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Theories and trends

The Origin, Logic and Dilemma of the Western Liberal Internationalist Ideological Tradition

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Abstract: As the mainstream Western ideological tradition, liberal internationalism has always been an important ideological factor influencing and shaping the modern international order. Throughout history, the liberal internationalist ideological tradition has roughly gone through three stages of development: In the Age of Enlightenment, with Gregorian Thinkers represented by Sius, Cleosi and Kant systematically proposed the propositions of "international legal peace", "commercial peace" and "republican peace". The theoretical framework of liberal internationalism was initially formed. In the 19th century, liberalism The combination of ideas and British hegemony gave birth to classical liberal internationalism in the field of international politics. From the end of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century, taking the opportunity of the two Hague International Peace Conferences, especially the reflection on the outbreak of "World War I", classical (moral)) liberal internationalism is accelerating its transformation into modern (institutional) liberal internationalism, and the basic pattern of Western liberal internationalist thought is becoming finalized. The ideological tradition of liberal internationalism contains reasonable elements such as rationality, cooperation, collective security, and multilateralism. It is playing an important role in promoting international development. It is of progressive significance in terms of democratizing and institutionalizing relations and maintaining the openness of the international system. At the same time, in the balance of sovereignty and human rights values, US and Western centralism are entangled with universal multilateralism. Universalism and rationality in international relations There are also paradoxical dilemmas that are difficult to resolve in terms of reconciling socialism, peaceful demands and elite orientation with nationalism, imperialism, war conflicts and mass political factors.

Keywords: liberal internationalism, international security, multilateralism, ideology and moral system.

As a mainstream international relations ideological tradition with its own ideological value, practical implications and development pedigree, it has adapted, matched and even led the process of rationalization, organization and institutionalization of international relations in modern times, and has given purpose to the evolution of international politics. "Internationalism" in the Western academic context and "liberal internationalism" as its mainstream form are not only as old as the sovereignty-nation-state system itself, but also have a profound influence on the evolution of modern world politics and international order. ÿ Given that Western liberal countries represented by Britain and the United States occupy a core and dominant position in the modern international system, the ideological tradition of liberal internationalism has inevitably become a powerful ideological force in modern political life. In this sense, sorting out and analyzing its historical origins, development context and practical impact is equivalent to touching the core of world history and international political processes.ÿ

Although "liberal internationalism" has become a widely used conceptual term in the Western academic context, unfortunately there is no authoritative definition recognized by academic circles so far. This is because liberal internationalism can be regarded as both a political and economic term. A specialized part of "liberalism" (philosophy), it can also be seen as a special branch of "internationalism" (as diplomatic thought). In addition, scholars use concepts such as "liberal internationalism" and "internationalism" There is no strict distinction at the time, and the latter is more difficult to define. ÿ In a broad sense, "internationalism" can be understood as a conceptual form that handles foreign relations in a way that transcends the politics of a single sovereign state. In other words, it is different from the strict "internationalism" The logic of "reasons of state" (raison d'etat) is mutually incompatible. As a long-standing ideological tradition of international relations, "internationalism" itself includes "conservative internationalism", "liberal internationalism" and "social internationalism".

ÿ   In this article, unless otherwise specified, the term "internationalism" refers to "liberal internationalism" and is used

ÿ   interchangeably. In essence, liberal internationalism captures the tension between the domestic and international spheres and provides a The two thinking frameworks placed under the same background thus constitute a possible solution that goes beyond the logic of realism: it assumes that the anarchy, power competition, and insecurity that exist in international politics can be solved by implanting them in the international field. A set of institutional arrangements between countries to alleviate. See Theodore Christovÿ "Liberal Internation alism Revisted: Grotiusÿ Vatteÿ and the Int ernational Order of States" in The European Le gacyÿ Vol 10ÿ No 6ÿ 2005ÿ pp 561 - 562ÿ [US] Written by Henry Kissinger Translated by Hu Liping: «World Order», Beijing: CITIC Press, 2015, pp. 16-18. Despite this, the concept of "liberal internationalism" has entered the academic field relatively recently. It is generally believed that foreign countries, especially The wave of systematic research on the liberal internationalist order and its ideological system in American academic circles roughly began after the end of the "Cold War" in the 1990s. At that time, scholars developed the concept of "liberal internationalism" to describe an approach that emphasized international systems and networks. rather than an approach to foreign relations that plays into the role of major sovereign states. See David Petruccelliÿ "The Crisis of Liber. al Internationalism: The Legacies of the Leagu e of ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ d History

ÿ   It has been argued that the concept of "internationalism" has always been controversial, and that any attempt to exhaust the scope and breadth of its meaning would be a difficult intellectual task. See Theodore Christov, "Liberal I" Internationalism Revised: Grotiusÿ Vatteÿ a ÿ nd the International Order of States"ÿ in The European Legacy Vol 10 ÿÿ 6ÿ 2005ÿ p 562

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Therefore, in this sense , "liberal internationalism" can be regarded as a subordinate concept of "internationalism". However, "liberal internationalism" can also be regarded as a specialized part of "liberalism". It is composed of a number of political concepts in the set of liberal principles that have an international dimension or have an impact on international affairs. Going further, if "internationalism" can be regarded as one of the few analytical and normative categories in international relations, "Grand theory" and "liberal internationalism" can also be cross-perspective from the analytical and normative dimensions: the analytical dimension refers to a conceptual form of a country's implementation of its foreign relations agenda through institutionalized multilateral cooperation. The normative dimension is rooted in The core of the doctrine of individual natural rights proposed in the European Enlightenment is the "ideal" ambition of an international society that is sustained by common values, common interests and institutional ties and has a certain "liberal" orientation.ÿ

The historical origins, evolution and logic of liberal internationalism

Historically, as an extension and application of liberalism in the field of international relations, the ideological tradition of liberal internationalism has shown a high degree of adaptability and developed diversified connotations by responding to different historical conditions. However, it should also be noted that although liberal internationalism has The specific connotation of doctrine has always been rich and diverse and varies with time. As a mainstream international relations ideological tradition with unique discourse characteristics, it

always has the same spiritual essence. (1)

Early origins: ideological preparation in the history of Western spirituality, The simple internationalist thought of pursuing the ideal of "human unity" and establishing a federation of countries to maintain peace can be traced back to the ancient Greek and Roman periods. For example, the Stoic philosophers of ancient Greece proposed that "human beings are rational animals and have the capacity to be the 'master of the world'." "Universal Rights of State Citizens", and also explored concepts such as "human rights", "equality" and "global citizenship" from the perspective of human rationality and natural law, and discussed how to build a unified "human community". ÿ In the Middle Ages, due to the dominance of Christian theology, a "Christian republic" that included all mankind was established to

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The concept of maintaining world peace is equally strong. 1. Since the Renaissance, support for the "Peace Alliance" plan among countries has gradually increased. However, this idea was more regarded as a utopia or a nostalgic complex at the time and was rejected. 2 In short , Limited by the times and material conditions, most of these sporadic early discussions stayed at the stage of speculation and fantasy among philosophers. It was not and could not form an "internationalist" ideological system in the modern sense. Starting

from the late Middle Ages, the field of social thought in Europe emerged. There are some trends worthy of attention. On the one hand, along with the disintegration of the unified theocracy in the Middle Ages was the rise of secular monarchy in Europe, which also gave rise to the awakening of the consciousness of various nationalities. Thinkers represented by Machiavelli and Jean Bodin transcended the Middle Ages. The ruler's imagination of the country forms the perception of the country as a legal entity and an impersonal "res public" - the country can best represent the unified government and people as a "sovereign". Territorial union and strive to achieve its goals within the "inter-state framework", whereby the specific interests of the country transcend the general concepts of natural law and divine law and become the standard and guide for action. On the other hand, some with liberal tendencies Intellectuals are increasingly emphasizing on exploring the construction of inter-state order from the rational and natural laws of human beings. As a result, the ideological tradition of modern liberal internationalism has ushered in its true budding period. ÿ It is

generally believed that the origin of modern liberal internationalism can be traced back to It was found in the disintegration of Christendom in the late Middle Ages and the opening of space for European merchants and the emerging bourgeoisie to pursue secular interests. Initially, such a common discourse found expression in the text "Law of Nations" written by European legal philosophers. way. They believe that individuals can pursue their own rational interests through secular means such as trade, discovery, and obtaining legal ownership, thereby promoting peace and harmony. In the context of the protracted and brutal religious jihad ("30 Years War") in Europe in the 17th century, The task of constructing the rules and institutions of the new European system in that era was to standardize patterns of cooperation and competition so that emerging sovereign states could be independent of external politic

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ÿ　　A Mansfield Universal Peace and Free Trade"ÿ in Journal of Interdisciplinary History of Ideasÿ Vol 2ÿ No ÿÿ 2013ÿ ÿ 2 ÿ Mansfield née' (1623) ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ of Interdisciplinary History of Ideasÿ Vol 2ÿ No. 4ÿ 2013ÿ p 3ÿ

ÿ　　[Added] Written by Cox, translated by Lin Hua: «Production, Power and World Order: The Role of Social Forces in Making History »ÿ Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 2004, page 77.

