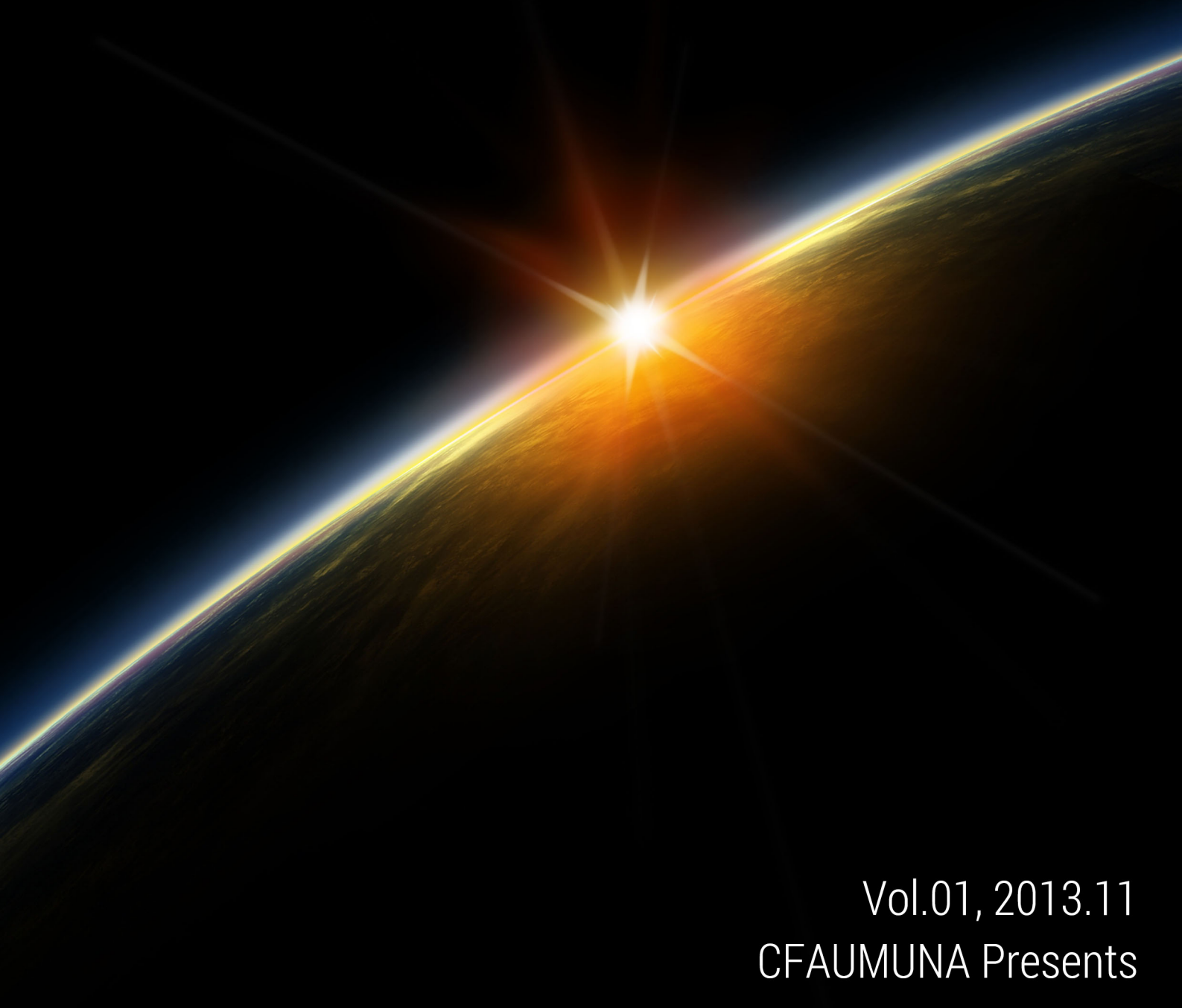


前沿

The Frontier



Vol.01, 2013.11
CFAUMUNA Presents



前沿

The Frontier

2013年11月上 总第01期

Vol. 01 November 2013

总主编：黄启凡

副主编：赵觉瑾

周楠

责任编辑：杨程程

策划：闵悦

顾问：黎毓珊

刘楚然

官方网站：<http://i.cfaumun.org>

特别感谢所有参加杂志投稿、制作的作者和编辑人员。

本刊为外交学院模拟联合国协会内部刊物，立场中立，所有文章仅为作者态度，均不代表本刊观点。

投稿及一般性问题咨询，请联系 frontier@cfaumun.org

外交学院模拟联合国协会 荣誉出品

卷首语

我非常荣幸能为《前沿》写写自己的想法，作为外交学院模拟联合国协会有史以来推出的第一个刊物，我们的目的就是希望能把协会的智慧传播出来，也希望让更多的人有机会聆听各家的智慧，领略并展现俊才的才华。更重要的是，我们希望把好的事物和契机让所有人都有机会分享、感悟和学习。本刊物的成功出版也标志着协会逐渐走出神秘，走向开放，走向更宽广的未来。

从我刚接触模拟联合国会议至今已有5个年头了，时至今日我还依稀记得大一刚入校时第一次参加模联会议的那种兴奋、好奇而又不知所措；还记得在讲台上磕磕巴巴讲了快三分钟，当时的主席还无奈地、不停地敲着铃铛把我赶下讲台；还记得在无主持核心磋商中像无头苍蝇一样左听听，右看看，然后人云亦云；同样还记得曾经那些优秀代表在台上挥斥方遒，台下叱咤风云的表现。第一次的模拟联合国经历让我感触良多，从深奥难懂的背景文件到和蔼高效的主席团，从坚定自信的角色演绎到气场强大的精彩演讲，从针锋相对的辩论到锱铢必较的谈判再到最终充满乐观的合作精神，这一切顿时让我觉得，原来这些遥远高大的事物其实离我们并不遥远，原来我们这些稚嫩青年也能站在国家甚至世界的视野来发现问题，解决问题，而解决问题的途径，则是通过我们的斡旋与合作，通过青年的智慧。

模拟联合国大会，不是简单的社团活动，不是利益驱使的竞赛，更不是显摆的舞台，而是一块培养民主与合作，懂得为人与处事，提高沟通与交流能力的肥沃土壤，同样也是培养作为现代青年人应当具有的视野、责任与胸怀。不可否认，每个人都会为自己活着，但是世间万物是相互联系的，我们在这里就是要学会如何为家国着想，如何为世界着想，如何为人类着想。

外交学院模拟联合国协会希望带给大家的不仅仅是知识和机会，而更是一种榜样、一种精神和价值。专业，创新，视野，责任是我们的价值，也是我们在做有关模联活动的准则。专业是协会在做任何事情的时候都要认真，力求给大家专业的体验，要有权威性，有信服力；创新是告诫我们不能循规蹈矩，要有所不同，这样才不会固步自封；视野则是希望不管是协会的成员还是参与活动的代表们都能心系祖国，胸怀天下，作为泱泱中国的青年，未来是我们的，也会由各位来引领，而这需要我们能大处着眼，小处着手，所以没有视野，就没有更高的目标，就会是井底之蛙，则何以担当大任成为栋梁之才？责任就是告诫大家在仰望星空的同时也别忘了脚踏实地，别忘了我们出发的目的是什么，这便是需要我们为身边的人着想，而责任也就是需要德才兼备，进而更加无私奉献。有了这样的精神，我们才能真正一步一步实现外交学院模拟联合国协会的使命：为人才计，为事业兴，为家国谋。

