒斯坦建国，成为整个中东伊斯兰国家的敌人。这一政策成为恐怖主义滋生的原因之一，不仅增强了中东地区的反美情绪，也将对该地区安全造成长期威胁。

美国领导力的衰弱使得世界陷入混乱。但现阶段还没有国家可以取代美国，为国际社会提供

领导。中国坚持韬光养晦、不当头、不抗旗、不结盟等一些外交原则，因此中国还无力承担世界领导责任。欧盟无法从经济危机中摆脱出来，欧元面临着成员国退出的危险，欧盟一体化不仅停滞不前甚至有倒退的危险，因此欧盟也无力为世界提供领导。在美中欧之外，现在还看不到有任何力量具有领导世界的潜力。

（三）国际机制权责不符

另一个与缺乏国际领导相联系但可能是更深层次的原因是，国际机制不能依据国际格局和秩序的转型进行相应的调整。在缺乏有领导力的大国的情况下，如果国际机制能承担起领导责任，国际政治秩序也可保持稳定。然而，现有国际机制发挥不了这种作用。现有国际机制之所以起不到领导作用，其原因在于国际形势已经发生了巨大变化，但这些机制

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却不能根据实力结构变化进行改革，权责不符的机制是无法提供有效领导的。在很多全球和地区性国际组织和国际机制框架内，缺乏实力的传统大国握有特殊的权力，但却无力发挥作用。

国际组织无力解决全球性问题的典型现象是，国际组织和国际制度越建越多，但解决问题和化解危机的能力却越来越弱。例如世界银行和国际货币基金组织无力帮助欧洲走出金融危机的阴影，联合国没有能力解决巴以争端，全球陷入反恐战争十年，结果却是生活愈加不安全，恐怖袭击不断增多。面对国际机制的无力现象，人们不是设法通过改革这些机制提高其解决问题的能力，而是建立了更多没有解决问题能力的国际机制。许多国际制度都面临效率不高的问题，甚至有沦为清谈馆的危险。这种现象在亚太地区尤其突出。亚太经合组织、东盟地区论坛、东盟+3、东亚峰会、六方会谈都严重缺乏执行能力。这主要是大国未能合作承担起领导责任，致使有关机制缺乏权威性。当一个国际制度缺乏权威时，它就没有行动能力。因此，一个国际制度要想有效率 and 行动能力，该制度内的大国就一定要握有高于一般成员的权力，同时承担起多于一般成员的责任。

在全球安全与政治事务上，联合国的决策机制越来越无法适应危机时代的国际形势。两极化趋势使安理会成员国的分化状况向冷战时期回归，常任理事国更多地使用否决权，投票时形成多数一致的概率在下降，美英法投票的一致性增强，英国成为美国投票权的加权指数，没有独立投票的意义。德国、日本、巴西、印度对于现有安全常任理事国的构成越来越不满，他们急切想改变现有的成员构成。英、法无力承担欧洲责任却把持全球安全事务的发言权，对此德国极为不满。因此在许多国际安全事务上，德国有意与法、德拉开距离。例如，在利比亚禁飞区的问题上，德国投弃权票，不支持美英法的政策。德国也不参加对利比亚的军事打击行动。

在国际经济领域，英国和法国不但没能挽救欧洲经济的颓势，反而起到负面作用。英国置身与欧元区之外，在经济和安全政策上，都与美国保持高度一致，没有独立的立场，因此在挽救欧洲经济的过程中，几乎没有发挥任何作用。作为欧盟最大的经济体，德国是唯一有能力缓解欧债

危机的大国。然而，法国不但坚持与德国平分欧洲经济领导权，而且还经常提出与德国相反的政策建议，法国的做法自然会影响德国的积极性，妨碍德国为欧洲提供领导作用。

在世行和IMF改革上，新兴市场国家的发言权一直没有受到足够重视，无法调动这些国家参与世界经济事务的积极性。近几年，世界银行的信贷资本增加了862亿美元，其中超过一半是由发展中国家提供的。国际金融危机爆发后，正是中国和印度等发展中国家的强劲增长阻止了世界经济的进一步衰退。中国已经超过日本成为世界上第二大经济体。中国、俄罗斯、巴西和印度拥有世界上42%的储备资产（不含黄金）。然而，世界经济的权力分配结构并没有随之进行调整。IMF的投票权一直主要掌握在美国、欧盟和日本手中，中国的份额以前甚至不如比利时与荷兰的总和。美国是IMF的最大股东，具有17.4%的份额，中国仅占3.72%。在2010年11月进行的改革中，超过6%的份额转移到新兴经济体。中国、印度、俄罗斯和巴西“金砖四国”将分别位居第三、第八、第九和第十。2010年4月，世行改革后，中国仍然只有4.42%的投票权，而美国在引发全球金融危机之后却继续保有15.85%的投票权。

三、愈加动荡的2012年

本报告预计2012年将是一个比2011年更加动荡不定的年份。世界经济难有起色、大国战略摩擦加剧、国内社会更加动荡、武装冲突有可能增加。

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（一）世界经济难有起色

在当今世界三大经济体中，美国经济复苏乏力，欧洲深陷债务危机。据美国商务部今年第二季度的报告显示，美国经济第二季度的增长率为1.3%，低于市场预期。预计第三季度的增长率仅为2%。今年8月10日，美联储宣布将联邦基金利率继续维持在0—0.25%的历史最低水平，并将通过购买更多国债维持现有资产负债表的债券持有规模。这一举措被认为是美联储实施新一轮货币扩张政策的先兆，其背后则是美联储对经济形势更为悲观的预期。10月1日，白宫行政管理和预算局发布报告称，明年的经济增长率将在2.6%—3.3%之间，失业率将在8.3%—9%之间，继续维持高赤字、高失业和低增长的走势。

欧洲债务危机在今年愈演愈烈，不排除危机在明年更加严重的可能性。由于危机国家无法凭借一己之力解决自身问题，周边国家、机构的援助方案与援助力度将在很大程度上决定危机的进程。而正是在这一问题上，欧盟各国因选举和民间等因素很难形成合力。作为欧元区内经济总量最大的国家，德国对危机国家的救助意愿与救助能力将成为左右危机发展态势的重要因素。然而，德国民众极不愿意耗费巨资来救援希腊等国。今年7月中旬，经过国内的激烈争论，德国政府才不得已宣布将与欧洲央行和IMF协调确定针对希腊的第二轮救助计划。如果意大利等国再爆发债务危机，德国是否还会出手相救，形势并不明朗。

（二）大国政治摩擦增多

2012年是名符其实的世界大选年。美国、俄罗斯、法国、韩国将举行总统选举，中国将举行党的第十八次全国代表大会并选举产生新的中央领导集体，日本明年也有可能更换首相，朝鲜明年有可能实行领导人交接班，台湾地区于年初就要进行领导人选举。

在选举之年，各国政治精英对本国国内事务的关注程度增加，因此领导层互访减少，这将不利于防止大国冲突的及时化解。某些国家的候选人还会以牺牲对外关系为代价取悦选民以利当选，因此，他们鼓吹或实施更加强硬的对外政策，这可能导致大国之间的政治摩擦增加。比如，中美之间可能在东亚安全、人民币汇率、贸易平衡、金融市场开放等问题上激烈交锋。明年是美国的大选年，中美经济关系将成为竞选人之间互相攻击的必选议题。奥巴马为了再次当选，有可能对中国采取更加强硬的经济政策，从而影响中美关系的发展。