ÿ　　In early modern times, the concept of the civilized world as an interconnected whole has been directly or implicitly discussed by European intellectual circles. The 16th-century Spanish neo-scholastic theologian Suarez believed that although each country is an independent and complete political unit, they are all It requires other countries to provide material assistance and moral friendship. Therefore, the country is only a member of the "universal society with quasi-political and moral attributes", which forms the basis for the establishment of international law. See Martin Wight, Internati onal theory : The Three Traditionsÿ New York: Holmes & Meier ÿ 1992ÿ p 39

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Although there are these ideological preparations, the core proposition of liberal internationalism can only be realized when the social conditions such as the occurrence of the European Industrial Revolution and the formation of the global capitalist system are met. Systematically proposed by Enlightenment philosophers

(2) The Age of Enlightenment: Brilliant Creation

The Enlightenment roughly originated in England in the 1780s and flourished in France in the 18th century. The core theme was to promote human rationality. The overall characteristics of the international political field during this period were: First, the «Peace of Westphalia» The establishment of the modern sovereign state system marked the overall decline of the Roman Empire and the Papacy that ruled Europe in the Middle Ages. With the development of the capitalist mode of production and the opening of new shipping routes, early colonial plunder and the rapid development of transatlantic trade, the world market has The prototype has already emergedÿ Second, as a natural result of historical development, a middle class (bourgeoisie) has emerged whose tentacles and interests cross national boundaries and considers itself "representative of the interests of the whole people" - "Because the middle class realizes that it is a world Sexual class, its liberal political blueprint has encompassed the entire world from the beginning."ÿ

The Age of Enlightenment was a period of great achievements in modern natural science represented by Newtonian classical mechanics. The Enlightenment was characterized by a great belief in human beings' ability to understand the world, grasp its laws and basic principles, predict its future, and work for the benefit of mankind. Controlling its power. It is precisely because they saw the power of reason and the infinite potential of human beings that most Enlightenment thinkers optimistically believed that "rationality" can make people realize that the long-term interests of the country do not need to rely on threats of force and war, but rely on international cooperation. ÿ If human beings learn to use their own reason, a rational and scientific international order marked by "peace" and "progress" will come. In addition, even if thinkers such as John Locke and Grotius admit that the international society is in a state of anarchy, But they do not see it as the desperate and terrifying state of war described by Hobbes. Instead, they believe that reason can lead to the creation of contracts and laws, and then establish a rule-based and orderly society.

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ÿ   Micheline R Ishayÿ Internationalism and Its ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ pp 1 - 69ÿ Tim Dune and Matt McDonaldÿ "The Poli" tics of Liberal Interna ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ 1ÿ 2013ÿ ÿ 6 Editor-in-chief Shen Han: «History of Capitalism: From the World System formation to economic globalization»

Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House, 2008, ÿ Pages 25-26 [US] Written by Immanuel Wallerstein, translated by Luo Rongqu and

others: «Modern World System» (Volume 1), Beijing: Higher Education Press , 1998, pp. 466 - 477, [Austria] Written by Ludwig von Mises, translated by Han Guangming and others: "The Kingdom of Freedom and Prosperity", Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House Society, 2009, page 135. Jeremy Waldron

ÿ   "Theoretical Found ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ The French thinker Rousseau is the main spokesperson of this idea. He believes that human beings Ability to fully understand social reality ÿ On the basis of using reason to grasp the social structure and the basic laws of one's own nature, one can then control the destiny of oneself and the surrounding environment. See [Norwegian] Knuchen's work, translated by Yu Wanli: "Introduction to the History of International Relations Theory", Tianjin: Tianjin People's Publisher, 2005, page 132.

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In the intellectual history of internationalism, the Age of Enlightenment is an important and glorious creative stage. Specifically, during this period, especially after entering the 18th century, with the consolidation of the status of sovereign states and the beginning of the international public sphere that transcended territorial states, As the theoretical spokesperson of the emerging capitalist middle class under the suppression of aristocracy and royal power, some liberal-leaning thinkers began to turn their attention to relatively disordered international relations and tried to introduce a certain degree of order into the anarchic national system. ÿÿ It was under such conditions and background that the formation and development of the liberal internationalist ideological tradition ushered in a golden period. Enlightenment thinkers represented by Grotius, Cliosy and Kant expressed their views on war and war in human affairs. He conducted in-depth thinking on the issue of peace and systematically put forward the theories of "international legal peace", "commerce and trade peace" and "republican peace" on the basis of rationalism.

Propositionÿ

1 The Theory of Peace under the Rule of International Law. Grotius, the father of modern international law and the Dutch legal philosopher, is the master of this intellectual tradition. His theory is based on natural law, and natural law is considered to be universal and embodies correct rationality. Requirements and justice bind both individuals and countries. ÿ It is generally believed that the main line of Grotius's international political thought is the rationalist "dualism": on the one hand, he admitted that the international system in the 17th century was a system dominated by states. States The relationship between them is anarchic. On the other hand, he also recognizes the rational characteristics of the state, and believes that international law and international norms can help create an orderly international society. Generally speaking, Grotius's doctrine is about natural rights. and a moral theory of war: recognizing the ubiquitous sociality of human beings, which can be applied to individuals and nations through positive lawÿ. In addition, it captures the "progressivity" of history in that it replaces the medieval conception of the world with the sociality of a community of independent states. unity, and envisions all states operating within the bounds of international law based on contract and justice, which will regulate war even without guaranteeing peace. ÿ Grotius's historical contribution is mainly in the field of ethics and norms: " via The idea of "peace through international rule of law" means that disputes and conflicts between countries can be resolved based on rights rather than force in international relations. This kind of peace through

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This is the first time in history that the idea has been formally proposed.

2. Commerce, Trade and Peace. Also in the 17th century, as time went by, people began to

Weary of war and increasingly aware of the potential benefits of peace to business, a new peace was born

Plan: Use free trade as a medium to curb war tendencies by nurturing and consolidating interdependence between countries

Toward. In this regard, the French thinker Emeric Clercius was not only the first to think from a liberal perspective

The person who thought about international relations was also the first modern person to advocate the interdependence of trade between two countries to achieve peace.

Example ÿAccording to Cleosi and others: Free trade is the key to human progress. Mercantilism

and territorial expansion were abandoned in the process, as they constituted an important obstacle to commercial cooperation, human progress and permanent peace.

obstacles to peace. Therefore, international cooperation is achieved through materialistic considerations in the absence of war.

This provided an advanced and novel method that transcended religion to solve the problems of that era.ÿ

To put it simply, the core of the peace theory of commerce and trade is that economic exchanges, as a means of interaction, can not only

By changing the country's warlike behavioral tendencies, it can also create interdependence and common interests, which in turn can

"Lock" the state of peace between countries and ultimately realize the virtuous cycle and positive relationship between peace and prosperity.

To encourage. This marks a huge ideological progress: in the traditional economic view, land is wealth.

The basic source of wealth, wealth is accumulated through power, while in the new enlightened view, trade promotes prosperity

Rong ÿ encouraged "the rise of politeness and learning" and produced "politeness's destructive bias" , eliminates "destructive bias"

customs" ÿÿ

3. Republican Peace Theory. Compared with other thinkers of his time, Kant elaborated on his own theory in a more profound way.

Based on the concept of internationalism, that is, countries form a "peaceful union" in their appeal for cosmopolitan rights.

The goal of such a rational alliance is not just to end a war or establish a peace treaty, but also to

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ÿ　　In his book Neosini published in 1623, Cleopatra rejected traditional theological concerns about "atheism" or "heresy."
not as the starting point of the argument, but advocates the eradication of "inhumanity", which is the root of all evil. War is an extreme manifestation of "inhumanity"
This led him to advocate a novel and positive way of human action-peace driven by material interests, which was different from the traditional path of relying on balance of power and treaties.
The diameter is in contrast. See A Mansfield's "Émeric Crucé's 'Nouveau Cynée' (162 3)ÿUniversal Peace and Free
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In fact, republican peace theory became a very common theoretical proposition in Kant's era. For example, Montesquieu claimed that war
Related to the type of regime, he wrote: "The spirit of monarchy is war and expansion, the spirit of republic is peace and temperance." British Majesty
William Goodwin proposed that "when democracy becomes simple and unbreakable, war will become increasingly far away from the habits of the people", and when two peoples
When the main countries share a border, the peaceful character of democracy becomes very obvious. See [Norwegian] Knuchen's work, translated by Yu Wanli:
"Introduction to the History of International Relations Theory", Tianjin: Tianjin People's Publishing House, 2005, pp. 126-127.