这本刊物的推出少不了协会所有成员的辛苦付出和奉献，尤其是学术组成员的不辞劳苦、呕心沥血，还有其他各部门的鼎力支持，可以说，少了每一个环节，都不会有今天的出版。我们还要感激学校和过往一届届为协会模拟联合国事业奋斗的优秀的先辈们，没有了这片肥沃的土壤和辛勤、无私、聪慧的播种者和耕种者们，也不会有协会一年一年的进步与发展。

最后，希望各位读者能享受《前沿》The Frontier 给大家带来的思维的碰撞和启发，以及感受到外院模联学术之于协会价值的直接体现。结束之前，我想引用一首毛主席词为本刊物做点睛之笔：

沁园春·长沙

独立寒秋，湘江北去，橘子洲头。
看万山红遍，层林尽染；
漫江碧透，百舸争流。
鹰击长空，鱼翔浅底，
万类霜天竞自由。
怅寥廓，问苍茫天地，谁主沉浮？

携来百侣曾游，
忆往昔峥嵘岁月稠。
恰同学少年，风华正茂；
书生意气，挥斥方遒。
指点江山，激扬文字，
粪土当年万户侯。
曾记否，到中流击水，浪遏飞舟！

再次感谢为本刊物无私奉献、辛苦付出的各位才俊，同时也欢迎各位读者为这本刊物和协会发展提出中肯意见。大家好才是真的好，只有相互支持才能共创繁荣。

刘楚然

外交学院模拟联合国协会 主席
2014北京模拟联合国大会 主席
2013年10月30日 夜

外交学院模拟联合国协会

目录

Why the US is the Biggest Enemy to Democracy	Eason Lam	1
新的挑战及应对——非传统安全	李松	4
Political Functions of Media in Modern Democracies: To What Extent Can it Still Fulfill Them?	Sinan Zhang	6
现代英法政治制度差异成因简析	黄启凡	12
A Vindication for America's Foreign Espionage Activities in a Realistic Perspective	Tianyuan Sun	15
帝国主义今日之去留	张思南	17
Political Power in China	Nan Zhou	20
Le Modèle des Nations Unies: à la Reherche d'une Vision Commune 模拟联合国：寻找共识之旅	张海青	22

Why the US is the Biggest Enemy to Democracy

Eason Lam

Earlier this month, President Obama spoke in front of the world and declared war on Syria. He claims that hundreds of men and women were killed in Syria in the worst chemical weapons attack of the century, and the Assad regime was responsible. And the US should, and was ready to take military action against Syria. But the American intelligence report which was published as evidence is weak. It seems to me that the Russian president Putin's strong refutation that there is no point for the Assad regime to use chemical weapons when the government is enjoying vantage over the rebellion, makes more sense. And the UN investigation shows that chemical weapons were used but who did this remains unknown at the present stage.

Despite all these, I'm most appalled by President Obama's remark on the United Nations Security Council. He said he was "comfortable" to go to war without the approval of the Security Council, which he described as "completely paralyzed".

First, the US breaches the international law by declaring war without the approval of the Security Council.

The authorization of the Security Council is the only legitimate source to use force, except for the purpose of self-defense. This is one of the underpinning principles in the practice of international relations. Any threat or use of force is clearly ruled out in the Charter of the United Nations. Waging a war without the approval of the Security Council is open disregard of international law. If the US broke the UN Charter, what difference does it make of America and President Assad who US claims broke the International Treaty on Chemical Weapons? Should the US be held responsible, just like President al-Assad? What's more, not to mention the US is the main founder of the United Nations, what can the world expect from you when you start breaking the rules you made yourself? It is a shame for President Obama to feel "comfortable" to do this, discrediting the country and his predecessors Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.

Second, the Security Council is not paralyzed.

Why is it paralyzed? President Obama made an absurd argument that the Security Council was paralyzed because the US couldn't get its way. The nature of

democracy lies in vote. It sets up a principle of rule of the majority. And the principle of unanimity of powers among the permanent members is delicately designed to make sure that the whole system will work, and the WW III will not occur. A resolution should pass only when there are at least nine affirmative votes, without any veto. No country should do whatever it wants. Therefore, the Security Council is not paralyzed. On the contrary, it is working perfectly well. The whole mechanism successfully blocked the US from doing whatever other members don't want. But going to war regardless of the objection is an action of autocracy and dictatorship.

Not abiding itself to the laws and norms and setting a good example for the rest of the world, what America says and does make it nothing but only a narcissistic, self-important rogue country disrespectful of international law. A real democracy respects the rule of law. In issues related to the Security Council, the US never comes up with constructive suggestions but to blame everything on China and Russia, who merely stick to the basic principle of sovereign integrity and play along with the UN rules of procedure. And this is not the first time. In 2003, the then President Bush started an extremely dangerous precedent of using force without the approval of the Security Council after he lied to the people of the United States and the rest of the world about Saddam Hussein having weapons of mass destruction. Bush told a terrible lie, fought a sinful war, killed millions of people, yet still remains at large. If this is not enough, there is a great America-made documentary called *The War on Democracy*, in which it reveals tons of evidence that the US has been secretly overthrowing foreign democratically elected governments.

Behind the US unilateralism and imperialism, or the so-called Bush Doctrine, are the interests of the big financial groups, the greedy bourgeoisie. This is exactly an example of exploiting others for one's own good. With all these autocratic missions happening overseas, US domestic situation is no better. The Congress is controlled by giant corporations which give significant financial support and other entities such as the Israeli lobbies. In spite of the poll suggesting that most of the Americans are against going to another war, the high-paid senators and representatives fail to check the president. The propaganda machine of the US is doing a fascinating job brainwashing the American people with preening patriotism and a blind cheer for the democratic triumph across the globe. It has religious implications, too. If anyone tries to understand the Muslim hatred toward the United States, look at what the United States has done to the Islamic world.

No, Mr. President, you are wrong. You are wrong from the very beginning, from your Chicago acceptance speech. The strength of America comes not from the enduring power of your so-called ideals, but from the scale of your wealth and the might of your arms. Yes, the Americans once built an international order and gave it meaning out of the ashes of world war. But now, Mr. President, you are not taking your responsibilities, as you said in your fancy speeches. You are just being a jerk bullying around.

