全球经济治理学2019年最佳论文TOP10评选：候选论文摘要

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（一）全球经济治理学2019年最佳中文论文TOP10候选论文

　　【GC01】从规则到秩序——国际制度竞争的逻辑　　李巍、罗仪馥（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第4期，第28-57、155-156页。

　　随着国际体系的性质发生重大变化,国际制度竞争日益成为当今国际社会的重要现象,国际制度的领导国和参与国都在积极塑造和影响不同形式的国际制度,以实现各自的权力、利益或价值诉求,这使得国际制度竞争在全球与区域等不同层次、经济和政治等各个议题中都极为激烈。由于国际制度存在不同的呈现方式,国际制度竞争的形态也存在四个维度,它们分别是规则之争、机制之争、机构之争和秩序之争。规则之争是国际制度竞争的起点,奠定了其余三种制度竞争形态的基础。机制之争与机构之争都是"有形化"的制度竞争,其中机制之争是规则之争最为直接的载体,是国际制度竞争的较高阶段。机构之争是比机制之争更为复杂的竞争形式,是一种更为"实体化"的国际制度竞争,其对国际体系演进的实际影响也更大,是国际制度竞争的高级阶段。秩序之争是国际制度竞争的最高形式与最终目的,也是最为抽象的形态。国家围绕国际制度展开竞争的最终目标正是塑造或维持对本国有利的国际秩序。对这四种形态的国际制度竞争的阐述和分析为国际制度竞争的相关理论研究提供了更为坚实的实证基础。

　　【GC02】市场、国家与国际经贸规则体系重构　　竺彩华（2019），《外交评论》，第5期，第1-33、156-157页。

　　当前,美国正在打破其自二战以来建立的国际经济秩序,国际经贸规则体系沿着两条"断层线"——"发展断层线"和"脱钩断层线"进行重构:一方面,美国通过单边主义破坏原有规则体系中的发展原则,可能形成发达国家(尤其美国)和发展中国家(尤其中国)之间难以弥合的规则"分水岭";另一方面,尤其在科技领域,美国对中国实施的脱钩行为,可能迫使企业和市场适应不同的规则体系。要深刻理解当前国际经贸规则"破"与"立"背后的规律和深层原因,就必须从推动国际经贸规则形成的两种逻辑——市场逻辑和国家逻辑出发,从历史和现实的交汇中寻求答案。市场逻辑是国际经贸规则发展的原动力,但其内在缺陷又导致全球化必然在国际和国内层面产生发展断层线。国家逻辑则更多反映了东西方之间新的权力平衡及其在构建国际经贸规则体系中的作用。未来很可能形成两种导向的国际经贸规则体系,资本导向的美式规则体系越来越缺乏发展内涵,"一带一路"正在形成"发展导向"的规则体系。规则之争就是制度竞争,主导国际经贸规则体系的重构,必须在全球化背景下妥善处理资本与劳动力之间的利益不平衡关系。中国要进一步发挥制度优势,坚持发展视角。

　　【GC03】论新工业革命加速拓展与全球治理变革方向　　谢伏瞻（2019），《经济研究》，第7期，第4-13页。

　　当前,以智能化、网络化、数字化为核心特征的新一轮工业革命正处于由导入期向拓展期转变的关键阶段。新工业革命在为全球经济增长构筑新动力、促进包容性发展和提升人类社会福祉的同时,也将重塑国家间竞争格局,为后发国家的竞争与赶超提供窗口期。面对新工业革命的冲击,只有坚持开放和多边主义,以多边规则基于公平对等原则进行约束和引导,各国才能共享工业革命的红利,有效应对工业革命的挑战。这决定了未来全球治理变革的主流方向和主导逻辑必然是多边主义,而不是保护主义和单边主义;诸如WTO等现有多边组织的改革,必须在坚持多边主义原则的前提下推进。

　　【GC04】全球善智与全球合智：人工智能全球治理的未来　　高奇琦（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第7期，第24-48、155-156页。