The purpose is to establish an "international state" (civitas gentium) to eliminate the conditions for future warsÿ. In the peace alliance composed of republican countries, the reason why countries have to put their own interests under the norms of international law is rooted in their rational insight. and citizens' moral commitment to the human community. In essence, compared with autocratic regimes, republican countries have a natural tendency towards peace. This is because, under a republican system, the government effectively represents the people, and the people themselves are the legislators or sovereigns. Therefore, The interests of the people and the interests of the country are highly overlapped - "If a war is to be launched under a republican system, the opinions of all citizens must be consulted. The most natural situation is that they will be abnormal when announcing the start of a disastrous war. Be cautious, because if you decide to participate in a war rashly, you will have to bear all the consequences of the war." However, although republican countries are more inclined to peace, they were in the minority at the time. This raises a question: How is permanent peace in the world possible? In this regard, his argument is: First of all, republican countries implement representative democracy in the form of government, and the government management process implements decentralization and checks and balances, and citizens are absolutely equal in law. Therefore, republican countries are more likely to be peaceful. Coexistence ÿÿ Secondly, "If a strong and enlightened people are fortunate enough to form a republic (which is naturally inclined to pursue permanent peace) this will set an example for alliance groups in other countries. These alliances will unite with the former, thereby ensuring in accordance with international rights The freedom of each country, and then the whole will continue to expand through a series of similar alliances." ÿ Finally, natural law determines that human beings will eventually "gradually move towards a system of power combination, a world-wide political security system" through rational thinking. "a perf Citizen-like Alliance"ÿÿ

ÿ   Theodore Christovÿ "Liberal Internationalis mRevisited: Grotius ional Order of States"ÿ in The European Legacy ÿ Vol 10, No 6, 2005, p 562 Kant's internationalist thoughts are complex and subtle. He admits that Hobbes's description of the "state of nature" is Correct, that is, it is a "lawless state" in which each individual relies on his own strength and the rights of the strong prevail - essentially a state of war, even if in fact there is no real war and continuous war actual attacks (hostilities), but it believes that this state of nature of "war of all against all" lacks legitimacy. The moral responsibility of people and countries is to transcend the state of nature and enter a state defined by "rights" and "public law" civil society. See [US] Richard Tucker, translated by Luo Jiong and others: "The Right to War and Peace: Political Thought and International Order from Grotius to Kant", Nanjing: Yilin Publishing House, 2009 Year, pages 248-251.

Li Shaojun et al.: «International System: Theoretical Explanations, Empirical Facts and Strategic Enlightenments», Beijing: China Social Sciences

Press, ÿ 2012, page 88, ÿ Hans Reiss (ed), Kant 's Political Writing UniversityPressÿ 1991ÿpp 99 -
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ÿ   Hans Reiss (ed) Kant's Political Writings w York: Cambridge University Pressÿ 1991 p 104ÿ [US] Richard Tucker, translated by Luo Jiong and others: «The Right to War and Peace: From Grotius to Kant Political Thought and International Order» Nanjing: Yilin Publishing House, 2009, Page 265

ÿ   [US] Written by Henry Kissinger, translated by Hu Liping: "World Order", Beijing: CITIC Publishing House, 2015, pp. 25-26.

was always involved in an unequal and obviously inhumane international politics. In short, through closer integration with British liberal hegemony, the basic appearance and spiritual essence of liberal internationalist thought during this period were greatly different from those in the past. Same

At the practical level, the basic contents of the development of Western internationalist thought in the late 18th century, especially in the first half of the 19th century, include: the "European coordination" mechanism that transcended the political logic of the balance of power in the 18th century and embodied the prototype of the principle of collective security began to emerge and was implemented in the diplomatic practice of great powers. The open free trade system with the meaning of "commercial-economic internationalism" has begun to emerge, replacing the traditional exclusive mercantilist economic policy and gradually occupying a dominant position. As the leading liberal country, the United Kingdom in the 19th century began to promote the gold standard and maritime navigation. freedom and other international institutions. These designs and arrangements constituted an important part of the early liberal international orderÿ. As the social carrier and driving force of internationalist thought, the international peace movement gradually entered the historical stage, etc.

As the development of classical liberal international political thought The pinnacle and most typical embodiment of liberal internationalism in the 19th century, the basic characteristics of liberal internationalism in the 19th century are: It assumes that the negative significance of international anarchy is limited, and the bonds of communication between countries (including the common interests, common values and common norms of all countries) It not only ensures the stability of international relations, but also ensures the harmonious nature of international society. In addition, it is consistent with classical

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ÿ   [US] Written by Jennifer Pitts, translated by Jin Yi et al.: "Turn to Empire: The Rise of British and French Imperialist Liberalism", Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 2012, Page 3, Page 30, Page 357, " The "Coordination of Europe" is an "unprecedented phenomenon

ÿ   in world history." Indeed, the "Coordination of Europe" created by the Vienna Peace Conference in 1815 is completely different from the balance of power in the 18th century in both spirit and mode of operation. Through a new law - The constraints of institutional arrangements and moral principles essentially transcend the logic of the old European balance-of-power politics, thus constituting a "systemic change" at the structural level of international relations. Not only that, "European coordination" can also "substantively alleviate security issues." Dilemma", thus providing "an attractive alternative to equilibrium under anarchy". See Paul W. Schoeder's "The 19th - Century" International System: Changes in the Structure e" 1986ÿ pp 1 - 26ÿ Charles A Kupchan and Clifford A Kupchanÿ "Concertsÿ Collective Security and the Future of Europe" in International Securi tyÿ Vol 16ÿ No 1ÿ Summer 1991ÿ pp 130 - 143ÿ F H Hinsle yÿ Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Pr action in the History of Relations between the States and the Cam bridge: Cambridge University Press 1967 pp 13 - 106ÿ [English] Written by Mazoor, translated by Hu Xiaojiao and others: «Who will dominate the world: The ideas and power that dominate the world», Beijing: CITIC Publishing House, 2015 ÿ Page 4. In addition, the European Coordination was also a precursor to more mature international organizations: "The mechanisms of the Conference of the Great Powers are executive, legislative and conciliatory. It takes executive action and sometimes orders the armed forces to produce certain results. It is legislative, because It issued statements on general questions of international law and was sometimes a judge of conflicts of interest between its own members or other states. In all these functions it presaged becoming part of the mechanism of the League of Nations." In short, the "European Harmonization" fact It has assumed the function of comprehensively regulating relations among (European) countries. However, its actual operation is mainly carried out in the form of irregular meetings held by major powers. However, the meetings themselves are often passive responses to major events rather than early prevention. This This shows that its organization and institutionalization of conference diplomacy are seriously insufficient, and it lacks consistent principles of action and a clear sense of direction. See David Kennedy's "The Move to Inst" ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ in ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ ÿ 858ÿ Lorimer James of the Law of Natures: A Treatise of the Jural Relations of Separate Political Communities Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons 1884ÿ p p 175 - 275

ÿ   Da Wei: "The way forward for the "liberal international order" and China's strategic opportunity period", published in "Global Order", Issue 1, 2018, page 93.

Consistent with the characteristics of the times carried by liberal thought, the liberal internationalist thought of the 19th century was largely based on laissez-faire as its basic concept, and particularly emphasized the tendency that a world with minimal or no intervention would itself Toward order. ÿ In addition, there have

been some noteworthy changes in the deep ideological tendencies of society. First of all, the static world view of the 18th century (the mechanistic concept of spatial symmetry) was replaced by the dynamic worldview of the 19th century (organic, existing in Secondly, the liberalism that began to rise and became popular in the 19th century no longer appealed to public spirit and virtue like early republicanism, but turned to relying on mechanisms as a way to obtain freedom and happiness. This is inevitable It will have a profound impact on the evolution direction of the future international order. Once again, the internationalist trend of thought experienced an important "practical turn" during this period: the theoretical mission of the thinkers in the Enlightenment era was to demonstrate the natural harmony of interests among national actors. The task of human beings is only to use their natural rationality to "discover" this natural harmonious relationship, while the internationalist thinkers in the early 19th century paid more attention to "realizing" this harmony through the improvement and improvement of subject consciousness. Finally, in the pursuit of international In terms of specific ways and means of peace, unlike Enlightenment thinkers who mainly appealed to transcendental and static factors such as human rationality and republicanism, theorists in the 19th century placed more emphasis on realistic initiatives such as free trade, universal disarmament, international arbitration and international justice. Factor ÿÿ

(4) The end of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century: The pattern was finalized

in the history of the development of international thought. This was the most decisive stage of transition and transformation from classical "moral" liberal internationalism to modern "institutional" liberal internationalism. Up to this point ÿ The basic pattern of liberal internationalism as a tradition of international relations thought has been roughly finalized. The overall background and basic outline that influenced the development and transformation of internationalist thought during this period are: the completion of the international division of labor, the world market and the world

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ÿ　　Shen Qiuhuan: "Gladstone's Liberal International Political Thought and Practice" Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2012, pp. 206-207 ÿ [Norwegian]

Knucheng, translated by Yu Wanli: «Introduction to the History of International Relations Theory»ÿ Tianjin: Tianjin People's Publishing House, 2005,

page 148ÿ ÿ: «Republican Liberalism»ÿ Editor-in-Chief Qin Yaqing: «Rationality and International Cooperation: Research on Liberal International Relations Theory»ÿ Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 2008, p. 114.