**Eason Lam (Yichen Lin) was a senior member of the Model United Nations Association. He graduated from China Foreign Affairs University in 2013 and is now a graduate student studying International Relations in King's College London, United Kingdom.*

新的挑战及应对——非传统安全

李松

全球化的加深以及冷战的结束促使了国际社会“安全场域”的重组，其中主要表现在：一方面，国际关系中最大的安全困境（两极格局）已经终止；另一方面，新的威胁逐渐显露出来并且更为复杂和难以应对，如生态环境的破坏、疾病传染、恐怖主义、跨国犯罪等等，这些新的威胁区别于传统的安全威胁，被称之为非传统安全威胁。非传统安全问题的出现，给国际关系带来新的挑战，但是同时也产生了国家间交往的新的政治空间。

联合国开发署在1993和1994年《人类发展报告书》中指出：“安全概念必须改变——由单独强调国家安全转向更多强调人的安全，由通过军备实现安全转向通过人类发展实现安全，由领土安全转向食物、就业和环境安全。”这表明进入20世纪90年代尤其是21世纪以来，安全主体已经从国家行为体转向非国家行为体，在非传统安全的威胁下，个体、群体、国内社会、国际社会和整个人类都可以成为安全主体，冷战时期盛行的“国家中心主义”开始受到挑战。传统安全理论研究中认为国家是国际关系中最核心的角色，是传统安全的惟一主体，但是非传统安全的出现，对这一现实主义理论构成新的挑战，从而深刻的影响了国际安全理论的研究。

沃尔兹认为国家“只有在生存得到保证的前提下，才能安全地追求其他目标”，可以看出传统安全理论特别是现实主义理论十分强调军事安全的重要性，认为国家生存是国家最高利益。非传统安全的出现扩大了安全的内涵和外延，国家安全不仅仅意味着国家主权不被干涉或领土不被侵犯，而且更重要的是指国家整体的安全、国内社会的稳定状况、公民个体的安危以及人与自然的的关系都保持良好的平衡并处于良性循环的状态。安全不再仅仅局限于军事领域，而是逐渐蔓延到政治、经济、文化、社会、环境等多个领域，所以传统意义上的国家主权已经不能够满足国家的“安全需求”，非传统安全问题很多时候会跨越一个国家的范围，形成地区甚至是全球的安全威胁。与之对应，传统的安全理论中国家为主体的安全体系难以应对，必须寻求新的安全治理方式来应对非传统安全的威胁。

传统的国际关系和国际战略理论已经无法充分解释非传统安全现象，我们需要新的研究范式和思考角度。非传统安全威胁的日益凸显要求我们构建新的安全理念、认知和治理模式。在这一环境下，单一的国家或者组织已经难以应用新的安全治理模式来解决非传统安全问题，所以要寻求超越“国家中心主义”的新的安全管理理念和方式。

必须清楚的是，安全管理是一种柔性的能力建构，它不同于采取军事行动的管制措施，而是需要调动不同行为体的资源加以整合，然后平衡各行为体之间的利益、关系，从而达到特定的目的。这里提到的行为体不一定是主权国家，大多数情况下都是非国家行为体。

在这种新的安全管理模式之下，我们需要对国家安全利益有一个新的认识。非传统安全威胁的日益上升已经促使每个国家不得不重新审视其国家利益的内涵，国家利益的范畴也已经不仅仅局限于军事和政治安全。举个简单的例子，进入21世纪以后，恐怖主义带来的威胁已经大大超出了传统大国间游戏规则的方式，致使像美国这样的霸权国都需要依靠与其他国家或者国际组织的合作来应对威胁，确保国家安全。全球化浪潮中经济因素成为每个国家愈来愈重视的新的国家利益点，在全球贸易的背景下，国家与国家之间的经济依赖和经济联系越来越紧密，如果出现了经济危机，单靠其中一方是绝对不可能轻易解决的，任何一个国家也不可能通过损害国际社会的方式来摆脱经济困境，国际社会作为一个整体，其成员需要共同面对非传统安全的威胁并通过合作协调加以解决。王逸舟教授曾说：“国家民族的安危及发展与国际共同体是唇齿相依的关系，各个国家不是死守传统主权界限，而是灵活掌握、进退适度、以短期利益求长期价值，以新的姿态、新的贡献在全球化的国际社会安身立命。”

新的安全管理模式要求各个行为体之间的主要关系为“合作”而非“竞争”，各个主体面临的非传统安全威胁已经跨越了单一主权边界范围，所以各个相关行为体只有在合作的基础上才能够开创新的安全管理模式，联合国、欧盟在这方面做出了明显的努力并且取得了一定成就，但是非传统安全也在不断的扩展，并且对世界造成的影响也越来越大，所以抛开传统安全理论上的政治分歧，寻求新的政治合作空间成为一些国家和组织的当务之急。

但是在应对非传统安全的同时，很多国家也表现出一些担忧。纯粹的去强调人的安全是不是会对维护国家主权造成消极的影响？在新的安全管理模式下，政府的执行力和权威会不会下降？这些都是新的环境下衍生出来的新的挑战。新的安全管理模式需要有一个制度性的规则，各个国家要在政治、经济、文化等多个领域寻找认同，多元化领域的认同感才会使合作发展维持的更为长久。

*李松是外交学院外交系的大三学生。他是外交学院时事研究会的会长。

Political Functions of Media in Modern Democracies: To What Extent Can it Still Fulfill Them?

Sinan Zhang

The media is essential in modern democracies. Generally, it refers to the most popular and simultaneous vehicle of political communication between the public and the government, including but not limited to televisions, newspaper, broadcasting and the internet. Media not only defines democracy, that the freedom media acquires remains one of the most important features of liberal democracy, but also functions as 3 indispensable pillars supporting democracy. First, media serves as crucial information sources enabling people to engage in politics; second, media provides the demos with readily accessible methods to better participate in democracy; third, media works as the public “watch dog”.

However, as the development of media expands rapidly, media gradually fails its role as “custodian of democracy” and even restricts democracy. Stemming from its business nature, media becomes more and more politically biased, ceasing to provide impartial information; and there is no guarantee for media’s accountability in mass participation, thus rendering media a power without responsibility; and media’s independence from government control, the foundation of its role as public “watch dog”, cannot be fully secured in reality.

First, media serves as a significant public political message source, guaranteeing the political engagement of the public. Essentially, democracy means to rest the power on the people. On one hand, people cannot make rational choices independently without being fully informed of the latest situation in politics. On the other hand, people lack access to the big picture because in democratic countries where government remains representative, ordinary people are out of the office when politics is in operation. It is the few elites that can view the situation simultaneously and comprehensively. Therefore, people are in a passive position when acquiring information, and relatively isolated from the instant understanding of politics. They can only get related information from limited sources and opportunities, such as attending representative institutions, and remain relatively weak in maintaining independent political participation. Evidently, this information asymmetry has a risk in undermining democracy because the ruling elites may take advantage of it by misleading the mass to make choices which most benefit ambitious politicians. Nevertheless, media has

eliminated this information asymmetry by not only expanding message sources accessed by the demos but also offering a wide range of views from people other than elected politicians only. Instead of relying on representative institutions such as assemblies, people can get the information they need through variable sources such as radio, television and internet, improving the efficiency and effectiveness with which people are informed. And, not only professional politicians, but also ordinary people can express their views and participate in political debate publicly, greatly eliminating the potential bias of the information released by the government. Therefore, it is media that endows the people with a wider and better range of information to engage in politics independently and guarantee true democracy, so that people can make the choices that will benefit them.