　　当前,由主权国家主导的全球治理机制存在霸权逻辑和冲突逻辑两大核心特征。首先,人工智能在全球治理中的应用并不会自然地消解霸权逻辑。在智能革命中,美国等西方国家试图利用霸权战略维持其技术优势,而发展中国家尽管会在某些领域得到一定程度的赋能,但也面临与发达国家差距拉大的风险。在涉及人工智能的国际观念结构中,西方仍然占据主导地位。全球善智意味着主要国家在强人工智能和超人工智能的发展问题上形成全球性共识,通过一种全球协商机制对智能化的发展进行节奏调节,将可解释的、安全的人工智能作为未来的发展方向,并通过智能化来推动发展中国家解决其历史性难题。其次,人工智能在全球治理中的应用也很难直接削弱冲突逻辑。长期来看,人工智能的发展有助于人们增进了解,但在短期内频繁的直接接触则可能会诱发新的冲突。人工智能技术会帮助流动中的人们了解他国文化,但是因全球性失业问题加剧的反移民浪潮不利于人口的全球性自由流动。基于此,全球合智要求全球社会在人机合智、多国合智和多行为体合智等方面形成合力。全球善智和全球合智应成为未来人工智能在全球治理中的目标性价值和过程性价值

　　【GC05】主场外交、战略能力与全球治理　　凌胜利（2019），《外交评论》，第4期，第1-31、4-5页。

　　主场外交是在一国境内举行的多边外交活动,涉及政治、经济、军事、文化等诸多领域,其目的在于促进本国的国家利益,增强本国的国际影响力。当前全球治理面临民主赤字、效力不足、领导乏力等问题,要求中国等新兴国家承担更多的国际责任。随着中国实力增强,国际社会也期望中国在全球治理中发挥更大的作用。秉持"共商共建共享"的全球治理观,中国需要创造更多的平台与机会来促进国际共识和共同行动。十八大以来,中国通过大力举办和开展主场外交,提升国际话语权、加强对国际制度的参与和塑造、优化国际形象和增加国际贡献,增强了自身的战略能力,促进大国实力更有效地转化为国际影响力,推动改革和完善全球治理,有助于构建新型国际关系,实现人类命运共同体的宏伟目标。从博鳌亚洲论坛到G20杭州峰会,从塑造国际共识到促进共同行动,中国的主场外交取得了显著成效,产生了重要影响,但也存在国内协调、政策落实、长效机制、成本优化等问题,需要在增强国际话语权的聚合作用、加强国际合作、提升制度效能、增加透明度等方面进一步改进和完善。

　　【GC06】领导权转移与全球治理：角色定位、制度制衡与亚投行　　贺凯、冯惠云、魏冰（2019），《国际政治科学》，第3期，第31-59页。

　　亚洲基础设施投资银行的成立标志着中国开始走向多边制度并对现有全球金融治理体系展现自身的吸引力。如果说中国崛起势不可当,那么未来世界将会走向何处?其他国家又应做何准备?借鉴制度制衡理论与外交政策分析中的角色理论,本文提出"领导权转移"的分析框架,以解释全球治理中不同国家进行政策选择的动态原因,并以亚投行作为案例进行考察。本文认为,中国、美国以及其他国家采取了不同类型的制度制衡战略,包括包容性制度制衡、排他性制度制衡和制度间制衡,以便在亚投行的筹建过程中争夺影响力和利益。在全球治理"领导权转移"的过程中,国家具有领导者、挑战者和追随者三种不同的角色定位,这些角色定位会塑造国家对于不同制度制衡战略的政策选择。制度制衡是国家在全球治理未来转型过程中的一种新型制衡行为。中国在全球治理中的制度性崛起会比普遍预测的结果更加和平。