ÿ　　The introduction of Bentham's utilitarian philosophy is an important symbol of the transformation of this ideological trend: it not only emphasizes the natural harmonious relationship of interests between national actors, but also emphasizes the control and guidance of the behavior of international actors through superb systems (legislation). To enhance this harmony. Bentham's excellence is also that for the first time from a utilitarian perspective, he systematically proposed the theoretical concept of comprehensively transforming the international system with the principles of international organizations and collective security. In addition, roughly starting from Bentham's era, the West, especially British liberal internationalism has gradually gotten rid of the metaphysical theoretical speculation in the past, and instead emphasizes active intervention and participation in real international political life. See F H Hinsley Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations between Statesÿ Cambridge: Cambo Ridge University Press, 1967, p 82, Shen Qiuhuan: «Gladstone Liberal International Political Thought and Practice», Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2 2012, pages 55-56, [Moved] Written by Knuchen, translated by Yu Wanli: "Introduction to the History of International Relations Theory", Tianjin: Tianjin People's Publishing House, 2005, pp. 155-157.

The emergence of the monetary system and the establishment of the colonial system marked the basic formation of the world political and economic

systemÿ. With the "old" liberalism that emphasized individual action and belief in laissez-faire philosophy, the "old" liberalism focused on collective

action and advocated the realization of positive freedom through government intervention. The transformation of "new" liberalism, correspondingly,

liberal internationalism has also transformed from classical "moral" internationalism advocating the principles of laissez-faire and non-intervention to

modern "institutional" internationalism with the core of creating universal international organizations.ÿ

Changes in the field of international relations practice are also far-reaching: starting from the mid-19th century, influenced by the

modernization process, especially the second industrial revolution, the connections and interdependence between countries have further

strengthened, and the endogenous driving force and strengthening mechanism of globalization have accelerated. ÿ The modern Westphalian

"coexistence international system" that originated in the 17th century began to transform into the modern "cooperative international system". ÿ This created a

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ÿ   Pan Zhongqi, author: «World Order: Structure, Mechanism and Model», Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2004, page 21. After the outbreak of World

ÿ   War I, US President Woodrow Wilson expressed this idea in the most concise language: The new peace must be "organized peace". In the words of the young and talented

writer Walter Lippmann at the time, it means replacing "drift" with "control". In 1917, the American sociologist Cooley wrote in "International Relations" The article "Social Control in Social

Control" points out: "The world is becoming a grander and higher-level organization, and it now demands to be expressed in the international field." In short, peace must be "established"

artificially and cannot be achieved "naturally". From the perspective of the overall intellectual background of the development of Western thought, as the previous classical rationalist philosophy

with deterministic connotations gradually declined, the (modern) post-rationalist philosophy that emphasized the subject's will and its initiative gained a dominant position. Correspondingly,

Geographically, classical "moral" internationalism has also accelerated its transformation into modern "institutional" internationalism. Classical "moral" internationalists hold a relatively optimistic

view of human nature, emphasizing international consciousness such as morality or rationality, which can transform international relations in a positive direction. The most critical medium or

driving force, this consciousness itself can guarantee the progress, order and continuity of international relations. At the epistemological level, based on the metaphysical natural law tradition,

it emphasizes the universal applicability of absolute ethical principles beyond specific time and space conditions. On the contrary ÿ Modern "system" internationalist thought has a relatively

neutral and objective view of human nature - under the constraints of rationality and institutions, the good side of human nature can be cultivated and displayed. At the same time, its contribution

to the progress of international relations is no longer simple. It is placed on the organic improvement of human morality and rationality, but focuses more on guiding and shaping national

behavior through the construction of international institutions. In terms of ideological methods, more emphasis is placed on relying on the "historical-social" scenario analysis perspective to

target situations under specific time and space conditions. The outbreak of World War I forced internationalists to face the objective reality of international anarchy and the unreliability of human

nature itself, thus accelerating the transformation of Western internationalist thought from the previous focus on "human nature" and "morality" The trend of shifting to focus on the fields of

"institution" and "function" has established the basic theoretical characteristics of modern liberal internationalist political thought. J W Burrowÿ The Crisis of Reason: European Thoughtÿ 1848

- 1914ÿ New Haven: Yale Un iversity Pressÿ 1999ÿ pp 52 - 67ÿ cks in ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿof ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ of the History of Ideas Vol 44ÿ No 3ÿ 1983ÿ pp 4 55 - 475ÿ Casper Sylvestÿ "Continuity

and Chang" e in ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ 30", in Review of International Studies April 2005ÿpp 263-283ÿCornelia Navari t Illusion Revised: The International Theor y of ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ in ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ

ÿ l Studies erLippmanÿ Drift and Mastery: An ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ork: Mitchell Kennerley ooleyÿ "Social Control in International Relat ions"ÿ in Publications of the American

Sociolo gical Societyÿ Vol 12ÿ 1917ÿ pp 207-216ÿ Shen Qiuhuan: «Gladstone Liberal International Political Thought and Practice» Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2012, pp. 208-209. Li

Shaojun et al.: «International System: Theoretical Explanations, Empirical Facts and Strategic Enlightenments» Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2012 Year, page 94. For example,

before the League of Nations, each state, both in theory and in practice, regarded itself as the sole and sovereign judge of its own actions, without allegiance to any higher authority, and

entitled to criticism of other states. Even questioning and expressing dissatisfaction, but this concept has disappeared forever: there is no doubt that the international community has the moral

and legal right to discuss and judge the international behavior of each of its members, and it will no longer be doubted. See F P Waltersÿ A History of the League of Nationsÿ Oxford University

Ressÿ 1952ÿ pp 1 - 2

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There is a realistic need for a transnational global governance institution to manage the new forces in world society and international interdependence. Some institutionalization of international relations, especially the politics of great powers, is imperative. A more profound change is: with the rise of British freedom in the 19th century The international hegemony of socialism was replaced by the systemic hegemony of the United States in the 20th century. In this process, the country itself was also "internationalized." In short, the "internationalization of the country" is a global process. Through this process, The nation-state became part of a larger and more complex political structure. Fundamentally, the development and evolution of liberal internationalist thought at this stage can also be seen as the middle-class and liberal intellectuals' response to modernity and its role in the international field. A positive response to the contradictions, tensions and challenges that are constantly accumulating within the country.

In summary, neoliberals have widely recognized the need to manage international relations through intergovernmental international organizations and the importance of institutionalizing international life. As a result, a modern internationalist thought that emphasizes international law and international organizations has emerged. At the same time, they also have a better understanding of the objective existence of conflicts and the role of power in international relations. These ideological developments are in line with the early liberal predecessors. This was in stark contrast to their contemporaries: most nineteenth-century internationalists believed that international organizations were unnecessary They prefer to rely on arbitration or other special procedures when dealing with international conflicts. In addition, from Richard Cobden in the mid-19th century to Norman Angell in the early 20th century, traditional liberal thought All refused to exert political control over economic power. However, by the time of World War I, liberals with newer minds and concepts gradually agreed that some more permanent (multilateral) mechanisms were needed to manage relations and conflicts between countries. ÿ Out of concern for The fear of being involved in a total war between major powers and the desire for an ideal international order. In the decades before the "World War I", politicians and scholars with liberal tendencies in the West, especially the United Kingdom and the United States, began to defend the establishment of international organizations.ÿ

ÿ   [Add] Cox, translated by Lin Hua: «Production, Power and World Order: The Role of Social Forces in Making History», Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 2004,

ÿ   pp. 181-182, "Modernity" It is another concept whose meaning is difficult to define accurately. According to the definition of Barry Buzan and Lawson, it refers to "the intertwined configuration of industrialization, rational nation-building and progressive ideology", or to borrow Giddens's words, "intrinsic "Globalization", see John Macmillan, "Intervention and the Orde" ring of the Modern World" in

ÿ   Review of Interna tional Studies HolbraadÿInternationalism and Nationalism in European Political Thoughtÿ Palgrave ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿ ÿ ÿÿ ÿ
For example, the British Brailsford and Ram Samuel were inspired by the "European Concert" in the 19th century and believed that it represented a crucial historical transition stage in the process from complete anarchy to the organization of international relations. See also F H Hinsleyÿ Power and the Pursuit of Pace: T heory and practice in the history of relations between Statesÿ Cambridge: Cambridge Univers Ity Press ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ Cal Thoughtÿ Palgrave Macmillanÿ 2003ÿ p 42ÿ Cars Ten Holbraadÿ The Concert of Europe: A Study in German and British International T Heoryÿ 1815 - 1914ÿ New York: Barnes and Nobleÿ 1971 ÿ ÿÿ 176 - 184