However, derived from its business nature, modern media can hardly provide unbiased information to the public. The fast speed of the modern life has deprived the public of the patience to dig into the story critically and what people need is no longer objective analysis of the situation but only a sensational conclusion given by the media they trust. But instead of correcting this impatience, the media, following its business nature to maximize the profits and extend market share, caters to this trend by abandoning the objective introduction and providing the public with all kinds of interpretation and commentaries of current affairs, which are always partial due to the opinions and values of the editors, journalists and broadcasters. For example, in Great Britain, *The Sun* is stereotypically accused of misleading the public by its extremely biased views. Moreover, the fact that most media is largely owned by a few elites in the society, inevitably excludes the weak and unorganized groups from accessing media resources, ultimately devouring the sufficient representation in the democracy. Possessed by the few elites, the media naturally reflects the will of these people who benefit from the status quo, and therefore the media is likely to be politically conservative and pro-business, only suiting the benefits of the dominant social groups. For instance, the most influential media in Germany, *Springer Press*, famous for its conservative stance, is acknowledged as the most loyal mouthpiece of the ruling elites. Therefore, deriving from its business nature, the media can neither provide the public with impartial news, nor can it offer comprehensive information representing the whole society.

Second, media provides the demos with more readily accessible methods to better participate in democracy. It is widely acknowledged that barriers in time and space are the biggest bottlenecks limiting public democratic engagement. The breakneck speed of modern life has left less time for people to engage in

politics in traditional method such as going to the assemblies. And it also remains very difficult for people from variable areas to assemble in large numbers. However, the latest development of technology in media, which gives rise to the “cyber-democracy” has resolved this problem. People’s participation in political activities is now shifted from representative institutions to their homes: they can watch the latest politics process on television and write to their representatives or even vote online. Thus, the media has overcome the limitation of space and time, making public participation in politics more suitable to citizens of modern world. Besides, media has improved people’s engagement not only as an individual but also as a whole. Due to the development in media such as the use of internet, people can freely exchange their ideas without leaving their home and organize political campaigns at relatively low expenditure and high effectiveness. This greatly unites people’s power together in political movement and Facebook’s role as the caller and organizer of “Occupy the Wall Street” offers an obvious example. Moreover, media widens people’s methods in engaging in politics. It not only makes public opinions expressed to the government more easily through variable methods, but changes the demo’s passive position in traditional political participation: the formal debate and discussion inside the representative institutions presented to the public are now “lively and engaging for the general” due to the media.

Nevertheless, despite the abundant access that mass media provides to the public to engage in politics, it may undermine democracy through its excessive social participation because of its lack of accountability, ironically contributing to the public disengagement in politics. Although the media is always regarded as the “voice of the people”, unlike representative institutions, it is actually not held responsible to the public, representing no one but themselves. It may shrink its responsibility in perpetuating democracy and acquiesce in the spread of consumerism in politics. For example, media has become more and more incompetent in providing the public with necessary political information.

“Fearful of losing market share, television companies in particular have reduced their coverage of serious political debate, and thus abandoned their responsibility for educating and informing citizens, in favor of infotainment”.

Furthermore, through its reckless report on the political scandals without taking outcome into consideration, the media has exerted a negative impact on political culture, discouraging people from participating in politics. Media has gone so far in revealing the dark sides of the government that it breaks the necessary trust between the public and the government, leading to an increasing resentment of the professional politicians and a decline in the people’s participation in politics.

For example, Great Britain is widely famous for its political “culture of contempt” given rise by the media, indicated by its relatively low turnout in voting and decline in partisan membership. Therefore, the lack of accountability of the media has contributed to the public disengagement in politics and to some degree undermined the democracy.

Third, media serves as the public “watch dog” in democratic system. Although it is representative institutions’ responsibility to keep public power from being abused, modern media has already become an essential supplement to this, and to some extent a replacement of the government power-check mechanism, because the government is obviously incompetent in restricting itself. For example, most political scandals, including the 1974 Watergate scandal and 1986 Iran-Contra affair, were all exposed by the media. Above all, as the development of “personalized politics”, the public are now perceiving all government members as a whole and hence the failure of any individual will be elevated into the failure of the whole team. Thus it becomes more and more difficult for ordinary politicians to reveal wrongdoings inside the office without risking their own political future. Moreover, the legislature-executive coalition is more likely to harbor the power abuse of government, rather than check the power; and even if there is no majority coalition between assembly and the executive branch, the party controlling the government can still make opposition parties inactive inside the legislature by filibusters. Conversely, media, the “outsider” of politics can fulfill the role of power supervisor because they “have no interests other than to expose incompetence, corruption or simply muddled thinking whenever and wherever it can be found”. The protection of free press in democracies endows the media with independence from government control and the fact that political scandals are the best selling points for media offers a strong impetus for it to reveal political corruptions with initiatives. Therefore, media plays an important role in guaranteeing democracy by scrutinizing the government activities and exposing power corruptions.

Yet, on the other hand, the media’s independence from the government cannot be completely secured in modern politics and its capacity to supervise the government’s power is dubious. Above all, the media can be easily influenced by the ruling elites. For example, Italian former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi once controlled half of Italy’s private television channels, exerting a strong influence in media and even transforming it into his own propaganda machine. Furthermore, government has always been the most important source to release information, creating a pressure for the media to cooperate with the government if it wants to acquire the news-worthy stories exclusively and quickly. Therefore, the media in some circumstances conspire with the

government in releasing information for the mutual benefits. Moreover, though censorship has been abolished and free press has been widely acknowledged, the government still possesses legal methods to manipulate the function of media by intervening media structure. For example, in Europe, governments still have strong regulations, such as the right to privacy, in governing the media coverage. And the journalist revealing the scandals of government may be silenced and persecuted indirectly by the government. For instance, in Britain, after the Elveden Bribes Scandal, over 21 journalists have been arrested for variable accusations. Therefore, the “watch dog” role of the media can hardly be guaranteed due to its incomplete independence from the government.

The media holds essential functions in democracy, be it being the significant agent to release political information to the people, facilitating public engagement in politics, and supervising government power. At present, it is still impossible to imagine a liberal democratic nation without the involvement of media because it defines the democracy and remains indispensable in democratic states. Yet, on the other hand, because of its political biases, lack of accountability and incomplete independence from government control, media can no longer effectively fulfill its political functions as the “custodian of democracy”.

Bibliography

Bello, U. (2011). The SUN's Phenomenal Bias in Reporting the Jos Crises By Umar Bello. *Sahara Reporters* [Online]. Available from:<http://saharareporters.com/article/suns-phenomenal-bias-reporting-jos-crises-umar-bello> [Accessed 1 December 2012].

Caramani, D. (2008). *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cohen, N. (2012). Persecuting the press diminishes us all. *The Guardian* [Online], <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/jul/22/nick-cohen-oppression-of-journalists> [Accessed 1 December 2012].