某些国家的候选人还会以牺牲对外关系为代价取悦选民以利当选，因此，他们鼓吹或实施更加强硬的对外政策，这可能导致大国之间的政治摩擦增加。

俄美之间可能在民主、战略稳定、中东等问题上再次发生摩擦。俄欧之间则可能在能源供应和俄国内改革方面发生争执。日本政府为争取国内民众的信任，可能在领土争端问题上继续采取主动强硬的政策，从而与中、俄、韩再次发生冲突。中日之间仍可能因历史问题再次发生摩擦。韩国和朝鲜之间仍有因为领导人变更问题采取政治上相互攻击对方的危险。台湾的民进党如果重新执政，则台海两岸关系难以保持现有的稳定状态。

（三）社会暴力冲突增加

2012年，我们还可能看到因国内社会动荡而引发的暴力事件和武装冲突。国内社会越动荡，就越是会给外部势力更多介入的机会，就越可能发生动荡“外溢”。

今年的西亚北非政治动荡就是典型的例证。这场政治动荡已经引发了一场国际性战争（利比亚战争）和数场严重的国内暴力事件和武装冲突（突尼斯、埃及、叙利亚等国），至今仍未结束。叙利亚政府和反对派高度对立，使其有走向内战的危险。卡扎菲政权被推翻后，利“过渡委”在清剿残敌、权力分配、稳定社会和重建经济等问题上困难重重，处理不慎可能会使国内冲突再起。穆巴拉克政权倒台后，埃及形势一度趋于稳定，但过去积累下来的矛盾和问题一时难以得到解决，稳定的形势很容易被人利用并遭到破坏。10月中旬爆发的科普特人与政府的严重暴力冲突就是一例。因此，明年埃及仍有可能爆发大规模的示威活动，并引发政府与示威者之间以及不同政治派别之间的暴力冲突。

2012年，我们还可能看到因国内社会动荡而引发的暴力事件和武装冲突。国内社会越动荡，就越是会给外部势力更多介入的机会，就越可能发生动荡“外溢”。

另外，其他国家虽然难以爆发像利比亚和叙利亚这样的武装冲突，但因社会矛盾而爆发大规模游行示威继而发生严重暴力事件的可能性还是存在的。在经济不振、失业高启、债务缠身的情况下，西方发达国家也不能免于爆发暴力冲突的可能性。

四、国际制度改革及中国的作用

二战胜利者建立的一整套国际政治和经济制度缺乏自我调整能力，已经不能适应当前国际形势的发展。本报告主张，改革的目标是在国际政治和国际经济领域分别建立具有自适应（self-adaptability）的新制度。所谓自适应，是指该制度能依据领域内实力结构的变化，定期调整领导成员的机制。

本报告主张，改革的目标是在国际政治和国际经济领域分别建立具有自适应（self-adaptability）的新制度。所谓自适应，是指该制度能依据领域内实力结构的变化，定期调整领导成员的机制。

（一）国际机制的改革原则

权责一致原则 国际组织领导机构成员根据实力变化，每五年进行一次调整。根据实力地位来确定权力与责任其实是不少国际组织的既定原则，问题在于它们都缺乏领导成员定期调整的机制。由于经济和科技的迅速发展，国家实力对比的变化速度越来越快。如果再像以前那样几十年不调整领导成员，就无法跟上国际权力分配结构的变化。实力衰落的国家适时退出领导集体，实力日趋强盛的国家适时进入领导集体，这种经常进行新陈代谢的机制才能保持国际组织为国际社会提供有力的领导。

比如，在联合国安理会改革问题上，现有的改革方案都是搞增量改革，成员只进不出。因此，各国争论的是谁能成为新的安理会常任理事国，是日本、德国、巴西还是南非？各国似乎没有考虑过现有的五个常任理事国应当淘汰哪个国家。从1945年二战结束到现在，国际权力分配结构发生了巨大变化，从冷战时的两极格局转变为当前的“一超多强”。2008年的国际金融危机之后，中国、印度、巴西等金砖国家的综合国力进一步增强，而欧洲则在整体上继续衰落，目前部分欧洲国家又深陷债务危机。因此，欧洲国家在安理会中占两个常任理事国名额与当前的国际权力分配结构并不匹配，同时欧洲实力最强大的德国不能取代英或法也缺乏合理性。因此，安理会的改革应当把增量改革与存量改革结合起来，既考虑扩大常任理事国的席位，也要考虑淘汰已经严重衰落的国家。

在国际经济领域，国际货币基金组织和世界银行应设立份额定期调整机制，以便按经济规模及时调整成员国的地位和权力。另外，由欧美人士分别出任两个组织领导人的惯例应当被废除。终身制的规定连国内政治体制都无法适应，更不用说国际机制了。二十国集团作为新的国际机制，应设立成员资格定期调整机制，按国家的经济规模定期调整部分成员，从而避免国际货币基

金面临的问题；同时，二十国集团还应实行分层次的集体领导，建立类似于安理会的机构，由少数在国际经济领域最有份量的国家组成，对重大的国际经济事务拥有决策权，以提高领导效率。

问题实力原则 国际组织领导成员国的调整，应依据组织所针对的问题领域及各国在该领域的影响力进行。在安全、政治、经济、文化、环境等领域内的各个组织应依据不同的实力标准来决定和调整其领导成员国构成。问题实力原则其实是权责一致原则的前提条件，只有把具体问题领域的实力分配结构搞清楚了，权责一致原则才能实施。

在国际安全领域，美国是世界唯一的超级大国，是军事实力最强大的国家，美国应对维护国际安全负有最大的责任。如果美国坐视西亚北非的社会动荡不管，那就是它的失职。俄罗斯到目前为止仍是世界上第二强大的军事力量，因此，在国际裁军等机构中，美俄仍应承担主要的领导责任。

在国际经济领域，美国、欧盟和中国是世界三大经济体，巴西、印度等新兴经济体的发展速度也很快。然而在国际货币基金组织和世界银行中，中国的份额和投票权与中国在世界经济领域中的地位仍不相称，而巴西、印度等新兴经济体的份额竟然不如某些欧洲中小国家，这实在不能反映国际经济的权力分配现实。

区域优先原则 国际机制改革要给予地区性机制更多解决问题的优先权。多数国际冲突只发生在某一地区，因此如果地区组织能出面协调解决，则外部势力或全球性国际组织就不必介入。这样有利于地区组织发挥作用，防止引发更大范围的国际冲突，特别是可以减少全球性大国之间的冲突。因此，全球性国际组织进行改革时，应考虑与地区组织之间的关系，给地区性组织更多解决问题的权力和支持。

在利比亚问题上，如果当初美国等西方国家允许阿拉伯国家联盟或非洲统一组织发挥更大的作用，则利比亚战争有可能避免。在叙利亚问题上，有关各方现在应当让阿盟发挥更大的作用。在泰柬边境冲突问题上，东盟应当发挥预防性外交作用，而泰国和柬埔寨应对东盟的调停能力抱有更大的信心。

渐进改革原则 当前国际和国内政治动荡的重要原因是2008年金融危机后国际形势变化速度过快，以致一些国家的形势失控。本报告提出的国际机制改革方案并不能在短期内实现，而且改革的速度太快可能会带来更多的冲突和危机。借鉴中国改革开放三十年的经济，国际机制的改革也需要分阶段进行渐进式的改革。

（二）中国在重建国际秩序中的作用

作为一个仍在持续崛起的世界第二经济大国，中国理应在国际制度改革进程中发挥与自身实力地位相称的作用。中国应调整对外政策原则并提出有助于国际秩序稳定的国际体制改革主张。

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中国应突出“有所作为”的外交原则，特别是在全球事务上。2011年9月发表的《中国的和平发展》白皮书提出，中国要秉持积极有为的国际责任观，“以积极姿态参与国际体系变革和国际规则制定，参与全球性问题治理，支持发展中国家发展，维护世界和平稳定……随着综合国力的不断增强，中国将力所能及地承担更多国际责任”。作为世界大国，中国不宜采取中立或不表态的政策。