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At the same time, as an important social force that promotes the development of internationalist ideas, in Britain, the United States and even the entire European continent, with the participation of elite groups such as intellectuals, businessmen, lawyers and members of Congress, the international peace movement has gained new impetus. The Peace Conference and the Inter-Parliamentary Union have continued to expand in terms of membership and influence. Their focus is no longer as abstract as the early peace movement, which was dominated by evangelicals and Quakers, and was based solely on religious standpoints. Instead of moral condemnation, it places more emphasis on promoting international cooperation through relatively "practical" means such as arbitration, codification of international law, and general disarmament. The realistic goals of cooperation ÿ To a large extent, it was under the leadership and promotion of peace groups, especially the two Hague International Peace Conferences held in 1899 and 1907 and the reflection on the "World War I" as an opportunity, regarding reforms The call for the old-style international relations system is rapidly rising in Western societies, mainly in Europe and North America. At the turn of the century, the idea of "international parliaments" that originated in the Enlightenment Era and was systematically expounded by legal philosophers such as Bentham has regained attention, calling for the establishment of The idea of a "peaceful alliance" embodying the principle of collective security has gradually gained momentum among liberal intellectuals, and books, articles and pamphlets advocating the organization and institutionalization of international life have sprung up like mushrooms after a rain.ÿ

ÿ   Regarding the general situation of the peace movement in the West, especially the United States, and its "pragmatic" turn during this period, see Michael A. Lutzker's "Themes and Contr." Adictions in the American Peace Move 1895 - 1917"ÿ in Harvey L Dyck (ed)ÿ The Pacific Impuls e in Historic Perspectiveÿ Universality of Toron to Press 1996 Interpretation of the American Peace Movemen tÿ 1898 - 1914 "ÿ in American Studies Spring 1972, pp 31 - 49 The Hague International Peace Conference in 1899 and 1907 The convening of the conference and the outbreak of World War I and its reflections were of epoch-making significance in the history of the development of Western liberal internationalism during this period - The Hague System can be regarded as a conscious move by Western civilization towards

ÿ   the organization of international political life and away from the chaos of war. The first step. Some scholars pointed out: "The main feature of the Hague System is its universality." But this is only the first step and is destined to fail. Even so, the Hague System is still regarded as a newer and better system. The foundation was laid: The Hague Conference was a major event in the history of international thought, not so much for its actual achievements as for the concepts it expressed, the exaggerated hopes, the recommendations that were largely unimplemented, and the failure to resolve but But the deep-seated problems exposed. See David Kennedy's "The Move to Installations" ÿ in ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ

ÿ   In 1898, American Edwin Mead published an article "Organizing the World" in the "New England Magazine", formally proposing an initiative to achieve world peace through the establishment of universal international organizations. In 1899, Benjamin Trubra Germany published the book "World Federation", and in 1903 he proposed the initiative of convening a "permanent international conference". In 1899, Raymond Bridgeman published an article entitled "Human Polity" in the "New England Magazine". Afterwards, he deepened his views and published the book "World Government" in 1905. In 1903, driven by the "American Peace Association" headquartered in Boston, the Massachusetts Assembly passed a resolution requesting Congress Authorizes the President of the United States to invite heads of government from all over the world to jointly establish a world parliament to discuss and resolve issues involving the common interests of all countries. In 1904, the Inter-Parliamentary Union held a meeting in St. Louis, United States. The meeting issued a public appeal to the international community. First, the second World Parliament was held at an appropriate time. The Hague Peace Conference, secondly, continued to negotiate an international arbitration treaty, and thirdly, recommended the establishment of an "international parliament" and regular meetings to discuss major international issues. See Edwin D. Mead, "Organize the Wor" Id"ÿ in ÿÿÿÿÿ ol ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿ December 1898ÿ pp 514 - 520ÿ Benjamin F Trueblood ÿ The federation of the world Mifflin & Co ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ in ÿÿÿThe New ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ azineÿ New Seriesÿ Vol XXIÿ No 1ÿ September 1899 ÿ ÿÿ 23 - 31ÿ Raymond L Bridgeman Ton: Ginn & Co ÿ 1905ÿ Andrew Carnegieÿ A League of Peace: A Rectorial Address Delivered to the St udents in the University of St Andrews Bosso n: Ginn Company 1906 p 30

Since the international system is a necessary and desirable response to an unorganized world, this made the pre-institutionalized international order and the institutionalized international order end in the form of the first universal international organization in human history—the League of Nations—in 1919. It is distinguished from the founding of the world in 1998. The idea of great powers managing and controlling international relations, especially the international interdependence system, through the League of Nations has gained the distinction between conservative internationalists who emphasize the power of great powers and maintaining the international status quo and those who emphasize appropriate mechanisms for the international system. and the common support of liberal internationalists with standardized transformation. To a certain extent, the League of Nations can be understood as the "international parliament" envisioned by Bentham (embodied in the design of the "League of Nations Assembly"), "European coordination" (embodied in the The Council of the League of Nations composed of major powers) and "collective security" are the product of an eclectic compromise between the three concepts. At the same time, it also reflects the historical continuity and development stages of the evolution of Western internationalist thought. For example, the Council of the League of Nations is obviously the "European "Coordination" has been upgraded to a significantly revised version, incorporating principles such as legal definitions of authority and scope of competence, institutional continuity, regularity of meetings, and a balanced composition of representatives of large and small countries. The League of Nations General Assembly achieved the goal of convening a meeting of politicians who participated in the Hague Peace Conference. The hopes and plans of the "World Parliament": to hold regular meetings, not to rely on the initiative of a single country, and to have the ability to formulate long-term rules of procedure, etc. As for the Secretariat of the League of Nations, it is obviously the "International Bureau" that emerged from the international alliances in the 19th century. The institutional flowering of this groundbreaking concept.

However, the reality of international life during this period is that compared with the unprecedented strengthening of international connections and interdependence in the economic field, (Eurocentric) international politics still adheres to the traditional balance of power and alliance diplomacy: due to the implementation of colonial grabbing, partition Exclusive spheres of influence and foreign policies backed by force, the overall competition among European powers continues to intensify, the constraints of liberal capitalist economic politics on the international order gradually collapse, the power nature of modern diplomatic means is fully exposed, and international relations become The unprecedented naked political competition for power, until it fell into the abyss of the First World War. As a rebound against the wave of "imperialist diplomacy", starting from the late 19th century, liberalism against extreme nationalism, great power chauvinism and great power colonialism Criticisms have received unprecedented attention and attention on both sides of the Atlantic. "Free trade", "elected government" and "international cooperation" are respectively the liberal critics' opinions on "imperialism", "Bonapartism" and "balance of power politics". Ideological responseÿÿ

ÿ David Kennedy ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ Yu Yixuan: «Wilsonism in the context of the
ÿÿ   transformation of the international order: Origin, policy and impact»Ph.D. thesis, Fudan University , 2003 ÿ ÿ ÿ
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een Points: Woodrow Wilson and National Self-D Termination"ÿ in Diplomatic Historyÿ Vol 35ÿ No 3ÿ June 2011ÿ p 454ÿ Casper Sylvestÿ "Theoretic al Foundations of Liberal Order"ÿ in Tim Dune and Trine Flockhart (eds)ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ sitey Pressÿ 2013, p 187 For example, Americans after the Civil War found that the foreign policy behaviors of various countries were far from the liberal vision, and the global civilization process and international relations were becoming increasingly uncoordinated. As early as 1865, The Paris correspondent of "National" complained: "In 19th-century Europe, which was proud of its liberalism, the axioms and creeds of Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Caesar have resurrected like forgotten ghosts." See Frank NikovichÿGlobal Dawn: The Cultural Foundat ion of American Internationalismÿ 1865 - 1890ÿ H arvard University Press 2009 p 263