Collier, K. (2011). Hash-tagging the resistance. *Daily Dot* [Online] <http://www.dailydot.com/politics/facebook-twitter-support-occupy-wall-street> [Accessed 1 December 2012].

Hague, R., & Harrop, M. (2010). *Comparative Government and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heywood, A. (2007). *Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

**Sinan Zhang is a senior student majoring in English and International Studies in China Foreign Affairs University. He is a senior member of the Model United Nations Association.*

现代英法政治制度差异成因简析

黄启凡

虽然法国和英国都是自由民主制国家，但它们各自的政治制度在许多重要方面存在不同。经济背景的差异，尤其是地主贵族在农业商品化的发展中发挥的不同作用，决定了传统元素大量地存留于英国的政治制度中；大革命发生的时间差异以及两国之间地理位置的不同，则让法国注定在将革命的目标体制化、政府化时要走一条不同的道路。这些差异对这两个国家的现代政治产生了深远的影响。

在法国和英国，资产阶级革命都是决定两国现代政治制度的革命。这些革命有着相似的目的：检查由君主制定的、武断的“游戏规则”，将其替换为公正、合理的法律，并最终让底层民众在决定立法的过程中占有一席之地。两次革命最终都取得了成功，在此基础上，法国和英国最终成为了自由民主制国家；社会公众也拥有部分共同的信念、基本价值和目标：平等，个人权利和自由，民选政府，以及对公权力的限制。但是，这两个自由民主制的代表国家之间仍然有一些实质性的差异。第一点，同时也是最重要的一点，两国拥有不同的政治制度：英国是一个议会制君主立宪制国家，女王是国家元首，而法国的政治制度则是半总统半议会制。此外，英国的政治中依然存在可观的传统元素，而在法国政坛，这样的元素不存在或与政治制度无关。最后，英国和法国的政治文化有明显差异。法国人相比起他们的英国邻居，更有可能走上街头，通过游行示威来追求自己的政治目标。

这些差异的原因可以追溯到革命发生的时间。法国和英国在经济基础上的差异，导致两国的资产阶级革命过程有很大差异。由这些差异造成的一系列事件导致了两国当前在政治体制上的差异。

在英国，农业在较早的时期就开始出现了商品化特征。它从单纯的自给自足制度转向商品化农业生产，而这种转变涉及解放农民、发展他们的经济实力，最终减弱皇室对于他们的影响。此外，英国的贵族地主和城市中产阶层的主要部分有明显的同化趋势。这种特征最终导致了英国革命的胜利。然而，由于贵族地主是革命的主要参与者，他们能够在革命后占据主要的政治地位。这种相对传统的地主阶级在革命后的社会依然存在，决定了英国政治制度将会渐进式，而非跨越式发展。同时，贵族阶层其实并不愿意彻底摧毁英国社会的传统架构，因此，传统因素仍然在英国政治中起着重要的作用。英国的政坛在很大程度上依赖于传统，比如政治习惯、议会的行为以及立法，而非建立于一部明确的宪法上，英国也仍然是一个君主立宪制国家。

在法国，情况则有相当大的不同。总的来说，地主阶级允许农民拥有实质上的土地；即使在那些地主们决定农业商品化发展的地区，他们在完成农业商品化时也迫使农民交出他们销售的贵族农产品的份额。与英国相比，法国贵族对于农业商品化的冲

动和意愿明显较弱。因此，整体来看，贵族地主在法国大革命中并没有加入城市中产阶级的阵营。从某种意义上说，法国革命是资产阶级革命，而这场革命反对的是王权以及贵族阶级本身，而在英国，贵族本质上加入了（更准确地说，成为了）城市中产阶层。因此，法国大革命是一场更彻底的革命，传统的社会结构被完全摧毁，而城市中产阶层，至少在法国大革命后不久的时间里，成为了新的统治阶级。看起来，一个完全摒弃传统元素，合法，合理的政府将要诞生在法国。

但是，两个重要的元素将这样一个法国政府的真正成立推迟了几十年，并直到今日在法国政治中仍然有巨大的影响。虽然法国大革命是一场更彻底的革命，但它发生的时机决定了它要面对比英国革命更强大的对手，尤其是来自外部的干预。地理位置也决定了比起英国，法国更容易受到外部干预。这两个因素决定了法国资产阶级革命的结果在很长一段时间里无法被体制化、政府化，并导致了法国几十年的动荡和不断的战争。这些法国人的共同回忆，最终成为了法兰西第五共和国的摇篮。

首先，法国大革命的时机决定了它的目标和野心与英国的革命有很大的不同。由于英国革命是有史以来第一次资产阶级革命，它不存在可以比较的对象。如前所述，许多传统的政治机构在不同程度上仍然在革命后的英国政坛中存在。由于没有其他自由民主制国家与之横向比较，英国中产阶级对其所取得的成就感到满意。然而，法国大革命在英国革命的近150年后才爆发：美国的独立使一个新的，现代的，甚至理想化的自由民主制国家诞生，从而为法国大革命树立了相当高的标准。由于受到美国的强烈影响，法国革命家们的对政治体制的转变寻求更彻底、更根本。因此，不同的发生时间和上述的经济背景的差异，导致法国大革命相对于英国革命更加彻底。因此，传统元素，如君主制或政治习惯，在当前法国的政治制度中基本不存在。

第二，地理位置同样极大地影响了当下法国的政治体制。作为一个相对孤立的、不受欧洲大陆政治势力影响的国家，英国能够独立的将革命成果逐步制度化并发展革命者的理想，比如全民普选。而另一方面，法国必须处理欧洲大陆其他政治势力对其的干预。欧洲的其他大国被法国大革命吓坏了，因为它比英国革命更强大，更有威胁，不仅由于其迅速的诞生速度，也由于法国位于欧洲大陆之上。因此，其他主要的君主制国家受到的威胁也更直接和迫切。这个因素导致了多个反法的阵营出现。因此，革命后的法国必须要面对的首先是国外的敌人，而不是国内的挑战。

这些挑战带来了民众对于一个强大的，有魅力的领导者的普遍渴望。因此，相比起将革命的成果稳定并制度化，法国选择了先由一个具有超凡魅力的领导者拿破仑·波拿巴，在为法国带来民主之前先确保法国的国家安全。拿破仑失败了。在几场战争战败后，失败的资产阶级和政治领袖的魅力暂时消亡了，因此造成了革命成果制度化的失败。法国的政治上正处于真空：旧的皇室无法获得统治的合法性，也无法匹配法国革命的成果和民众对民主的普遍看法，而在外国的干预下，新的民主政权也无法生存。不稳定的政治制度给法国带来了一场又一场革命，而这些革命已经成为了法国人

的共同记忆。这种共同的记忆解释了为什么即使在近代，法国人依然有走上街头抗议，甚至策划革命的倾向。它还催生了一个渴求可以成功地制度化革命成果的强势领导人的政治环境。