　　【GC07】国际关系中的区域治理：理论建构与比较分析　　张云（2019），《中国社会科学》，第7期，第186-203、208页。

　　区域是一种非国家的社会历史单元,区域治理是人类基于不同地域的地理环境、族群分布和文明传承而进行的以区域为单元的社会实践。20世纪下半叶以来,国家权力的流散和"空心化"带来不同国际关系变量在区域范围的重新整合,区域治理日益成为国际关系中稳定区域合作机制、推动区域善治的常态存在。区域治理以区域连结、区域建制和区域大国为基本变量,在此基础上形成了区域协调、区域管理和区域监测等三种基本的区域治理机制。通过对欧洲、北美和东亚区域治理实践的比较分析可以发现,不同的区域治理在历史演进和表现形式上各有特点,既有共性也有特殊性,它们共同丰富了全球治理的区域层次。

　　【GC08】国际组织中的权力均衡与决策效率——以金砖国家新开发银行和应急储备安排为例　　罗杭、杨黎泽（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第2期，第123-154页。

　　国际组织中的权力均衡是指组织能够避免"一家独大"的能力,而国际组织中的决策效率是指组织可以形成决策的能力。金砖五国倡议成立的新开发银行和应急储备安排是对现有全球经济治理体系的补充或重塑,并在决策机制的设计上创造了国际金融组织中的两个"史无前例":一是首次采用了平权而非加权的投票权分配模式,二是在重大议题上首次采用了共识(一致)而非多数表决制的决策规则。作者对金砖国家新开发银行和应急储备安排中的权力分布格局进行了测算,发现新开发银行在真实权力的结构上处于完全均等和平衡的状态,虽然金砖国家应急储备安排在投票权分配上采用了加权投票制(中国拥有最多的投票权),但涉及高级别和战略性决策时所要求的共识规则又使得各成员国的真实权力再度"平权"。作者通过构建新的制衡权力指数和借鉴Coleman全体权力指数以对国际组织中的权力均衡与决策效率进行精确测量,发现二者并不是常识上认为的负相关关系,它与组织的决策规则有着密切的联系,呈现出复杂的变化机理。

　　【GC09】财政危机下的国际组织变革路径　　汤蓓（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第9期，第132-153、159-160页。

　　财政资源是国际组织运作必不可少的要素,但受到金融危机、大国单边主义等因素的影响,财政危机成为许多国际组织面临的挑战,同时也成为促发变革的契机。2008年之后,国际劳工组织、联合国教科文组织以及世界卫生组织财政资源紧缩,不足以满足实施原定规划活动的需要。为应对财政危机,三个国际组织均发起了组织变革,但仅有国际劳工组织成功地重新规划了重点工作领域,通过缩减活动范围的方式缓解了财政压力。联合国教科文组织与世界卫生组织的相似努力却失败了,改革方向转为争取主要出资方的支持与协作。委托—代理理论与历史制度主义的分析路径提供了解释国际组织变革路径差异的视角。行政机构在预算制定中拥有的自主性越大,国际组织越有可能提出缩减组织目标的改革倡议。但是,如果成员国集团在秘书处中的代理机构能够影响预算规划实施,改革倡议将难以落实。此外,如果财政危机持续,国际组织会试图采纳新的制度安排,允许重要出资方在国际组织的决策中占有更大发言权。

　　【GC10】美国在世界银行的影响力下降了吗——从世界银行发展融资分布得出的证据　　宋锦（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第10期，第74-98、158-159页。

　　美国霸权衰落对国际公共产品供给的影响是近年来学界关注的焦点,具有重要的理论和实践价值。作者通过OLS和工具变量等计量经济学方法检验了美国对世界银行发展融资分布的影响,发现随着国际政治经济格局的迅速变化,美国对世行的影响力在2007年之后逐渐减弱,特别是在贫穷国家和其他发展中国家实现的经济利益减弱。其主要原因是包括中国在内的新兴发展中国家在世行的影响力提升,制约了美国的干预力度。同时,国际发展融资市场的繁荣使世行发展融资的影响力有所削弱。作者的主要结论是:第一,促进发展融资市场繁荣和在机制上保护发展中国家对于保障多边体系的参与权和全球发展资金的公平、有效使用非常重要。第二,美国退出国际多边机制的根本原因是美国通过多边机制实现自身利益的能力持续减弱。第三,在新的国际政治经济格局中,国际发展领域需要有更多的机构来补充和完善。