中国应突出“有所作为”的外交原则，特别是在全球事务上。

中国应提倡“责权力相一致”为国际制度改革的总体原则，以提高效率为改革方向。《中国的和平发展》白皮书提出：“各国国情和发展阶段不同，应按照责任、权利、实力相一致的原则，着眼本国和人类共同利益，从自身国力出发，履行相应国际义务，发挥建设性作用。”中国应当主张，各国在不同领域内所应承担的责任与享有的权利应以该领域内的实力分配结构为基础。中国不排除在某些领域比中国实力强的国家承担领导责任，同时中国也应在自己的实力优势领域承担更多的国际责任。

中国应提倡“责权力相一致”为国际制度改革的总体原则，以提高效率为改革方向。

中国应提倡内外合作缓解动荡的原则。在一国国内发生政治动荡时，国际合作的原则是如何促进该国内部通过改革实现政治和解，而不宜采取为反对派提供军事支持以推翻执政当局的政策。否则，只会激化矛盾，引发严重的国内武装冲突甚至内战或国际性战争。在当前的叙利亚问题上，如果国际社会能够像中俄所主张的那样，既反对外部势力的干涉从而引发另一场战争，又督促叙政府加快改革步伐，促成对立双方的谈判与和解进程，那么叙利亚局势有可能逐步缓和下来。

中国应提倡内外合作缓解动荡的原则。

中国应提倡防止经济矛盾政治化的原则。在全球金融危机的影响下，国家间的经济利益冲突呈上升趋势。如果将经济冲突政治化，或是在经济冲突之外增加意识形态方面的相互指责，其结果是国际冲突更加严重。为防止国家间冲突激化，各方应采取就事论事的立场，减少在意识形态分歧上的相互指责。意识形态本身就是信仰问题，相互指责除了激化情绪上的对立，并不能改变对方的信仰。

中国应提倡防止经济矛盾政治化的原则。

五、结论

2011年的国际动乱局势反映出国际格局开始了新的转变，出现了从美国主导的一极格局向两极化发展的趋势。国际格局变化带来的国际动乱局势，给我们提出了改革国际机制的新要求。为了建立一个持久的“天下有治”的国际秩序，国际机制需要具备自适应机制，提高国际组织的领导能力，从而有效应对国际形势变化速度加快的新现实。

为了建立一个持久的“天下有治”的国际秩序，国际机制需要具备自适应机制，提高国际组织的领导能力，从而有效应对国际形势变化速度加快的新现实。

Highlights ...

- ◆ The consequences of the global financial crisis have overflowed from finance and economics into the political and social spheres in this year, manifest in ceaseless conflicts within countries, institutional failure of international financial system, deepening contradictions between major powers and frequent regional conflicts.
- ◆ In the era of globalization, the intensification of the international and domestic polarization nourishes the crisis. The short of effective leadership and low consistence between rights and responsibilities lead to the international disorder.
- ◆ In 2012, world economic recovery still faces great difficulties, and political frictions between major powers and violent social conflicts will grow. For alleviating the crisis, reforms of international regimes would be necessary with the aim of establishing new international economic and political institutions with self-adaptability.
- ◆ In the course of the reform, China should play an adequate role that is consistent with its global status, adjusting its foreign principles and proposing reforms of international institutes for a stable international order.

Toward a Stable Global System

The consequences of the global financial crisis have overflowed from finance and economics into the political and social spheres in this year, manifest in turmoil in both the international community and domestic communities throughout the world. The world order continues to drift further from Francis Fukuyama's "End of History"; to the dismay of Western states, the converse—that the absolute liberal market economy is "ended by history", now seems possible. Under this situation, 'turmoil' might be the key term in international politics in 2012. How should we view these waves of turmoil and understand the underlying causes? How can we establish an international order that will provide stability over the long term? These questions constitute the focus of this research report.

I. Turmoil in the World

1. Ceaseless Conflicts within Countries

2011 has been a year of relentless turmoil and chaos. The source of instability is not conflict between states, but intensifying social contradictions within them. Tunisia became engulfed in chaos when an unemployed Tunisian college student self-immolated on December 17, 2010, after an altercation with the police—an act that brought the Ben Ali government to its knees. Turmoil in Tunisia spread throughout the Arab states, evident in chaos and civil war within Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, Bahrain, Libya, and Syria. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was forced to step down and awaits a prison sentence. Libya's collapse into international war ended in the overthrow and death of Muammar Gaddafi.

Other parts of the world have been torn with social unrest. Between May and September there were large-scale protests in Spain, Greece and Israel, and soon after London experienced alarming riots. In Asia, meanwhile, India experienced widespread protests

against corruption, culminating in the Indian Parliament's acceptance of anti-graft campaigner Anna Hazare's three central demands on anti-corruption. On 30 August, the British *Financial Times* referred to 2011 as the "year of global indignation", noting that the USA, which generally expresses frustrations through the media or the ballot box, was the only exception. The launch of the Occupy Wall Street movement on 17 September, however, showed that even the United States is not immune to turmoil.

The media has referred to the Occupy Wall Street movement, initiated by online magazine Adbusters, as an American-style "revolution" whose goal is to oppose the American financial system, which it claims maintains the rights of elites. Participants called 17 September an 'American day of indignation', and have declared they will 'Turn Manhattan into Egypt's Freedom Plaza.' The *Washington Post* even raised the question: "Will the Arab Spring come to the Americas?" From 17 September until 6 October, the protests spread to more than 50 cities across America, including San Francisco, Washington, Boston and Denver. Protestors have also started "Occupy Chicago" and "Occupy Los Angeles" movements. They say they are prepared for a protracted war, and that they will spend all winter outdoors. This is the first nationwide protest movement of such scale in the US since the anti-war movement in the 1960s and 1970s. On 15 October, the "Occupy Wall Street Movement" ushered in the first synchronized global action, when protestors from 700 cities in seventy-one countries around the world staged similar demonstrations. They included London, Tokyo, Rome, Paris, Madrid, and Seoul. There was no escape even for Germany, which has shown a relatively good economic performance throughout the crisis. Groups of protestors took to the streets in fifty cities. Those in Frankfurt launched a demonstration themed "Occupy the European Central Bank". Demonstrators share the common objective of protesting against the global financial crisis and holding politicians and the financial sector accountable.

Absence of justice and equity are the deeper reasons for this "sequela to the financial crisis". All states that have experienced turmoil share common socio-economic characteristics. They are: rising income disparities, threatened middle class living standards, and rising public outrage at the privileges and corruption of political and business elites. Information technology has united people and demonstrated the

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truth of the saying: "One spark can start a prairie fire." These protests and demonstrations illustrate the powerlessness of existing social institutions and norms and the ineffectiveness of prevailing rules and values. But new institutions and values have yet to take shape. Wide-

ranging problems have driven the international community to the point where transformation is crucial. Unless a change occurs the world's failing norms and institutions will drag the international community into even deeper turmoil.

2. The Financial Crisis and Institutional Failure

A weak economy, rising unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth are inherent causes of social unrest. The deeper question is that of why current economic institutions and norms have been unable to respond to these social and economic problems. The financial crisis and its aftermath would imply that the Western liberal market economy and democratic institutions lack the capacity to respond effectively to economic and social crises. The policies the United States and Europe have introduced to stimulate economic development have proven ineffective. The failure of the financial system and subsequent rising rates of unemployment have polarized society into "haves" and "have-nots". Intensified contradictions between these two classes are the main reason why societies have disintegrated in the wake of the financial crisis.