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Originally, influenced by the evolutionary thought that was popular in the second half of the 19th century and the liberal belief in the eternal progress of mankind and the world's tendency toward peace, liberals before the First World War almost universally believed that most Western societies had developed to the point of democracy and freedom. "Civilization" stage, human rationality, public opinion and the relationship between countries The natural harmony of interests has been established, and the "balance of forces" can no longer constitute the organizing principle for the creation of a new international order. However, in 1914, "civilized" Europe fell into the abyss of barbaric war, giving liberals a clear understanding of human moral conscience and eternity. The optimistic belief in progress had a devastating impact. In response to the unprecedented crisis, liberals' instinctive reaction was to use the war itself as a God-given opportunity to completely liquidate and transform the "old" (European) international system. In Woodrow Wilson's words, it was "the war to end all wars." Unlike conservative realists who often blame the origin and responsibility of the war on Germany, Austria and other countries for their bellicose nature and evil motives, liberals put forward A more radical explanation of the origin of war - "World War I" and even the root cause of war in a more general sense does not lie in the warlike or evil nature of the enemy country, but in the existence of some fundamental structure of the existing international relations system. Therefore, liberals' discussion of the origins of war has shifted from criticizing the political attributes of the country itself and the individual consciousness and psychological motivations of politicians to focusing on the system level of sovereign states. This is objectively the basis of modern "institutional internationalism." It paved the way for its rise. In 1915, someone suggested that it was not that "internationalism" had become ineffective, but that the old-style Machiavellian diplomacy had malfunctioned. ÿ The British scholar Royce Dickinson's view on this issue is the most representative. ÿ In his epoch-making work "European Anarchy" published in 1916, he pointed out: The pre-war European diplomatic system was essentially a Hobbesian "international anarchy". 4 Due to the role of conservatives and radical lefts in international affairs, Although not everyone accepts that "international anarchy" is the only explanation for war and chaos, it is clear that his analysis played an important role in mobilizing and supporting the League of Nations and the principle of collective security, because it is Liberals seek progress, order and justice in international affairs

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ÿ　　　James L Richardson in World Politicicsÿ 2001, p 64 During the First World War, although Wilson admitted that the war in Europe was The scale has threatened

ÿ　　　U.S. interests beyond the scope of maintaining neutrality, but he did not reach such a conclusion- ——The United States will be forced to play its role in this old order. On the contrary, he believes that the war provides an excellent opportunity to comprehensively reform the international system and make it consistent with the American ideal of "a world based on broad and universal rights and principles of justice." "New International Order", which reformed the world order by providing collective security through the League of Nations. Adam Quinn, U S Foreign Politics in Con Text: National Ideology from the Founders to t he Bush Doctrineÿ Routeledgeÿ 2010ÿ pp 97-98 mas J Knock Woodrow Wilson and the Question of a New World Or der bert Fariesÿ The Rise of Internationalismÿ Ne w Yorkÿ 1915ÿ p 5 G Lowes Dickinsonÿ The European Anarchyÿ London: George Allen & Unwinÿ LTD

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core institutional pillars of justice ÿÿ

Finally, from the perspective of the evolution of international thought itself, since the first half of the 20th century, with the development of transnational relations and the growth of economic interdependence, the three main branches of modern liberal internationalism are: constitutional, evolutionary and humane freedom. Internationalism was derived from internationalism respectively. Constitutional liberal internationalism was committed to the legalization and organization of international political life. Due to the need to deal with the international crises caused by the two world wars, it took a dominant position in the early 20th century and directly contributed to the League of Nations. With the creation of the United Nations system, the evolved liberal internationalism focused on the economic and social dimensions. It gradually became mainstream in the late 20th century and formed the ideological basis for guiding regionalism processes such as European integration - "functionalism". Because it advocated transnational cooperation Carrying out social and economic reforms, it is therefore a more socialized version of liberal internationalism. ÿ By the time of the First World War, these two trends of thought had formed a certain departure from the tradition of classical liberal internationalism in the 19th century, and were incompatible with internationalism in international politics. Two analytically separable modes of thought are related. The first is the traditional moral argument, which is based on the concept of slow but gradual human progress and holds that order and justice in international politics will develop organically - human design. Legal and moral mechanisms must comply with and respect these prerequisites. Therefore, although traditional internationalists generally support the development of international law, many believe that legal rules can only come into play when human morality or rationality is improved. Section 2 The second is the modern institutional view, which became more common in the early 20th century and corrected the superficial optimism of the traditional moral view, instead insisting that the ideal of "internationalism" can only constrain international affairs through the establishment of political and legal institutions. irrational and immoral behavio

 The key role of liberal internationalism as the "midwife" of the idea of universal international organizations (especially the League of Nations) emerged from this idea. As for "humane" liberal internationalism, its conceptual genealogy is more closely related to the 19th century The internationalist ideas of J.S. Mill, the outstanding representative of British classical liberal internationalists in the 19th century, and William Gladstone, the personification of British liberalism in the Victorian era, are of the same origin. After observing the continuous economic and social interdependence of various countries in the early 20th century, ÿ Liberals gained a new understanding of the common values and collective responsibilities of international society. The result was the revival and development of a "new" moral internationalism, which initially emphasized the Western "civilized" international community's respect for "lower" races. The responsibilities of "supervision" and "protection" have evolved in the 20th century after two world wars and

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After the global anti-colonial movement, it gradually evolved into an emphasis on and respect for universal human rights, which reflects the progress of the times. After the "Cold War", the humanitarian intervention trend re-emerged in the West as its relatively recent manifestation, such as The "Responsibility to Protect (R2P)" initiative proposed at the United Nations World Summit in 2005 can be seen behind the implicit or explicit clues and far-reaching and lasting influence of this trend of thought.

2. The historical position and paradoxical dilemma of liberal internationalism

Any study on the intellectual tradition of liberal internationalism will eventually inevitably return to liberalism itself. As the most core and universal Western political theory and ideology, the history of liberalism not only carries civilizational thinking, political practice and philosophical and ethical innovations important legacy, and also fundamentally shapes and determines the historical destiny of liberal internationalism.

(1) Historical position In

the history of international relations, the liberal internationalist ideological tradition is largely a product of the middle class. It appeared in Western Europe and North America in the past few centuries, and most of them first gained political experience in their own countries. From the beginning, liberal internationalists have had a basic diagnosis of international politics, that is, international affairs is a political field defined and dominated by disorder, power, secrecy and irrationality. These forces themselves will endanger "freedom" and ultimately endanger "freedom". The intuitive manifestation is the secret diplomacy conducted by the nobles through their huge symbolic power. Of course, it is also reflected in the irregular recurrence of wars. ÿ From the perspective of social foundation and ideological roots, liberal internationalism reflects the views of businessmen, capitalists, intellectuals and other professionals. interests and values The underlying ideological purpose and means of this concept are that people's understanding of the world tends to be guided by the concept of domestic analogy, and the structure and process of the domestic analogy world (or at least the geographical area) is used to make the latter become It will be more similar to domestic society, and eventually the characteristics of domestic society such as order, justice and progress will be grafted or transplanted to the international field.ÿ

Fundamentally, since "internationalization" is a "contradictory and uneven process" from beginning to end, the liberal internationalist ideological tradition can also be understood as a response to social forces such as capitalists and their middle-class allies that promote the historical process of the modern world in Europe and the United States. An ideology that manages and controls the irrational factors in this dynamic process. However, with the contemporary Americanized version of liberal internationalism, it has gradually degenerated into a "value-neutral" explanatory theory and become the hegemony (imperialism) of the United States and the West. conduct a conservative defense

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ÿ   study on this issue can be found in Hidemi Sugaranamiÿ The Domestic Analogy and World Order ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ

Different from other countries, liberal internationalist thought in history once developed a sharp critical and normative stance. It promoted the self-

determination and anti-colonization movements of various nations, advocated the institutionalization and democratization of international political

life, and emphasized market openness and It has played a positive and beneficial role in promoting free competition, opposing countries'

militaristic tendencies, encouraging cooperation among major powers, and building lasting international peace through the principle of collective security.

Finally, it must be admitted that although a large part of the framework of modern international politics—from international

institutions such as the United Nations to the human rights system—has distinct liberal characteristics, these characteristics have

been internalized as part of world political civilization. They should also be We can see that at a specific stage in history (such as a

long period after the "World War II"), between the domestic needs of nationalism and the external needs of capitalism to obtain

global resources and markets, a certain kind of modesty, balance, and moderation of freedom have emerged. The internationalist

version may be a relatively reasonable way to solve the necessary balance between the two. In addition, compared with the

international order based on pure realist logic in history, the liberal international order not only provides varying degrees of economic

development for the countries participating in the system , political and security gains, and provides predictability for interactions

among countries within the system. ÿPerhaps, the historical achievements of the liberal internationalist intellectual tradition so far

can be best described by a famous saying of the "Father of Europe" Jean Monnet Summary - "Without people, there is no

possibility; without institutions,

there is no durability."ÿ (2) Paradoxical dilemma As a long-standing tradition of political and economic thought, liberalism

itself is full of tension and potential internal contradictionsÿÿ Accordingly ÿ Contemporary liberal internationalism not only has

insurmountable paradoxes and tensions, but also faces profound dilemmas: in overcoming the limiting factors of nationalism and the hegemonic control of the United S