　　【GC11】WTO改革的必要性及其议题设计　　刘敬东（2019），《国际经济评论》，第1期，第34-57、5页。

　　WTO及其代表的国际贸易法律体制正面临空前危机,包括WTO以及国际上主要贸易体在内的国际社会对WTO改革的必要性及其急迫性已有充分认知。WTO改革的价值取向决定着多边贸易体制及其法律制度的发展方向,各主要贸易体之间在这方面存在着巨大争论,中国应提出WTO改革遵循的基本原则。改革议题设计是WTO改革的前提,是WTO改革最终成功的基础,预示着WTO多边贸易体制的未来走向,中国应本着支持多边体制、捍卫自身核心贸易利益、追求各方共赢的方针尽快提出议题方案,寻求与大多数WTO成员方在改革议题方面的最大公约数。根据循序渐进的原则,通过三个阶段的改革,使得WTO摆脱当前生存危机,适应21世纪国际经济法发展趋势,进而推动WTO成为全球经济治理的典范。

　　【GC12】世界贸易组织改革：全球方案与中国立场　　廖凡（2019），《国际经济评论》，第2期，第32-43、4-5页。

　　世界贸易组织(WTO)正面临前所未有的生存危机,改革已经成为共识。但关于WTO改革的基本原则、具体内容和优先顺序,各方立场和意见则不尽相同,阵营划分也难以一概而论。综合现有的主要改革方案,大体而言,在谈判机制方面主张增加谈判机制灵活性,打破"协商一致"造成的多边谈判僵局;在实体规则方面主张制定贸易新规,强化贸易公平,消除投资障碍;在纪律约束方面主张更好发挥WTO的审查和监督功能,加强对成员方遵守透明度和通报义务的约束;在争端解决方面主张尽快修改相关协定,打破上诉机构法官遴选僵局,确保WTO正常运转。对于中国而言,关键在于"以我为主",明确自身基本立场与核心关切,并在现有《立场文件》基础上,出台具体改革方案,更加积极主动地参与乃至推动WTO改革进程。

　　【GC13】WTO改革应关注发展中成员的能力缺失问题　　张向晨、徐清军、王金永（2019），《国际经济评论》，第1期，第9-33、4页。

　　发展议题是多边贸易谈判的组成部分,也是当前世贸组织(WTO)改革的讨论内容。发展中国家特殊与差别待遇是多边发展议题的核心构成,历史沿革为给惠与受惠的关系。通过将"不完全契约"、"能力贫困"等理论分析框架引入多边贸易谈判领域,本文认为,发展议题的本质是发展中国家存在能力缺失,而能力缺失问题制约了发展中国家的谈判水平以及将谈判成果转化为国内经济发展的程度。从能力缺失和一系列经济社会指标看,中国仍是发展中国家。多边发展议题的出路在于弥补"规则赤字",解决发展中国家的能力缺失问题,既起始于多边规则谈判,也落脚于多边规则实施,即通过多边规则转化为国内法律法规,并将这一能力转化为国内经济和社会发展的动力和内生变量,进而发展中国家才能自主在多边贸易谈判中"根据能力作贡献"。

　　【GC14】新一轮世贸组织特殊和差别待遇之争及其前景　　柯静（2019），《现代国际关系》，第8期，第26-34、67页。

　　世贸组织中特殊和差别待遇(S&DT)概念自诞生以来,发达成员和发展中成员始终围绕其内涵、范围及实现方式存在严重分歧。近年来,随着世界经济格局变化和美国政府总体对华战略转变,S&DT之争进一步激化。新一轮争论由美国为首的发达成员率先挑起,向发展中成员适用S&DT的资格条件发起全面挑战,矛盾焦点和斗争进程呈现出不同于此前的复杂性、针对性和紧迫性。未来S&DT如何演进,主要取决于世贸组织各方在这一问题上的利益认知和互动方式。鉴于中国经济发展水平的逐步提升,特别是中美间日趋激烈的竞争态势,未来中国在世贸组织中的S&DT回旋空间可能会逐步缩小。