Weak economies, chronically high unemployment and an unjust social distribution have made it difficult for Western liberal market economies and democratic institutions to resolve the crisis. That market forces alone are not capable of alleviating the deteriorating economic situation is a key issue. First of all, markets cannot provide sufficient jobs to ensure economic recovery and social stability. Second, over the past decade the structure of Western economies has fallen seriously out of balance, to the extent that the fictitious economy has surpassed the real economy to become the main driver of national economic growth. Since the financial crisis, the collapse of the fictitious economy has caused countries whose competitiveness in the real economy had flagged to descend rapidly into crisis.

The domestic political crises that various Western states have experienced under the influence of the financial crisis constitute another facet of the problem. Resolution of the crisis has generally been linked to elections, where internecine struggles between parties have had impact on domestic economic recovery and also affected global economic recovery. In July 2011, a struggle between American Republicans and Democrats over raising the country's sovereign debt limit ended in devaluation of the U.S. sovereign debt rating, causing even greater damage to the global economy. In Europe, meanwhile, there have been deep divisions over whether and how to save the Euro Zone. Germany was deeply divided over whether or not to bail Greece out, and the Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Social Union were in strong opposition to Angela Merkel's assistance plan. Opinion polls found that more than 80% of German citizens were in opposition to Merkel's plan to resolve the European debt crisis, and that two thirds opposed assisting Greece or any other EU country. Germany and France were also at odds on how to

rescue the Euro Zone. The two sides eventually reached an awkward consensus and the EU introduced a plan to rescue Greece, but the Greek government's incapacity to determine a policy on receiving this aid complicated Europe's progress in overcoming the crisis.

3. Deepening Contradictions between Major Powers and Frequent Regional Conflicts

The international system has gone toward bipolarization since 2008, which makes other powers to choose their sides. Meanwhile, regional conflicts over territory, religion and history have intensified. These conflicts mainly erupted between secondary states but they are intensive and sudden. They often become the direct cause of regional instability.

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Bipolarization is emerging. In 2011, as Western states struggle still to escape from economic crisis, China stands to achieve growth of more than 9%. In 2011, China's GDP will reach \$6.5 trillion, equivalent to 44% of that of the United States. Public opinion universally holds that the rate of China's GDP growth will continue to outpace the rest of the world and surpass the US in 2025. China's military and comprehensive power will grow at a similar pace, and China will join America as the world's second superpower. China and the US will likely widen the gap between themselves and other major powers, because the slower growth of Japan, France and Germany will cause them to fall behind. Even though Russia and India can exceed the growth rate of the United States, as their economies are only 10% of America's, this means in absolute terms that the gap will widen. The global material power distribution will hence become further bipolarized. As the pace of China's rise quickens, the world's major powers will be forced to choose sides.

Russia will opt to enhance the strategic cooperation it has developed with China since the end of the Cold War, when it designated China as its most important strategic partner. After establishing a strategic partnership in 1996, the two states signed in 2001 the Sino-Russian Treaty of Friendship, signifying a quasi-alliance between the two states. During the decade since the treaty was signed, the two parties have cooperated in developing a comprehensive, healthy and stable strategic partnership. Prime Minister Putin made a significant visit to China in October of this year to enhance this partnership, and to improve the current inadequate level of economic cooperation between the two countries. In the coming five years, new governments on either side will likely continue to enhance relations.

America has opted for a new Asia-Pacific strategy in opposition to China. The Obama

Administration's 'return to Asia' strategy clearly signifies that America will continue to assist East Asian states in responding to and hedging against China. This stance underscores the security responsibility America has undertaken at the regional level to respond to China's rise. America has made security commitments all around China's periphery, pledging responsibility as a strong and reliable ally to countries such as the Philippines, Korea, Japan and Indonesia. It has also deepened strategic cooperation with India, and initiated strategic cooperation with Vietnam. The US has moreover undertaken high profile involvement in the South China Seas, declaring that it has a "national interest", and emphasizing through a series of military exercises and deepening military ties that it will not ignore the 'rise of Chinese influence'. The United States and ASEAN countries in conflict with China have used one another to advance their own respective objectives, but at great cost to regional security and US-China relations. Furthermore, since taking office, the Obama administration has sold weapons to Taiwan on three occasions and received the Dalai Lama twice. On January 29, 2010, the United States announced the sale of \$6.392 billion worth of military equipment to Taiwan, including 60 Blackhawk helicopters and a class III Patriot missile system. This has caused fluctuations in US-Sino relations, making it difficult for them to develop.

Japan and India have also resolved to enhance strategic cooperation with the United States in collectively containing China's rise. As China's economy has outstripped Japan's, the structural contradiction between the two is growingly apparent. Japan realizes that it has lost its economic domination in East Asia to China. For this reason it wants to build an alliance to contain China and enhance its strategic status in the region. Japan continues to clash with China over maritime rights in the East Sea and over the Diaoyu islands, and has strengthened its alliance with the United States. In efforts to contain China, Japan has also expanded coordination with Vietnam, the Philippines and India, and attempted to interfere in the dispute over the South China seas. The Japanese Prime Minister said on 30 October in an interview with the *Financial Times* that, "an increasingly powerful China needs to comply with maritime principles."

China and India are both rising regional powers. Mutual economic interests, however, are not sufficient to prevent growing strategic contradictions between the two states evolving from territorial to structural issues, because India sees China as primary competitor to its rise in Asia. For this reason, India cooperates with powers outside of the region to balance against China's growing influence. India has strengthened ties with the US through engaging with it in nuclear technology and military cooperation in efforts to check Chinese influence. India has also gradually insinuated itself into China's disputes with other neighbouring countries by attempting to cooperate with ASEAN states in hedging against China. In September, India's Minister of External Affairs S.M. Krishna met with the Vietnamese Foreign Minister in Hanoi and announced that India Oil and Natural Gas Corporation would cooperate with Vietnam in developing two natural gas blocks in the South China Seas. Krishna visited Japan in October to discuss the security of sea lanes through

the South China Seas and the India-Japan-US Defence Ministers' meeting planned for November.

Owing to their economic woes, European states have yet to take sides with the US or China. From the recent G-20 Summit, however, it seems quite clear that Europe has an approach to global issues quite different from that of either the US or China. Regardless of whether or not states in Europe decide to take sides between the US and China or to retain an independent position, however, deepening conflict between the great powers is inevitable.

Intensification of regional conflicts has become manifest between states that are traditionally at odds with one another, and most apparent in the Middle East and Asia. First is the contradiction between North Korea (DPRK) and South Korea (ROK). After the Lee Myung-bak government came to power, bringing an end to the sunshine policy of earlier governments, South Korea took a hard-line position, causing a rapid deterioration in relations. In response, North Korea closed down its open industrial zones, and cut off economic cooperation with South Korea. With regards to security, the DPRK and the ROK hurtled towards diametric confrontation and a point at which war could break out at any time. The March 2010 sinking of the Cheonan and the November shelling of Taeyonpyong Island took matters to a pitch where it was imperative that the ROK and the DPRK reduce tensions in their relations. Unfortunately, the ROK had little hope for the Six Party Talks, and set pre-conditions for their resumption, which prompted the DPRK to demand an unconditional resumption of the Six Party Talks. Both parties have since remained in deadlock, making it impossible for the talks to be resumed in 2012.

There is also incessant conflict between India and Pakistan. The long-term territorial dispute between the two countries is the primary factor influencing their relations. Terrorist activities in Pakistan in recent years have placed still more strain on ties between the two states. India maintained that an extremist group in Pakistan was responsible for the 2008 terrorist attack in Mumbai, and demanded that Pakistan bear responsibility. Pakistan refused to turn over the suspects as identified by India, and relations deteriorated to the point where the US and China were forced to mediate the conflict. In July of 2011, another round of bombings struck Mumbai. An investigation found that they were also caused by terrorist groups in India or Pakistan. These new challenges have made it even more difficult to ameliorate relations between India and Pakistan.