因此，法国在形成现代政治制度的过程中面临着两方面的挑战。首先，这种制度必须在法国民众中获得统治的合法性。不受欢迎的政治制度可能会在任何时候通过革命被推翻。其次，这种政治体系必须足够稳定以迎接法国作为一个现代化的国家面临的挑战。第四共和国的失败原因就在于其议会没有固定任期，不断地被推翻，以至于无法达到第二个目标。因此，唯一的解决方案是发起一场有魅力的领导者——戴高乐领导的“革命”。他的声望，为他赢得了最初的合法性，他对法国政治体制的改革也创造出了一个稳定的政府。这两个元素定义了今天的法国政治。

在法国政治制度演变的过程中，虽然拥有一个没有太大权力的国家元首的对于法国似乎是一个自然的演变方向，但没有固定任期的议会会造成很大的不稳定，正如现实中曾发生的一样。另一方面，法国公众反对纯粹的总统制，因为作为一个有魅力的领导者，戴高乐有可能因此获得太大的权力。由于法国的历史上已经出现过很多有魅力的领袖变成独裁者的情况，法国人不可能让戴高乐成为下一个独裁者。这两方面造就了一种平衡，即半总统半议会制：一个强大的总统作为国家元首，而总理则为政府首脑。单一席位选区系统确保了议会代表人民的意愿，同时确保只有数量有限的阵营能够获得政治上的话语权，使政府内的政治联盟更稳定。随着第五共和国成立，法国终于成功地制度化了革命目标和其政治领导人的人格魅力，并进入了一个相对稳定的时期。

今天的法国和英国的政治制度是现代政治的几个关键因素：经济现实，地理位置和革命时间之间相互作用的结果。这些因素决定了两国在发展他们现有的政治制度时走过的过程，以及因此导致的当今其在政治制度和文化上的不同。

*黄启凡是外交学院英语系的大三学生。他是外交学院模拟联合国协会的总监，同时也是外交学院团委宣传部部长。

A Vindication for America's Foreign Espionage Activities in a Realistic Perspective

Tianyuan Sun

Espionage has long been an optimal choice for governments worldwide to acquire critical foreknowledge crucial in formulating national foreign and defense policies. As history progressed, especially the remarkable increase in number of states globally after World War Two as well as the beginning of Cold War, espionage assumed even greater responsibility in national governments' decision making process. For most part of these espionage activities, they were known to both governments involved, yet these governments were all bounded by inexplicit conventions to allow such existence of espionage activities for their respective interests. The combination of such conventions together with terms and spirit in UN charter that allow countries to take adequate measures to defend itself not only shed strong light on positive law thinking and legitimacy of espionage activities, but also give back door and space of maneuver of these practices.

Recent American foreign espionage activities bear no substantial differences in purpose and essence with traditional old school espionage activities as once conducted U2 air surveillance on former Soviet Union, or other eavesdropping by bugs or wiretappings, despite the use of high-tech data mining technology. Although one may criticize it as abusing America's advantage in global network physical location and overexploiting its supreme technological edge on internet over any other country, America did follow the old pattern of espionage without breaking game's essential rules, for what NSA did is no more than gathering information in a more efficient way for its own national interest.

Another accusation concerning wiretapping over Chancellor of Germany and President of Brazil does convey points on moral grounds that appeal to public opinion somehow deeply and subtly rooted in nationalism and ethnocentrism. Wiretapping on national leader may be a bad idea once discovered, yet it is unavoidable if a nation is determined to broadly collect information of another country to abandon wiretapping its leader, as he is the most important, reliable and consequential source of information of the targeted country.

Some other attacks may come from economic perspective, as has been widely expressed in concerns over business espionage, that could perhaps grant US companies with advantages in global business practice, yet it is understandable that such collateral damage may happen in any huge scale data mining activity in global scale. Simply regarding such issue as collateral damage may downsize the real grievance of consequences of illegal practice, which certainly deserves attention and remedy to mitigate such collateral damage.

Such a vindication for American foreign espionage activities may seem lunatic for people with moral righteousness and conscience, yet such a vindication is never specially purported for America's sake. In light of realistic politic perspective, the rule for a nation to follow certainly is maximization of national interest and security, with any possible means. In effect, such a vindication is for any government's doing in foreign espionage activities, considering a nation's insatiable need for acquiring sufficient information even from its allies, to know whether they are still reliable or prone to defect, while information on such issue seems always limited.

If one must dig a reason or excuse why America should do such appalling things, the bureaucratic system and its own developed interests and principle, rules and goals will not disappoint his efforts.

Yet it is also a fact that each and every person should recognize and accept the fact that in this age when we all use something that could potentially collect our personal information in an undiscovered way and we don't know much about it, there is always a chance that we are being spied. Such a scenario is almost certain, almost happening to every person, and almost will not end in future. The fact is, maybe, allowing government to spy on us is also a part of our right and privacy that we yield, although unwillingly in a resentful fashion, in order to keep the general society at least seemingly more safe and secure.

The true problem for America to worry perhaps, not the imminent one, is its degrading image and losing leadership among ally countries. Its worry about not controlling everything it wants to, not knowing everything that it should know may be only a reflection of its deep anxiety of its being surpassed or balanced by any nation or group of nations who dare to challenge.

**Tianyuan Sun is a junior student majoring in English and International Studies in China Foreign Affairs University.*

帝国主义今日之去留

张思南

帝国主义，对数千年来的国家间关系博弈有着深远的影响，在人类文明发展史中占据着重要作用。简而言之，帝国主义是指强权对于弱小国家的政治或经济扩张，而这种扩张几乎发生于所有的已知社会：从公元前五世纪的米洛斯对话，强调力量就是雅典霸权的合法性所在，到1872年英国首相迪斯雷利著名的水晶宫讲话，公然宣称英国的对外政策应着眼于世界支配。人们一度相信，帝国主义将是国际政治中永恒的组成部分，然而20多年前苏联的解体让很多人猜想，红色帝国的覆灭也终结了帝国主义。这种认识又随着国际关系中传统帝国主义案例的消失与自由贸易体系的确立而进一步加深。但是，国家间实力对比失衡和人道主义干涉的兴起均表明帝国主义仍然阴魂不散。

本文笔者将从正反两方面对帝国主义现状进行分析，并对帝国主义的未来给出判断。

一、帝国主义的消亡

（一）帝国主义政策的销声匿迹

赫尔弗里德·明克尔认为，自最后一个帝国主义实践者苏联解体以来，经济与政治的扩张主义逐渐从国际社会的视野中淡去，人们鲜能从大国的对外政策中发现传统帝国主义政策的影子。这一点从中美两国——最有可能也最有能力奉行帝国主义的国家——的发展政策中可见一斑：

中国作为当今世界最具潜力的国际秩序挑战者，长期践行着“和平崛起”的主张，无论是核武备“不首先使用”的原则、领土争端“搁置争议共同开发”的倡议还是国际关系“不结盟”的政策，都向世人展示了其不热衷于政治扩张的形象。而在经济上，不同于外界恶意杜撰的“新殖民主义”，中国并没有采纳任何形式的经济扩张政策以控制他国。中国政府甚至无意通过国际信贷途径控制不发达国家，这些手段被认为是最合法且道德的手段（背负巨额债务的不发达国家往往无力偿还债务，最后不得不通过变卖本国产业与社会服务还债，将本国经济的控制权拱手让予债权国）。仅在本世纪的第一个年头，中国政府就减免了非洲国家十亿美元的债务，并在之后持续减免各国债务，表明了其无意于经济扩张的决心。