　　【GC15】上诉机构的条约解释判理或先例之辨——兼论WTO争端解决机制改革　　张乃根（2019），《国际经济评论》，第2期，第44-56、5页。

　　作为多边贸易体系的核心机构,WTO上诉机构正面临严重的生存危机。美国以上诉机构赋予其条约解释等判理以判例法的先例效力等为由,主张这是WTO改革的体制性问题之一。有针对性地分析美国的主张,客观评估上诉机构的条约解释实践,辨析有关条约解释的判理或先例及其相关问题,是合理改革WTO争端解决机制的必要条件

　　【GC16】多边贸易、市场规则与技术标准定价　　马一德（2019），《中国社会科学》，第6期，第106-123、206页。

　　技术交互利用催生技术标准,技术标准许可贸易是全球多边贸易的重要内容。单边技术标准定价规则引发大量诉讼,使得以技术为生的市场主体疲于应对,无暇升级自身经济结构。技术标准的推行需要公平、合理、无歧视的多边贸易体制。作为技术标准的法律形态,标准必要专利许可费定价规则是多边技术贸易规则体系的核心内容。现有标准必要专利许可费定价规则表明,不同国家基于各自利益,在多边贸易体制外主动或被动制定单边规则,致使技术标准定价规则碎片化。以市场因素整合技术定价规则,重塑多边贸易体制的职能,实现多边贸易规则体系的现代化,增强多边贸易体制对全球价值链的适应性,是解决技术标准定价规则冲突的可行方案。倡导建立以市场为标准必要专利定价规则,使不同层级发展水平的国家能够在多边贸易体制下共享技术革命成果,以此推动全球均衡、包容、普惠发展,为构建人类命运共同体贡献中国智慧和中国方案。

　　【GC17】CPTPP的规则、影响及中国对策：基于和TPP对比的分析　　白洁、苏庆义（2019），《国际经济评论》，第1期，第58-76、6页。

　　2018年3月8日,备受关注的《全面进步的跨太平洋伙伴关系协定》(CPTPP)得以签署,并于12月30日正式生效。经过删减后的CPTPP与《跨太平洋伙伴关系协定》(TPP)相比,其经济规模和战略影响力大不如前,但在国际经贸规则方面,CPTPP仍然代表新一代贸易协定的最高标准,可引领21世纪国际经贸规则。况且,仍存在未来美国重返这一自贸协定的可能。CPTPP的签署会对世界贸易版图、战略布局产生一定影响,尤其是在中美经贸摩擦、美欧日有联合制定经贸规则动向、世贸组织改革等新形势下,CPTPP的重要性明显上升。本文基于文本分析的视角,对成员国官方发布的CPTPP和TPP文本全文进行对比与解读。从经济层面、战略层面和规则层面分析CPTPP对世界和中国经济产生的影响。并在此基础上分析CPTPP条款在中国接受的难易程度,提出相关政策建议。