The conflict in the Middle East has evolved from revolving primarily around Israel and Palestine to encapsulating a wide range of contradictions. Beyond the ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict, the challenges that the Libya Transition Authority faces in bringing domestic security under control and the scramble for political power among militant groups in Libya raises the danger of that country sliding into a new civil war. When it failed in joining the European Union, Turkey increased its involvement into Middle Eastern affairs as conflicts respectively with Israel and Syria

deepened. The situations in Yemen and Syria are still bewildering, as both face the possibility of greater conflict in the near future. Finally, the completion of the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq at the end of the year will be a major test of the Iraq government's ability to maintain domestic control. It is probable that anti-government forces will once again initiate terrorist attacks. Israel is planning to launch military attacks against Iran next year.

4. The Growing Threat of Terrorism

After the 9 • 11 attacks, the world entered an era of 'global anti-terrorism', by virtue of America's two large-scale wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, creating new global challenges at a pace too rapid to counter. Since 9•11, there have been numberless terrorist attacks around the world, with incessant attacks in Afghanistan, Central Asia and South Asia. In the Middle East, terrorist activities are constantly on the rise, and terrorist cells in West Asia and Northern Africa are becoming more active.

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Although the American army killed Osama Bin Laden, leader of Al Qaeda, in May of 2011, there seems to have been little improvement in global security. Communities around the world are growingly concerned about terrorism, as lives continue daily to be threatened. On 6 September, 2011, the US Fox News conducted an opinion poll on the 'Concern over Terrorist Attacks.' Results showed that 75 % of the people polled believed that America would suffer another terrorist attack in the near future, and 24 % that the probability of an attack is extremely high. A further 33 % felt that America is less secure than in the past. The spectre of terrorism has caused a change in American society from one of openness and tolerance to extreme vigilance. This state of affairs is likely to continue as terrorist organizations continue to grow, and terrorists to shift from forming large organizations to smaller ones spread around the globe. Terrorist organizations continue the trend towards localization, and under the overarching umbrella of opposing the international order, terrorist organizations maintain concrete and localized demands. For example, the 'Islam Youth Movement' in Somalia aims to overthrow the current government and take over governance of the country; most Pakistani terrorist groups have goals targeted at Kashmir; and in Iraq, terrorists demand that the US army withdraws entirely from the country.

Changes in the modes of terrorist activities illustrate that resolving regional conflicts and contradictions is fundamental to dealing with these challenges. The two American wars in the Middle East have had severe impact on regional peace and intensified ethnic conflicts in

the region. Meanwhile, the conflict between India and Pakistan is the deeper reason for the spread of terrorist activities throughout the South Asia region. Until these regional conflicts are resolved, terrorism will not disappear, but continue to spread.

5. Rising Threat of Nuclear Proliferation

After more than a decade of stagnation, global nuclear arms control has made progress during 2010-2012. Practically speaking, however, these advances are little more than symbolic, as effective non-proliferation remains difficult. Until the security situation improves, awareness of

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the strategic leverage that nuclear weapons can provide will grow. Certain state leaders, especially in the wake of Gaddafi's demise, have a deepening conviction that nuclear weapons are essential to protecting not just their governments but the lives of themselves and their families. Nuclear proliferation will hence escalate.

America has yet to abandon its nuclear deterrence policy. In 2009, when American President Obama took office, he proposed the establishment of 'a world free of nuclear weapons'. By the first half of 2010, nuclear arms control had become a focus of attention of the international community, with the US making a high profile adjustment to its nuclear strategy, the US and Russia signing a new disarmament agreement, and the successful convening of the international nuclear summit and the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference. Yet in the second half of 2010 and early 2011, America had conducted three subcritical nuclear tests, demonstrating that it was not likely to abandon its nuclear deterrence policy, and that the dream of a 'non-nuclear world' was no more than strategic posturing.

The change in America's arms control policy took place in accordance with its new assessment of the international security environment, which observed the major changes in world security since the end of the Cold War. Although the prospect of nuclear war between nuclear powers is almost non-existent, the problem of terrorism by non-state actors is increasingly apparent. Should such actors obtain nuclear weapons, they will not hesitate to deploy them in terrorist attacks. The massive US nuclear stockpile and its nuclear deterrent are completely ineffective against this; it is the greatest threat facing the United States. Only by constructing more effective non-proliferation regimes can the US respond to this threat and prevent terrorist organizations from obtaining nuclear weapons or nuclear material. Fundamentally, America's new disarmament policy has strategic considerations aimed at shifting it away from the Bush administration's eight years

of passive disarmament diplomacy towards a more active approach that can improve America's international image and help it gain moral ground and support. It is also critical to point out that, from a technical standpoint, a shift in America's nuclear strategy will have no impact on its nuclear deterrence. The Bush administration took full advantage of the decade-long intermission in arms control to pour money into research and development of nuclear technology. The US has now upgraded to a new generation of nuclear weapons technology.

During the time the US promoted its 'non-nuclear world', nuclear crises on the Korean peninsula and in Iran continued to pose challenges. Since 2009, when North Korea announced its withdrawal from the Six Party Talks, no progress has been made on the Korean nuclear crisis. With the DPRK leadership transition on the horizon, developing nuclear weapons remains an important bargaining chip with regards to ensuring the stability of the North Korean regime. The nuclear crisis in Iran has similarities. With regards to Iran, the US has maintained its traditional approach of increasing pressure while engaging in dialogue, and will not easily loosen its strict sanctions against Iran. Under such circumstances, the Iranian nuclear crisis has reached a stalemate with no breakthrough on the horizon.

II. Failure of International Institutions and World Turmoil

Although the problems discussed above are in different areas and regions that seem not to relate to one another, it is worth asking why such a concentration of turmoil has appeared over the past several years. The causes have been present throughout many different historical periods. For example, China's border diversities with its neighbours are not new, and neither is the problem of dictators in Arab states. Similarly, American financial institutions have always served the interests of the wealthy, and the European debt crisis has been a problem for several decades. Why is it, though, that 2011 saw so much domestic and international upheaval? Answering this question will uncover the deeper factors underlying global turmoil, and act as the basis for identifying an effective response. Comparing the current international political turmoil with the international context during and immediately after the Cold War illustrates that the international environment has undergone extensive change.

1. International and Domestic Polarization Resulted from Globalization

After the Cold War, the Eastern and Western markets integrated, and the pace of globalization picked up. In the course of this process, major global divisions started to appear that gradually polarized the globe. First were divisions between states. Economic globalization led to the transfer of capital and industry from developed states to developing states and, by virtue of their

low wages, some developing countries have gradually become the factories of the world. The rapid development of their real economies has enabled developing countries to accumulate vast wealth, closing the gap in power and influence between themselves and developed countries. Second were divisions within countries. Under the free market economy, distribution of wealth and economic development within societies has become seriously unbalanced, and polarizing divisions have gradually deepened to the point where social instability has become a critical inhibiting factor in economic development.

This international and domestic polarization is the background against which the present turmoil is unfolding. At the international level, the structural power between states is shifting towards more of a balance. Some developing countries are moving from reliance upon developed countries for economic development to becoming their competitors. As the global economy carries on performing poorly, most of the world's states have started to compete, some even adopting 'beggar thy neighbour' policies such as raising trade barriers, increasing customs tariffs or depreciating their currencies to stimulate exports. These factors make it more difficult for the tightly linked world economy to recover. Within states, seriously unbalanced economic growth has fractured societies. These social fissures constrain the economic recovery of states and make sustainable development difficult to achieve, and also influence the economic development of other states. These social polarizations are also a factor in the eruption of domestic political crises. Large differences within states or regions make it difficult for them to cooperate in response to crises.