美国作为当今唯一的超级强权，也恪守着其反帝国主义承诺。即便是为世人诟病为“帝国主义侵略”的第二次海湾战争，从学术角度也很难被解读为任何形式的政治

或经济扩张。美军撤出伊拉克后，美国留下了一个接受国际社会监督的代议制政府，而非任何形式的傀儡政权；而美国对于伊拉克的经济控制更是无稽之谈：战后美国石油公司几乎被伊拉克扫地出门，绝大多数石油合同也花落他家。

（二）自由贸易的兴盛

自由贸易的繁荣也使得帝国主义失去存在的意义。帝国主义曾是传统资本主义经济发展的必然结果。为了利润最大化，资本家往往压缩工人工资，导致大众购买力下降，而购买力的疲软又导致国内生产过剩，产品积压，迫使资本主义国家开拓海外市场；同时，上述问题又存在于几乎所有资本主义国家，为了应对经济危机，资本主义国家往往通过保护性关税减少进口，反而导致了海外市场的收缩。这一矛盾最终不可避免地将资本主义国家推上帝国主义道路，通过军事征服达到政治扩张，进而保障经济利益。第一次世界大战正是这一矛盾爆发的真实写照。

然而，从自由贸易诞生以来，国与国之间经济相依，通过扩张来获取市场变得既不现实也无意义。复杂的国际经济纽带确保了没有国家可以肆意妄为，而又不受到其他国际社会成员的经济制裁；同时，对于任何国家而言，通过强权威胁其经济合作对象都是愚蠢的，因为后者的市场和资本往往对其经济发展至关重要。由此，从理论层面上来看，为经济目的而推行帝国主义扩张的意义已经不复存在。

二、帝国主义阴魂不散

（一）国家间实力对比失衡

国家间实力发展的不平衡往往导致相对弱小的国家逐渐失去自身的政治经济独立，从而变相实现了强权的帝国主义扩张。毕竟国际关系是由实力关系界定的，随着国家间实力发展失衡，国际关系慢慢转变为由强国把持的不平等关系。这意味着处于被动地位的小国将不得不遵从强权，否则将面临严重后果：冷战后，所有未能服从美国意志的国家都遭受了巨大的政治经济压力。当今世界国家力量发展的两极分化严重到弱国已经无法维系自身独立，因为强国的力量早已穿越了国界，对小国产生了实质控制，而帝国主义，也正由此借尸还魂。

除此之外，区域一体化的扩展与国家主权的让渡更进一步刺激了实力对比失衡所带来的帝国主义。在区域一体化过程中，国家将其主权让渡于超主权实体，后者由此掌握对其内部所有国家的控制权。一方面而言，这一实体的权力由所有成员国共享；而另一方面，各国在其中的地位却是不平等的，是由国家实力决定的。在区域集团组织中，强国可以通过操作超主权实体轻易地将自身意志凌驾于小国之上，实现政治经

济扩张。经济危机后的欧盟正是这一现象的范例，德国对希腊的影响与控制力已然构成了实质意义上的帝国主义扩张。

（二）“人道主义帝国主义”

国际社会对于失败国家的人道主义干涉表明帝国主义非但没有消失，反而借助人道主义干涉卷土重来。本世纪以来，国际社会对于失败国家趋于零容忍，因其不但挑战着各国赖以繁荣的国际秩序，例如索马里政府的无能导致盘踞在亚丁湾的海盗严重威胁了自由贸易所必需的航海自由；还往往打破国际道德底线：1994年内战引发的卢旺达大屠杀被认为是整个人类的耻辱。因此，国际社会认为人道主义干涉不仅能维系全球秩序，还能为失败国家的人民带来更好的生活。

但是，对于失败国家，尤其是前殖民地国家的民众而言，他们的感受可能截然相反：他们的祖国再一次遭受了政治、经济、军事上的侵略。国际社会将少数大国主导的外界秩序强加于这些失败国家之上，这种做法与过去的帝国主义如出一辙。通过在伊拉克建立西方政治制度，美国人实际上扮演了100年前奥斯曼帝国解体时英帝国的角色。更具讽刺意味的是，所谓的推行“更好的生活”，实质上是另一种版本的将发达国家的文明施加于受其支配的不发达国家，而这正是传统帝国主义的重要特征。与传统帝国主义相比，“人道主义帝国主义”的唯一不同在于，这种新型的帝国主义不是由少数强权专有，而是受国际社会支配：它是一种集体化的帝国主义。

三、结论

当今世界，传统帝国主义已经随着政治经济扩张政策的式微和自由贸易体系的深化而逐渐消亡。然而，国际关系领域国家间实力失衡以及“人道主义帝国主义”的萌发都表明，帝国主义时代尚未结束。事实上，以单边侵略扩张为特征的原始帝国主义确以消失殆尽，但在国际社会多边框架下，帝国主义仍然阴魂不散，甚至借尸还魂。

参考文献

- Burchill, S. (2005). *The National Interest in International Relation Theory*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heywood, A. (2007). *Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Münkler, H. (2007). *Empires*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

*张思南是外交学院英语系的大四学生。他是外交学院模拟联合国协会的副秘书长。

Political Power in China

Nan Zhou

The age of liberal order initiated under the framework of Uncle Sam is constantly challenged by the rising dragon as the oriental power is undergoing its transitional era characterized by catchphrases of REFORM and CONSTRUCTION. Soon after the founding of a new China, the US felt the finest subtlety of a potential rival, thus modifying its policies in a turbulent swing throughout the Cold War until the disintegration of the Soviet Union which guaranteed that China was no longer of the secondary significance. The Red China of yore, later patched and upgraded, has taken on a new look in respect of economy, military and politics and that contributed to the inevitable termination of the United States' unipolar moment. Engaged in a game whose rules were set under the supervision of the West, China, however, stands no chance trying to struggle against or even overthrow the systematical international order.

Then what is the ace for China to sustainably enhance national development in the context of a broader picture that Chinese must comply with a global order already in place? With that in mind, I respectfully introduce the notion of political power as my reply. The national strategic goals for China, namely a titan player of the world, are not only sufficed by the accumulation of economic and military strength but also bettered under the influence of political power. The concept, as we understand, is more coherent with attraction instead of manipulation, which means the public, affected by the power, will be drawn together and share efforts for a common goal. The realization of the political attraction requires more emphasis on the issue of internal affairs, among which ranks high the comprehensive sustaining development in politics, economy and society. Yet it still remains divided concerning the blue print and roadmap on how China should go far in the political arena and thereafter the country produces little progress in relevant reforms. Many factors are virtually involved, mostly driven by interest and mentality. History, on the one hand, has witnessed how western liberal order appealed to the globe and devoted contribution to the political civilization of mankind, and, on the other hand, proved that failure was a frequent visitor to countries in the third world who had adopted simple democracy transplant.