　　【GC18】基于《美墨加协定》分析数字贸易规则“美式模板”的深化及扩展　　周念利、陈寰琦（2019），《国际贸易问题》，第9期，第1-11页。

　　《美墨加协定》(简称USMCA)框架下的数字贸易谈判以《跨太平洋伙伴关系协定》(简称TPP)规则作为基础。除直接承袭TPP中的部分条款外,USMCA对TPP中的数字贸易规则进行了一系列升级。USMCA较TPP数字贸易规则所作"深化"主要体现于:将数字产品非歧视性待遇扩展适用于广播服务产品;剔除"跨境数据自由流动"条款中"考虑各方监管需求"的例外规定;明确指出缔约方在"个人信息保护"方面需遵循的具体协定及原则;在"数据存储非强制本地化"条款中剔除"监管例外"和"公共安全例外"规定;将"开放源代码禁令"扩充适用于基础设施软件并引入"密钥保护"条款;推进缔约方在信息技术、网络安全、中小企业等多领域开展合作。此外USMCA还引入了未被TPP覆盖的"扩展"规则:"交互式计算机服务提供者对第三方侵权行为的免责条款"和"政府数据公开条款"。结合美国在USMCA谈判中所作表态,本文预测在后USMCA时代的贸易谈判中,数字贸易规则"美式模板"主要会在"持续推进美国数字经济国内规制的国际化"及"敦促缔约对象开放特定数字服务部门"两层面继续演进与发展。

　　【GC19】G20机制20年：演进、困境与中国应对　　王文、王鹏（2019），《现代国际关系》，第5期，第1-9、33、62页。

　　G20机制成立20年来已发展为全球经济治理的"首要平台"。然而,其固有缺陷、当前全球治理所面临的新挑战以及世界大国间的战略矛盾等因素导致其面临困境,且使部分"杭州共识"面临边缘化的威胁。本文在文献研究和密集调研的基础上,回溯G20机制20年演进史,以有效性和代表性的变化为主要依据,分阶段考察G20全球治理的演进逻辑,讨论其当前困境及杭州峰会后"中国方案"面临的挑战;在此基础上就应对困境提出具可操作性的政策建议。

　　【GC20】特朗普政府需要什么样的全球化　　李向阳（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第3期，第44-56、156-157页。

　　特朗普政府倡导反全球化是对美国民粹主义诉求的呼应,具有内在的必然性。但从全球的角度来看,这并不意味着民粹主义和反全球化具有合理性。在民粹主义和反全球化的背后是美国对丧失全球化领导权的担忧和对现行国际经济规则的不满。这种不满不仅体现在对多边主义规则之上,而且体现在对区域主义规则之上。不过,基于经济全球化的双重属性与特朗普政府的执政理念,特朗普政府并非要"去全球化",而是要构建新型全球化或"再全球化"。这种新型全球化是一种排他性的全球化:其主导者是美国及其有共同利益的"志同道合者";其原则是以"公平贸易"理念取代自由贸易理念;其手段是以双边机制替代多边机制;其目标是维护美国(及其盟友)领先者的地位,阻止后来者实现赶超。与排他性全球化相对应的是包容性全球化,反映了全球经济中的后来者或发展中国家的利益诉求。未来全球化与全球治理改革的发展方向将取决于这两种模式的博弈结果:它们各自的被认可度、可行性以及两者能否找到最大公约数

　　【GC21】从接触到竞争：美国对华经济战略的转型　　李巍（2019），《外交评论》，第5期，第54-80、6页。

　　从20世纪70年代开始,美国逐渐调整之前遏制中国的政策,开始实行对华接触以共同应对日益增长的苏联威胁,这一战略历经反复曲折而最终在90年代末定型。美国接触战略的重要内容是"经济接触",即通过大力发展对华经贸关系,促使中国在政治、经济和社会各方面朝着美国所希望的方向演变。奥巴马政府时期,面对中国的快速崛起,美国的经济接触增加了一些"经济防范"的因素,但总体而言其接触的方向没有变化。从2015年开始,美国国内掀起了新一轮对华政策辩论,其核心论题就是美国的接触政策是否已然失败。2017年底,美国政府将中国定位为"战略竞争者",随后中美在2018年爆发了空前的"贸易战"并持续至今,这在很大程度上宣告了美国经济接触的终结,新的"经济竞争"态势拉开序幕,标志着美国对华经济战略的一次重大转型。经贸关系一直被认为是中美关系的"压舱石",因而经济接触的终结和经济竞争的开始和演进,将会深刻改变中美双边关系乃至整个全球秩序。

　　【GC22】大国经济外交与全球经济治理制度——基于中美经济外交战略及其互动分析　　陈伟光、蔡伟宏（2019），《当代亚太》，第2期，第67-94、157-158页。