2. The World without Effective Leadership

The capability of America's global leadership is in relative decline. Other major powers lack the capacity to compensate for failures in American leadership and have proven incapable of establishing collective leadership structures. None of the present international organizations is capable of providing effective leadership of the international order. The absence of resolve among international political leadership could well be the primary reason for the turmoil overwhelming the world.

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As the international environment has changed, the decline in American power has made it

incapable of providing the international community with necessary public goods. At the end of the Cold War, America was the world's sole hegemonic power. It could use its strong economic, political and military power to maintain its own interests and those of its allies, shape the world order according to its will, and promote American democratic institutions and its liberal market economy. After 9•11 and the ten year-long war against terror had exhausted American leadership, the additional challenge of the financial crisis caused a decline in American power. In the economic, political and security sectors, America is capable only of considering its own interests, and its irresponsible behaviour has damaged the international order.

With respect to the economy, the financial crisis and sovereign debt crisis have destroyed the myth of American economic security. With the economy in disarray, rising unemployment has become a major social problem in the United States. After the financial crisis, the combination of the budget deficit, the savings deficit and the trade deficit constituted a major challenge. The United States has lost its status as the first engine of the world economy. The position of the US dollar as the world's most important reserve currency is declining, undermining the confidence of investors globally and also the ability of the world financial system to restore global economic growth.

As for counterterrorism, the reality that American efforts to battle terrorism have caused it to spread has resulted in a world-wide loss of confidence in the American-led war against terror. Also problematic is that the war on terror has a double standard: America only takes action against organizations that pose a threat to the United States. As a result, although Al Qaeda has been weakened, other terrorist groups have actually expanded. American support for Israel and efforts to block Palestinian statehood make the US the enemy of the entire Islamic world. This US policy is an important reason why terrorism continues to breed. It strengthens anti-American sentiment throughout the Middle East, so creating a long-term threat to regional stability.

The weakening of American leading capability has caused the world to fall into turmoil. At present, however, no other states can replace America and provide global leadership. China continues to follow its foreign policy principles of keeping low profile and developing its domestic capabilities, not taking the lead, not holding up the flag, and not forming alliances. This makes it impossible for China to take on the responsibility of world leadership. The European Union has not been able to recover from its own economic crisis, and now faces the danger of member states exiting the Euro Zone, implying that EU integration has stagnated and now seems to be regressing. As such, the EU is in no position to take on a global leadership role. Outside of America, China and the EU, there appears to be no other potential force for world leadership.

3. Low Consistence between Rights and Responsibilities

Another point relating to the lack of global leadership which could also be an underlying reason for turmoil is the fact that international institutions are not able to adjust to transitions in the international context and international order. If, in the absence of a global leadership, international institutions were to take on more responsibility, they might then be able to maintain

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the international political order. Unfortunately, prevailing international institutions are not able to enact this role, the reason being that although the international environment has undergone tremendous change, the institutions embedded in it are still not able adapt to variations in the power structure. Institutions that cannot properly balance rights and responsibilities are hard-pressed to provide effective leadership. Under the framework of many global and regional international organizations and institutions, conventional great powers insufficient in real power are placed in privileged positions, yet lack the influence necessary to enact their roles.

The classic example of what happens when international institutions are unable to resolve global problems is that of the combination of rapid proliferation of international organizations and institutions and decline in their capacity to resolve problems or alleviate crises. Examples include the World Bank and IMF, who are powerless to help Europe out of its debt crisis, and the UN, which can do nothing to resolve the dispute between Palestine and Israel. After ten years of war on terrorism the world is less secure, and terrorist attacks are on the rise. Rather than attempting to reform these institutions and so expand their capacity to resolve problems, however, the approach has been to create more international institutions equally incapable in this respect. Many such institutions are highly inefficient, or in danger of being little more than official talk-shops. This phenomenon is particularly evident in Asian-Pacific region, where APEC, the ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN+3, the East Asia Summit and the Six Party Talks are all low in effective capacity. The inability of great powers to cooperate and take on responsibility has deprived these institutions of the power to act. If an international institution is to be effective and have the ability to act, great powers within it must be endowed with the highest degree of authority, and at the same time take on more responsibility than members of lesser stature.

With regards to both global security and political affairs, United Nations decision-making bodies are becoming less able to adapt to the crises that the international community faces. Bipolarization has caused divisions between permanent members of the Security Council that hark back to the Cold War period; permanent members step up their use of the veto, making a

consensus among members states voting on any particular issue unlikely. The US, UK and France generally vote together, the UK tending merely to double the weight of American votes. Germany, Japan, Brazil, and India are growingly discontent with the structure of the permanent membership of the Security Council, and keen to reform it. Germany is also extremely dissatisfied with the UK and France for monopolizing control over global security affairs when they are not even capable of taking responsibility in Europe. For this reason, Germany purposely distances itself from France and the UK on a range of international security issues. For example, Germany abstained from voting on the Libya no-fly zone to express a lack of support for US, UK and France policy; nor did Germany participate in military operations in Libya.

As for the international economy, in addition to being incapable of saving the failing European economy, France and the UK have also played a counterproductive role. The UK itself is outside of the Euro Zone, and does not maintain an independent stance on economic and security issues, instead following that of the United States. It played a negligible role in rescuing the European economy. As the largest economy in Europe, Germany is the only state capable of ameliorating the European sovereign debt crisis. France, however, in addition to taking on its share of responsibility for economic leadership in Europe, often makes policy proposals that are at odds with those of Germany. This limits the effectiveness of German influence and leadership in Europe.

With regards to reforms to the World Bank and the IMF, since little heed has been paid to the voice of developing market states it has proven impossible to motivate these countries to participate in global economic affairs. In recent years, the World Bank has increased its lending capital by US\$ 86.2 billion, more than half of which has been provided by developing countries. After the international financial crisis, it was the vibrant economies of China, India and other developing countries that enabled the global economy to avoid further decline. China has already surpassed Japan to become the world's second largest economy. China, Russia, Brazil, and India now account for 42% of foreign reserves (not including gold). The structure of global economic power, however, has not adjusted to these new realities. Voting rights in the IMF are controlled largely by the US, the EU and Japan, China's share previously not even matching that of the Netherlands. America is the largest shareholder in the IMF, with a share of 17.4%, while China's is just 3.72%. In the reforms of November 2010, more than 6 % of shares were transferred to developing economies. Of the BRICs, China ranks third, Russia eighth, India ninth and Brazil tenth. After the April 2010 reforms to the World Bank, China still holds only 4.42% of voting rights, while the US, culprit of the global financial disaster, holds 15.85%.

III. An Even More Tumultuous 2012

This report expects that 2012 will be even more tumultuous than 2011. It will be difficult for the global economy to recover, strategic frictions between major powers will deepen, domestic social turmoil will worsen, and armed conflicts are also likely to grow.

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1. Difficulties Facing World Economic Recovery

Of the world's three largest economies, the American economic recovery is lagging and Europe has fallen into a serious sovereign debt crisis. According to the second quarter report of the U.S. Department of Commerce, the American economy grew 1.3% in the second quarter, less than market expectations. Anticipated growth for the third quarter is not expected to exceed 2%. On August 10, the US Federal Reserve announced that the federal lending rate would remain at the historical low of 0.25%, and that it would purchase more treasury debt in order to maintain the existing bond holdings on its balance sheet. This move was considered as a sign that the US Federal Reserve would implement a new round of monetary expansion, behind which was the Federal Reserve's more pessimistic outlook on the economy. On October 1, the White House Office of Budget and Management issued a report stating that next year's economic growth would be between 2.6% and 3.3%, with unemployment at 8.3% to 9%, and that the US would continue to maintain a high deficit, high unemployment and low growth.