ÿ   David Steigerwaldÿ "The Reclamation of Woodr ow Wilson?" in Diplomatic Historyÿ Vol 23ÿ No 1ÿ J anuary 1999, pp 79 - 99 John
Ruggie calls this relatively balanced and moderate liberal internationalism "embedded liberalism" from the perspective of the international
economic order. ÿ Jerry Simpson distinguished from the perspective of international law between "(United Nations) Charter liberalism" which
emphasizes tolerance and pluralism and "anti-pluralism liberalism" which pursues the "homogeneous universality" of international society. See John Gerard
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ÿ   Rebecca Friedman Lissner and Mira Rapp - Hoop erÿ "The Day after Trump: American Strategy for a New International Order" in
The Washington Q Furthermore, although countries may differ on facts and courses of action, they We all agree that in a world where power is
unregulated, maintaining international order is not only the only feasible political strategy, but also the greatest common interest of all parties
involved in international politics. See Theodore Christov, "Liberal Internationalism Revised: GrotiusÿVattelÿ and the International Order of States
"ÿ in The European Legacy Vol 10ÿ No 6ÿ 2005ÿ p 56 4 ÿ Macmillan 2003 p 53

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ÿ   Of course, looking at it from another perspective, this is not the source of its adaptability and vitality. See Stefano Guzzini's "Liberal
Internat" ional Order"ÿ in Tim Dune and Trine Flockhart (eds)ÿ Liberal World Ordersÿ Oxford: Oxford Uni Versity Pressÿ 2013ÿ p 249

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Liberal internationalism encounters problems with at least one of these obstacles, such as institutions and a confused stance on sovereign states. In essence, liberal internationalism is motivated by respect for national sovereignty and pluralism, and by an equally insistent dual commitment to the pursuit of so-called universal moral goals. Inevitably, it becomes a "double-edged sword" concept. As such, it often gives rise to different and sometimes completely conflicting interpretations of the plurality and unity that should be found in liberal internationalism in terms of its ideological content and its proponents. They all have different views on reaching an appropriate balance between commitments. At the conceptual level, the ambiguity of the nature of liberal internationalism determines the unresolved tension between pluralism and unificationism. To sum up, these paradoxical dilemmas mainly include the following : kind of performance

The first is the "schizophrenic" stance on sovereignty and human rights. Starting from the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, and continuing through the turbulent national independence and liberation movements in Europe, Asia and Africa from the 19th to the 20th centuries, a main line of thought has been: the application of liberalism internationally. It is to support national self-determination and the universal application of the system of sovereignty. However, it is equally important that in the genealogy of liberal thought, not only a universal and abstract rationalist individual is always placed at the center of this ideology, but also the state Sovereignty ultimately comes from individual rights in the state of nature. Therefore, the historical mission or ethical foundation of liberal internationalism as an ideology is to eliminate any factors that hinder individual free will or the exercise of freedom at the international level. Early liberals used Superstition, religion, etc. are used as targets of attack. Contemporary neoliberals believe that the main threat to freedom comes from a dysfunctional or authoritarian and oppressive state. In the view of liberals, the state is a necessary evil that is imposed on it by establishing a democratic system. Limitations, the nation will be reshaped—a process that will be welcomed by individuals emancipating themselves from failed or authoritarian states and from the constraints of outdated cultural traditions. Thus, through a cosmopolitan conception rooted in its universal human subject, While supporting or rationalizing intervention in the name of protecting human rights and promoting democracy, liberal internationalism increasingly emphasizes the abolition of national sovereignty as the cornerstone of the modern world system. As a result, the liberal international order has fallen into the dilemma of "permanent revolution".ÿ

The second is the dilemma of the so-called "good country". Historically, from the early days of the great international law theorist Ge Laoxiu

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ÿ   Andrew Phillipsÿ "The Wars on Terror" g Internationalisms and the Cleansing of Purposes in a Post - Unipolar World" in International P ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿVol ÿÿÿ 2013ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ Since these rights are universal, if you

ÿ   see the rights of people in other countries being violated ÿ Liberal states feel a real responsibility to intervene on their behalf. See [US] John Mearsheimer, translated by Li Ze: "The Big Fantasy: Liberal Dreams and International Reality", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2019 Year, page 172

ÿ   Toby Dodgeÿ "Interversion and Dreams of Exoge nous State - building: The Application of Liber al Peace-building in Affhanistan and Iraq"ÿ in Review of International Studies p 1196 - 1197ÿ Michael C Deschÿ "America's Liberal I liberalism: The Ideological Logical Origins of Overreaction in U S Foreign Policyÿ in Int ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿVol ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ 2007 / 2008 ÿ ÿÿÿ Da Wei: «The way forward for the "liberal international order" and China's strategic opportunity period», published in «Global Order», No. 1, 2018 Issue, page 97

From the philosopher Kant to others, liberal internationalism assumes that a certain "special" type of country has essential superiority. ÿ According to Grotius, successful contractual arrangements in the international field depend on a certain powerful country, such as after unification. of the European "Low Countries" (the Netherlands), Kant's conception of "perpetual peace" relied on a system of states (with a strong and enlightened republican state at its core), each of which was organized on the basis of moral superiority. Organized by republican principles. Therefore, in the ideological system of liberal internationalism, the issue of sovereignty in the global order always manifests itself as an attempt to first create an ideal political community within a country, and then transfer the values, authority, and boundaries of this community to , culture or production methods are externalized or projected into the international political system. However, the presupposition of an "ideal country" always inevitably sows the seeds for internationalism to slide into the opposite direction of "betrayal". Historically, this kind of Binary divisions based on national identity attributes continue to create a series of "others" for the dominant West, and may provide justification for "good" countries to intervene unfettered in "bad" countries. Taking this logic to the extreme The consequence is that the foreign policies of countries with the most "liberal" identity attributes are often associated with "illiberal" characteristics such as arrogant and brutal unilateralism, interventionism, and militarism.ÿ

The third is the ambiguous attitude towards "anti-liberal" historical forces such as hegemony and empire. Generally speaking, liberal internationalism can only be theoretically and speculatively combined with the most powerful liberal hegemon in the international system. The level rises to a normative factor that shapes the way countries interact. 5 However, it is rarely

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ÿ   In the Western context, a "good country" refers to an open, free, and democratic republic. See Nicholas Greenwood Onuf. ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ

ÿ   Most liberals assert that liberalism is superior to other types of political orders, and believe that if only liberal regimes existed, the world would be a better place. They also firmly believe that only a social model based on liberal values can win in the competition of historical evolution. The sense of superiority inherent in liberalism has sometimes fueled alarming intolerance of non-liberal groups and countries. See [US] John Mearsheimer, translated by Li Ze: "The Big Fantasy: Liberal Dreams and International Reality", Shanghai : Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2019, Page 69, Page 143, Adam Quinnÿ U S Foreign Policy y in Content: National Ideology from the Founde rs to

ÿ   the Bush Doctrineÿ Routeledgeÿ 2010ÿ p 143 Mi cheline R IshayÿInternationalism and Its Bet rayalÿ University of Minesota 1995ÿ Cecelia ÿÿÿÿÿ "ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ"ÿ ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿ

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ÿ   Some scholars believe that the reason why all international systems since the 19th century can be defined as liberal orders is largely due to the existence of a dominant liberal hegemonic country in the system that is capable of managing and enforcing rules. See Stefano Guzzini's "Libera" l International Order" in Tim Dune and Trine Flockchart (eds)ÿ Liberal World Ordersÿ Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013 p 250

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Unfortunately, "a country with liberal attributes itself does not guarantee good political judgment"ÿ. Therefore, when hegemonism or specific nationalist consciousness dominates international multilateral institutions, it is very likely to violate the positive vision and normative goals of internationalism—— —Beyond the selfish interests of hegemonic countries and meet the fundamental commitment of a humane world. In short, whether liberal internationalism can get out of the current predicament depends on its ability to Can we develop a coherent and consistent public policy against sovereign states, especially the most powerful states in the international system? It has always faced a fundamental problem: whether it can transcend the narrow horizon of the nation-state, especially beyond the arbitrary intervention of hegemonism. Not only that, but what position has liberalism historically held towards empire and broader international justice? It has always been an issue of huge disagreement. Some claim that liberalism often contains an imperialist core: liberals' tireless insistence on progress and the establishment of the rule of law have led liberals to repeatedly support imperialist plans. Others claim It is believed that liberalism is inherently anti-imperialist. This is due to liberalism's commitment to human "equality" and "autonomy." In fact, in the historical tradition of liberalism, liberals have been China has been among the best defenders and most radical critics of imperialism.