Back in 1910s, China, whose governance philosophy had been said to be more superior, exported democratic system from the West in that Chinese civilization with profound abundance is more than capable of embracing western institutions. In terms of political value, China tends to develop the socialist

democracy with Chinese characteristics compared with its liberal equivalent. Based on the spirit of benevolence, the achievement is bred by democratic nutrition in Marxism and Liberalism, showing up as what it is a combination of tradition and modernization. The creed of democratic values of China justifies that this is a republic of the people, by the people and for the people; that this is a nation respecting the wise, the able and the virtuous; that this is a society filled with trust, faith and kindness; and that this is a country in pursuit of a free, happy and decent life for its people. The newly developed concept of democracy serves not only China, but also the undertaking of humanity as a whole. It's a guidance that helps to restore national confidence and integrates the best of the West for the good of China.

As for the undergoing political reform, China must sort out the essence from overseas without letting go the inherent advantage, self-discipline of the CPC, for example. To that end, the development of Chinese democracy suggests an extension of political participation and an improvement of political discipline. The reform in China, together with an ample storage of tradition and experience, will reach some consensus when the discussion is solely directed out of the public interest.

**Nan Zhou is a junior student majoring in Translation and Interpretation in China Foreign Affairs University. He is a member of the Model United Nations Association.*

Le Modèle des Nations Unies: à la Reherche d'une Vision Commune

Haiqing Zhang

S'entraîner à prendre la parole en public en langue étrangère, régler en paix les différends internationaux avec nos propres efforts, se faire des amis qui aiment voir grand: Le Modèle des Nations Unies abonde en opportunités qui font venir des intéressés. Cependant, une question se pose: à quoi sert cette gamme de conférences en trois ou quatre jours?

Quand j'ai participé au Modèle des Nations Unies il y a 5 ans, je rêvais au début de résoudre tous les dissonances dans le monde entier. Je le croyais possible parce que les intérêts divergents viennent souvent de malentendus ou de méfiances. Par conséquent, avec des conversations franches, les représentants tendent à détendre les rapports et règlent tous les conflits. En fait, après avoir vigoureusement discuté pendant une semaine, on a voté à l'unanimité un projet de résolution de 17 pages dans lequel il n'y a aucune mesure précise ou agissante, mais emplit beaucoup d'avis différents et de positions contraires sur la notion et les principes illusoires au sujet des droits de l'Homme, de l'égalité et aussi de l'espérance d'améliorer l'écologie. Evidemment, ce n'est pas ce que je voulais mais pourtant, comme elle comportait toutes mes opinions, j'ai voté sans exprimer mon mécontentement.

Ce qu'on doit comprendre de ce résultat imprévu, c'est qu'il existe de grandes différences entre les pays que ce soit dans la culture, les valeurs et les intérêts. Alors généralement, même pour le meilleurs des diplomates, il faut des années pour arriver à un accord parfait. Il est vrai que sur les milieux politiques internationaux, il est plus difficile à dire qu'à faire. Quand on parle de ce sujet, mieux vaut revenir à l'O.N.U, dont vient l'inspiration du Modèle des Nations Unies. On sait que l'O.N.U était établie en partie selon de bons intentions humains qui souhaitent une paix éternelle à tous. A lors de nos jours, on ne peut parler des coopérations universelles sans parler des organisations internationales, parmi lesquelles l'O.N.U, plus grande et officielle, elle joue le rôle le plus important. Elles voit grand et pense à l'avenir de l'humain. Si personne n'y songe sérieusement, c'est comme si les hommes s'enfournaient dans les trains rapides, dont ils ne savent plus la destination. Bref, l'O.N.U, comme le Modèle des Nations Unies, met à l'honneur les visions communes sans lesquelles le monde tomberait dans une situation embarrassante.

Il est à noter que la recherche d'une vision commune n'existe que dans des communautés divergents car elle ne serait plus nécessaire dans une communauté en harmonie. Naturellement, en plus du guide d'étude, il nous faut encore chercher volontiers des informations à propos du sujet donné, de l'Etat ou l'organisation qu'on représente et même d'autres pays qui y assistent. Il faut déchiffrer les intérêts, distinguer les avantages des inconvénients. Avec une préparation attentive, la conférence pourrait apporter plus de possibilités et donc être plus intéressante, de plus, il est probable que le Modèle des Nations Unies nous fasse voir un horizon plus grand que nous imaginions.

模拟联合国：寻找共识之旅

张海青

锻炼在公共场合做外语演讲的能力、通过我们的努力来和平解决国际争端、结识不少视野开阔、志同道合的朋友，等等…充满机会的模联吸引了众多的探索者。而我在这里向你们提一个问题：在三四天中进行的一系列会议中，我们到底在追求什么？

五年前第一次参加模拟联合国时，我最初曾幻想自己来摆平全世界所有的不和谐声音。之所以这样的疯狂理想可能实现，是因为我坚信所有的利益分歧源于由不信任而起的分歧，而在坦诚的交流下，紧张的关系会得到缓和，进而所有的冲突都会平息。事实上，一个周末紧张的磋商之后，我们全票赞成通过了一份长达17页的决议，里面充满了不同的意见和对立的立场，也根本没有具体行动措施，相反里面充斥着对自然环境的期望、人权以及公平这些虚无缥缈的概念及原则。显然这不是我曾期望的决议，但里面毕竟也采纳了我所有的意见，我压着自己的小牢骚投了赞成票。

我们实际上应尝试理解这样出乎预料的结果：国家间存在着大量的差异，包括在文化、价值观和利益需求上，这也是为什么通常最顶尖的外交家也要花数年的功夫才能达成一项完美的协议。的确在这类国际政治问题上，耍嘴皮子容易做的难。谈论到这个问题，我们最好回到模联灵感的起源，来看一下联合国。我们知道，联合国的成立部分归功于人类期望永久和平的美好愿望。而今日，我们谈论世界范围内的合作时不能不提国际组织所起到的作用，而这其中规模最大、最官方的联合国无疑是非常突出的。联合国看得很远，她思考着人类的未来。如果没有人严肃地去思考这些问题，这好比是人们被关在一节列车车厢里，却不明白他们要寻找什么，也不知道他们的目的地，于是不幸的是他们可能会陷入焦躁、原地转圈徘徊不前。简而言之，联合国，模联也一样，看重的是找到那些一旦失去，世界就会堕入危机的共识。

需要注意的是，达成共识需要建立在有分歧的基础上，正如在一个氛围和谐的社群里找出早已存在的共识，这并不必要。通常在背景材料之外，我们应该自发地去搜索大量有关于所给出议题、所代表的国家或组织甚至是其它出席会议国家的信息资料。利益点、优势劣势，我们应该一一把它们分辨清楚。通过仔细充分的准备，会议才会因此拥有更多变数，从而变得更加有趣，我们也将发现模联给我们的舞台远远比我们想象得还要广阔。

*张海青是外交学院外语系的大二学生。他目前是外交学院时事研究会的副会长。



Vol.01, 2013.11
CFAUMUNA Presents