In Europe, the debt crisis, which has deteriorated throughout the year, could well worsen in 2012. As the states in the midst of the crisis are not able to resolve their own problems, its resolution depends largely on the direction and magnitude of assistance efforts from neighbouring countries and institutions. On this issue, European states find it difficult to come together because of factors such as elections and societal forces. As the largest economy in the Euro Zone in terms of GDP, Germany's will and capacity to rescue the states in crisis is critical to advancing beyond the crisis. The German public, however, has little interest in expending massive amounts of money on bailing Greece out. In mid-July, after a heated domestic debate, the German government reluctantly announced that the European Central Bank and the IMF would coordinate to provide Greece with a second round of assistance. Should Italy or other countries be further affected by the debt crisis, however, it is unclear whether or not Germany will continue to provide aid.

2. Growing Friction between Major Powers

2012 will be an election year in the truest sense. The US, Russia, France and South Korea will all hold presidential elections. In China the Communist Party will hold the Eighteenth National People's Congress and select a new central leadership. Next year might also see Japan change its Prime Minister and the DPRK go through a presidential election, and Taiwan will elect a new leader.

In this year of elections, political elites in all countries will pay greater attention to their domestic affairs. There will consequently be fewer foreign state visits, which is disadvantageous to the timely alleviation of conflicts between powers. Political candidates in some countries will try to win votes by

Political candidates in some countries will try to win votes by sacrificing foreign relations, and the hard-line foreign policies that they advocate or carry out may result in greater political tensions between the major powers.

sacrificing foreign relations, and the hard-line foreign policies that they advocate or carry out may result in greater political tensions between the major powers. For example, the US and China may clash over East Asian Security, the value of the RMB, balanced trade, or the level of openness of financial markets. Candidates for the US presidency will certainly attack one another on issues related to economic relations between the US and China. To win a second term, President Obama may well introduce hard-line economic policies towards China, which will have impact on the development of US-China relations.

Russia and the US may clash again over democracy, strategic stability, or Middle Eastern issues. Russia and Europe could have disputes over energy supply and Russia's domestic reforms. Japanese government, to gain the confidence of the people, may continue to take a hard-line policy approach to territorial disputes, which could bring it once more into conflict with China, Russia and Korea. There could also be a rise in tension between China and Japan over history issues. Meanwhile, there is danger that the ROK and DPRK will attack one another politically as they each prepare to change leadership. Finally, should the DPP return to power in Taiwan, it will be difficult to maintain the current level of stability across the Taiwan Strait.

3. Increase in Violent Social Conflicts

The year 2012 might also see violent uprisings and armed conflicts as a result of social turmoil. The more intense the domestic social turmoil, the

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This is precisely what has happened in the Middle East and Northern Africa, where political turmoil provoked an international war (Libyan War) and several serious violent domestic uprisings and armed conflicts (Tunisia, Egypt and Syria), and has yet to end. The Syrian government remains at odds with opposition forces, and there is still a threat of civil war. Since the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime, the Transition Authority continues to struggle against remaining hostile elements and with the distribution of power and the arduous tasks of stabilizing society and rebuilding the economy. Failure to handle these challenges could result in a resumption of civil conflict. Although the situation in Egypt has remained relatively stable since the fall of Mubarak's regime, the difficulty of resolving accumulated contradictions and problems makes this a fragile stability vulnerable to destruction or exploitation. The violent conflict between the Copts and the government that broke out in October is one such example. It implies that Egypt could next year see the eruption of widespread demonstrations leading to violent conflicts between the government and demonstrators or between different political factions.

Moreover, although it is less likely that other states will experience the violent conflict that swept Libya and Syria, there is still the possibility that social contradictions could result in large scale protests culminating in violence. Facing weak economies, high unemployment, and overridden with debt, it is also not inconceivable that developed Western states could experience violent conflict.

IV. International Institutional Reform and China's Role

The international political and economic institutions that the victors of World Wars II established have no self-adjustment mechanism, and as such are unsuited to the current international system. This report proposes that the objective of reforms is to establish new international economic and political institutions with self-adaptability.

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1. Reform Principles for International Institutions

Principle of Consistency between Rights and Responsibilities The membership of leadership structures of international organizations shall, in accordance with changes in power structures, undergo adjustment every five years. In reality, few international organizations maintain a principle of determining rights and responsibilities on the basis of power, the problem being that they lack a mechanism for regular adjustment of leadership. Owing to rapid economic and technological development, the relative power of states changes at a rapidly accelerating pace. If international institutions maintain the trend of not changing their leadership for decades they will find it impossible to keep up with changes in the international distribution of power. Mechanisms that move states that have declined in power out, and growing powers into leadership roles can ensure that international organizations continue to provide effective leadership of the international community.

For example, current proposals for reforms to the UN Security Council include additional members, but none propose shifting members off of the Council. The debate is framed according to which states will become new permanent members of the Security Council – Japan, Germany, Brazil or South Africa. No states appear to have considered which of the current permanent five members should be eliminated. From the end of World War II in 1945 to the present, the international distribution of power has undergone tremendous change, from the bipolar world of the Cold War period to the present uni-polar world with a single hegemonic power. Since the 2008 international financial crisis, China, Russia, India and Brazil and the other BRICs have increased in comprehensive national power, and Europe has continued to decline; certain European countries are sliding once more into debt crises. This being the case, and given the present structural distribution of power, it no longer makes sense for European countries to maintain two permanent seats on the Security Council. At the same time it is reasonable that Germany, as most powerful and influential European state, replace the UK or France on the Security Council. Reforms to the Security Council, therefore, should consider adding to and subtracting from its membership – that is to say, in the process of considering the addition of new seats on the Security Council, consideration should also be given to eliminating certain declining states.

As to international economic organizations, the IMF and the World Bank should establish a mechanism that entails regular redistribution of shares to ensure that membership is adjusted in a timely fashion to reflect position and influence within the international economy. Moreover, the convention whereby Europeans and Americans serve as the leaders of these organizations should be abolished. In the same way that domestic political institutions do not accommodate lifelong leadership tenure, neither should international institutions. As for new international institutions, the G-20 should establish a mechanism that regularly changes and adjusts membership according to

the size of national economies. This would avoid the problems that the IMF has faced. At the same time, the G-20 should establish a tiered leadership of a structure similar to that of the Security Council. The leadership body should be made up of the world's largest economies and give them authority over major international economic affairs, thereby enhancing leadership efficiency.

Principle of Rights According to Issue and Area The adjustment of leadership of international organizations should be based on the objectives that the organization seeks to meet in a particular field or sector and the rights that states have in such field or sector. Organizations in the security, political, economic, cultural, environment and other sectors should determine and adjust their leadership based on different criteria.

This principle of issue, area and influence is indeed a pre-condition to the rights and concomitant responsibility consistent with it. Only when the distribution of power and influence in a particular issue and area is clearly understood can the principle of consistency of rights and responsibility be put into practice.

In the international security sector, as the world's sole superpower with the most powerful military, America should take on the greatest responsibility for maintaining international security. Sitting idly by as the Middle East and Northern Africa fall into turmoil constitutes dereliction of duty. As the second largest military power, Russia should join the US in taking primary responsibility on international disarmament issues.

As to the international economy, America, the European Union and China are the world's largest economies, while Brazil, India and other emerging economies are developing at a rapid pace. China's voting rights in the IMF and World Bank do not correlate with its position in the world economy. Brazil, India and other emerging economies, meanwhile, have a smaller share of voting rights than do small and medium sized European countries. This makes it impossible for them to reflect their power and position within the international economy.