The fourth is the opposition between "elitism" value orientation and appeal to "public reason". In terms of spiritual habits and value preferences, supporters of liberal internationalism naturally have an elitist orientation, but they always resort to appeal. In the form of public or ordinary rationality, this often manifests itself as a contradictory attitude. Freedom Internationalists have always believed that it is possible to reform international affairs through the improvement of human rationality, morality, and national character. However, this belief in individual and public rationality has been time and again undermined by growing concerns about its potential corruption. Offsetting and diluting. There are countless such examples. For example, when the Crimean War broke out in the mid-19th century, Cobden and his internationalist supporters had to face the war spirit that drove politicians towards confrontation. Because The media and public voices they have always relied on have become extremely aggressive. Cobden couldn't help but ask the soul question "Are we still a rational and progressive species?"ÿ At the beginning of the 20th century, Norman Angel pointed out, "The public The 'natural' tendency to judge is extremely unreliable and erroneous." However, "In the long run, there is no alternative to the judgment of the public.

ÿ   Antonio Franceschetÿ "One Powerful and Enlig htened Nation: Kant and the Question for a Global R ule of Law"ÿ in Beate Jahn (ed)ÿ Classical Theory in International RelationsÿCambridge Unive rsity Press Written by Fr Pitts, translated by Jin Yi et

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ÿ   Rise of British and French Imperialist Liberalism", Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 2012, pp. 6-7, [English] Written by Mazoor, translated by Hu

ÿ   Xiaojiao et al. : «Who will dominate the world: The ideas and powers that dominate the world»ÿ Beijing: CITIC Publishing Society, 2015, page 38.

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Choice can serve as the basis of government." In short, despite concerns about uncontrollable factors in mass politics, liberal internationalism as an intellectual tradition always has a tension that appeals to ordinary people's common sense. Not only that, this kind of concern about mass politics The anxiety also extends to its contradictory views on sovereign states and nationalism.

ÿ The fifth is the tension between the superficial rhetoric of "universalism" advocating pluralism and equality and the inner substance of "Western centralism." Liberalism is the most significant as an ideology One of its characteristics is its universality, which holds that history tends towards the social and cultural unity of the world. Correspondingly, liberal internationalist thought (at least at the theoretical level) also offers the promise of an open and rule-based (multilateralist) system: In a cooperative world order system based on the principles of restraint, reciprocity and sovereign equality, countries achieve mutual benefit and win-win results through trade and cooperation. However, through the complex appearance of the contemporary liberal international order, it is not difficult to identify its "Western center" doctrine" or even the essential attribute of "Anglo-Saxon" English ethnocentrism. This is because, in the history of international relations, although liberal values are merely an accidental product stimulated by specific places and events in the history of the development of European civilization, liberals believe that " The trinity of freedom, democracy, and free enterprise" constitutes a single sustainable model for national success, and insists that it is true, correct, and uniformly applicable to all societies. 4. At a more abstract theoretical level, in most cases international relations and international theory demonstrate It has a built-in hierarchical concept of world politics, which is based on the analysis of civilizational standards or normative Western-centric concepts and the global system of hierarchical sovereignty. In essence, international theory has always manipulated a system disguised as universality. The "local-hierarchical" concept of world politicsÿÿ

ÿ   Although liberalism has always operated in the context of nationalist states, it often ignores the connection between identity and territory, which is at the heart of nationalism. Udemeeta points out: "Political theorists in the Anglo-American liberal tradition Not only has the connection between political identity and territory been largely ignored, but the former has been conceptualized in a way that, at least implicitly, denies the importance of the latter and the connection between the two." See Casper Sylvest's "Theoretical" Foundations of Liberal Order"ÿ in Tim Dune and Trine Flockchart (eds)ÿ Liberal World Orders: Oxford University ty Pressÿ 2013ÿ p 183ÿ Uday Singh Mehtaÿ Liberali sm and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Br ish Liberal Thoughtÿ Chicago: Universality Of Chicago Pressÿ 1999ÿ pp 117 - 118ÿ [US] Written by John Mearsheimer, translated by Li Ze: "The Grand Fantasy: The Dream of Liberalism and International Reality", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2019, pp. 139-141.

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Three remaining essays: Great changes unseen in a century and the historical destiny of liberal internationalism

As an ideological tradition rooted in Western civilization and highly practical and realistic, liberal internationalism inevitably reflects the historical experience, intellectual tradition and value preferences of Western society, and projects its specific political goals and ideal pursuits. Therefore, regardless of No matter how "universal" and "neutral" "liberal internationalism" is expressed, behind it there is always, implicitly or explicitly, a certain kind of maritime commerce that is based on developed civil society, technological and institutional innovation vitality and has strong expansionary potential. The shadow of civilization - the liberal hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon English-speaking people. From this, it is not difficult to understand. In modern times, liberal hegemonies such as Britain and the United States have imposed "openness", "rules" and "universality" on the world system, especially the international public arena. The emphasis on "value", for the (British and American) capitalist maritime commercial powers that are relatively detached from the geographical disputes in Eurasia and therefore have the conditions to construct an idealized world order in accordance with abstract principles, an international relations based on "liberal internationalism" International systems that are philosophically constructed, stable and manageable are relatively cheaper and more desirable. This means that they do not need to bear the heavy treaty obligations under the traditional balance of power alliance system, but they can also retain the maximum freedom of action. They are oriented to business. It is also very beneficial for maritime countries with strong comprehensive competitiveness to carry out peaceful commercial expansion and ideological penetration around the world. In essence, liberal internationalism, as an ideological tradition with a preset position, always tries to dilute it intentionally or unintentionally. Constitutive (political) factors such as "sovereignty", "war" and "balance of power" in the international system reduce international politics into a depoliticized rational international "public space", thereby facilitating liberalism

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Ø   Some American scholars call the tolerance and openness towards new ideas such as capitalism and social change that have been pioneered by British and American society since the 17th century the "Anglo-Saxon attitude." As a result, it has long been at the forefront of the wave of global technological progress. and a favorable advantageous position. See [American] Walter Russell Meade, translated by Tu Yichao and others: "God and Gold: Britain, the United States, and the Making of the Modern World", Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2014, No. 16 - Page 17. However, from the perspective of a series of "other" standpoints in history, the foothold and ultimate destination of liberal internationalism "always ensures the dominance of liberalism, allowing history to freeze in the freedom advocated by hegemonic countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States." The era of socialism, and then re-write and permanently control the world order in the form of liberalism, and then delineate the behavior and territorial boundaries of countries. The real power lies in the control of formulating norms and principles. They have the right to decide who and where these rules apply. ÿ" See [English] Mazoor, translated by Hu Xiaojiao et al.: «Who Will Dominate the World: The Ideas and Powers that Dominate

Ø   the World», Beijing: CITIC Publishing House, 2015, pp. 151-152. For example, in early 1918 President Wilson In a conversation with Colonel House, he said that he had decided that general peace terms after the war should take precedence over specific territorial adjustments. In other words, compared with the specific details of post-war territorial arrangements, Wilson was less interested in how to structure the peace to prevent future The abstract principles of war are more interesting. See Joan Hoff, A Faustian Foreign Policy fro. m Woodrow Wilson to George W Bush: Dreams of Per ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ p 50

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Hegemony controls, manages and "taxes" them.

It should be acknowledged that "liberal internationalism" is highly dynamic and adaptable. Therefore, although the current liberal international order is showing signs of loosening, it is too early to conclude that the liberal international order has ended. ÿ At the same time, objectively speaking, liberal internationalism The ideological tradition has both a dark side and a positive side. Among them, it advocates the values of freedom, openness, pluralism, rationality, cooperation, and equality, and advocates political principles such as multilateralism, collective security, trade liberalization, and common interests, which are progressive and universal. ÿ These are the common heritage of human civilization, and therefore can form the premise and basis for exchanges and dialogue between China and the West. In the era of global interdependence and a community with a shared future for mankind, we must truly get rid of the curse and self-fulfilling prophecy of the "clash of civilizations theory" and realize the unity between the East and the West. A positive vision for civilizations to learn from each other and coexist and prosper together. Only a new type of internationalism that reflects the international power structure and can condense the consensus of major civilizations to the greatest extent is the only way to guide mankind out of the current predicament. In the long run, Although the specific connotation and manifestations of this "internationalism" are difficult to predict, it must have certain characteristics of balance or moderation: the balance between ocean civilization and continental civilization, the balance between realism and liberalism, the balance between Western (individualism) and The balance between the East (collectivism), the balance between the relative closure of the internal affairs of sovereign states (independence of national governance) and the openness of the international system (unification of global norms), and the balance between efficiency and fair value, etc. In the final analysis, it is to abandon hegemony. concepts and ethnocentrism, and truly practice multilateralism with equality, inclusiveness and consultation as its core. In the future, with the rise of China and other emerging countries in the east of the world, and the existing international system is undergoing "de-centralization" (Western) " After that, what kind of connotative "internationalist politics" and normative commitments will be derived, and whether it can avoid the paradoxical dilemma of the Western liberal internationalist ideological tradition remains to be seen and tested.

(Editor Huang Nian)

ÿDa Wei: «The way forward for the "liberal international order" and China's strategic opportunity period», published in «Global Order», Issue 1, 2018, page 100.

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