Principle of Regional Priority Reforms in international institutions must give precedence to regional institutions when resolving problems. The majority of international conflicts occur within a particular region. If regional institutions are able to resolve the conflict, therefore, external forces and global international institutions need not get involved. This will help regional institutions play more of a role and prevent disputes from provoking broader international conflicts, and hence reduce conflicts between global powers. For this reason, as global international organizations are reformed, consideration should be given to their relationships with regional organizations, to whom more authority and support in resolving problems should be given.

With respect to Libya, had the United States and Western states allowed the Arab League or the Organization of African Unity to play a greater role, the Libyan War might have been avoided. With regards to Syria, all parties should allow the Arab League to play a greater role. ASEAN should play a role in terms of preventative diplomacy in the Cambodia-Thai border conflict, and Thailand and Cambodia should have greater confidence in ASEAN's ability to mediate.

Principle of Gradual Reform A significant reason for the current international and domestic turmoil is that the pace of global change has accelerated since the 2008 financial crisis, to the extent that certain states have lost control. The institutional reforms proposed in this report cannot be implemented in the short term. In fact, should the pace of reforms be too rapid, they might engender still more conflicts and crisis. Based on the experiences of China's reform and opening-up over the past thirty years, reforms in international institutions must take place gradually and in stages.

2. China's Role in Rebuilding the International Order

As the world's second largest economic power and a rapidly rising state, China should play an adequate role in the reform of international institutions that is consistent with its global status. China

As the world's second largest economic power and a rapidly rising state, China should play an adequate role in the reform of international institutions that is consistent with its global status. China should adjust its foreign principles and propose reforms of international institutes for a stable international order.

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that China should actively live up to international responsibility, and "China has actively participated in reforming international systems, formulating international rules and addressing global issues. It supports the development of other developing countries, and works to safeguard world peace and stability...China will assume more international responsibility as its comprehensive strength increases." As a world power, China should not adopt neutrality or fail to adopt a policy.

China should promote the 'Principle of Consistency of Rights and Responsibilities' as the overarching principle in reforms to international institutions, and increasing efficiency as the direction of reforms. The white paper, China's Peaceful

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Development states: "As countries vary in national conditions and are in different stages of development, they should match responsibility with rights in accordance with their national strength. They should play a constructive role by fulfilling their due international responsibility in accordance with their own capability and on the basis of aligning their own interests with the common interests of mankind." China should advocate that states shoulder responsibility and enjoy rights in each area or sector, on the basis of the distribution of power in that particular area or sector. China does not exclude states that are more powerful than it is itself in certain areas from taking on leadership positions there. At the same time, China should shoulder more international responsibility in areas where it has an advantage.

China should promote the principle of internal–external cooperation in alleviating turmoil. When a state experiences domestic political turmoil, the principle of international cooperation should be that of how to encourage this state to achieve political reconciliation through internal reform,

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and should not undertake policy that provides military support to the state's opposition parties in order to overthrow the ruling authorities. Such an act will only intensify conflict, provoke an armed conflict or even civil war or international war. With respect to Syria, if the international community can follow the suggestions of China and Russia and oppose interference by external forces which might cause another war, while encouraging the Syrian government to step up the pace of reforms and support the progress of negotiations and reconciliation between opposing parties, the situation in Syria will be likely to improve.

China should promote the principle of prevention of politicization of economic conflicts. Under the influence of the global financial crisis, economic conflicts of interest between states are on the rise, and if economic conflicts are made political, or if ideologically-based accusations

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are tacked on to economic conflicts, the outcome will be a worsening of international conflict. To prevent intensification of conflicts between states, all sides should maintain the principle of open discussions and reduce accusations based on ideological differences. As ideology involves beliefs,

accusations of this nature will not change the other party's beliefs, and only intensify emotional differences.

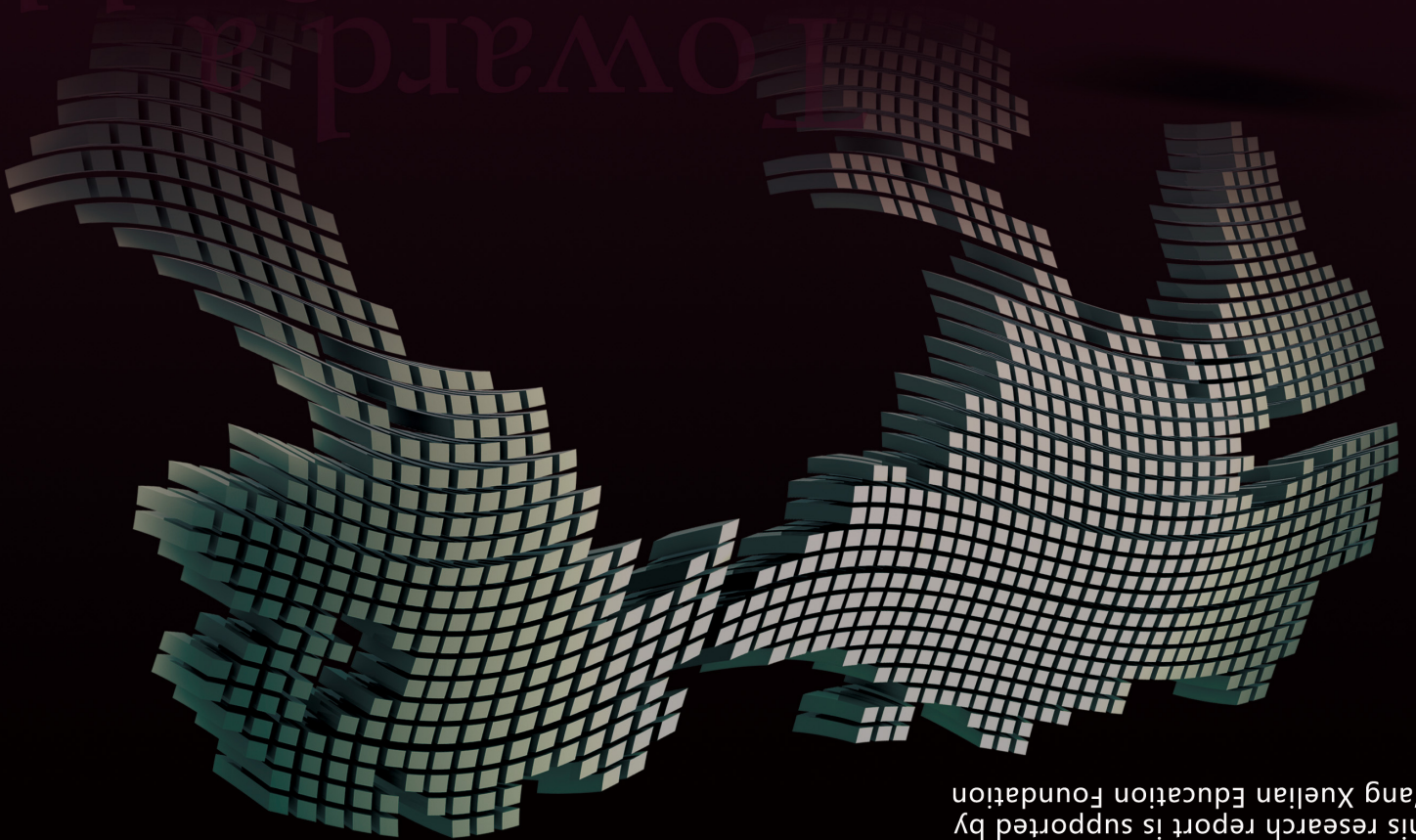
V. Conclusion

The international turmoil in 2011 implies a new change of the international configuration and a possible bipolarization from the current American dominated uni-polar world. The international turmoil that has accompanied with requires that we need new proposals for the reform of international institutions. In order

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