　　从一定意义上讲,大国经济外交互动是全球经济治理制度演进的重要力量。通过经济外交手段塑造有利于自身的全球经济治理体系,是近百年来大国通常的做法。文章通过梳理二战前后美英两国经济外交博弈及其与全球经济治理的制度性权力的关系发现,美国经济外交及其政策对于塑造和维护其国际政治经济的主导权发挥了重要的作用。中国是经济外交战略运用的后起之秀,改革开放以来,经济外交助推中国从全球经济治理体系的融入者转变为建设者、改革者乃至成为新型全球经济治理的塑造者。由于特朗普政府实施"有原则的现实主义"的外交路线,中美双方在全球经济治理领域互动的针对性和竞争性会进一步强化,中国需要与美国在相互调适中争取更大的制度性权力空间。

　　【GC23】失重的“压舱石”?经贸合作的“赫希曼效应”分析——以德俄关系与中德关系为比较案例　　熊炜（2019），《外交评论》，第5期，第81-103、6-7页。

　　国家间的经贸联系与双边政治外交关系之间如何相互影响,一直是国际关系研究的重大理论问题。本文探讨了经贸联系产生"赫希曼效应"的因果机制。当贸易结构无法在贸易伙伴国国内形成愿意付出政治资本以代言本国利益的利益集团时,经贸合作将难以起到维持政治外交关系的"压舱石"作用,反之则相反。中国和俄罗斯同为德国的重要经贸合作伙伴,并且在政治制度和价值观等方面的差异都曾给双边政治关系造成冲击,但"赫希曼效应"促进了德俄关系的稳定,而在中德关系中却没有发挥明显的作用。经贸关系成为德俄双边政治关系中的"压舱石",而在中德之间却缺少一种防止双边关系出现剧烈震荡的机制或力量。

　　【GC24】“一带一路”与全球治理的关系——一个类型学分析　　谢来辉（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第1期，第34-58、157-158页。

　　"一带一路"已经被广泛认为是中国探索全球治理模式的重要实践,是中国在新时期参与全球治理的重要平台。但是关于"一带一路"与现有全球治理体系之间的互动关系,目前国内外的学者存在很大的意见分歧。这在很大程度上是因为对于这些问题并没有形成系统的分析框架,研究者从不同的研究视角出发,侧重讨论了其中不同的方面。事实上,"一带一路"建设涵盖了器物、制度和观念等多个维度,它与全球治理的互动是复杂多样的过程。而且,现有治理体系的制度形态和权力结构在很大程度上决定了二者之间的互动模式。基于这两个要素可以建立一个分析框架,从而对二者互动的各种可能情况进行类型学的分析。从中可见,"一带一路"与全球治理的初始理念相互契合,嵌入其正式制度之中,而非形成"平行制度";但是与西方权力较为集中的非正式制度之间却存在明显紧张的竞争关系,存在较大创新空间。"一带一路"建设应在该领域深入探索完善全球治理体系的具体途径。

　　【GC25】“一带一路”倡议对接2030年可持续发展议程——内涵、目标与路径　　朱磊、陈迎（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第4期，第79-100、158页。

　　自2013年提出以来,"一带一路"倡议已实施5年多,在取得举世瞩目成绩的同时,来自部分国家的反对声音也不断增加,给倡议的进一步推进造成了相当的阻力。2030年可持续发展议程则是联合国可持续发展事业的最新成果与世界各国的重要共识,具有权威性和广泛认同度。二者在诸多方面存在相通之处。将"一带一路"倡议与2030年可持续发展议程进行对接有助于化解部分国家的顾虑和质疑、提升参与国和友善群体的国际站位和道义高度,对把"一带一路"推向世界具有重要意义。"一带一路"与2030议程对接的重要理论和政策问题主要体现在内涵、目标和实现路径三个方面:对接的核心是认识行动与目标、当前与未来两对辩证关系;目的是提升参与全球治理的能力、增加优质公共物品供给、促进全球可持续发展进程以及助力"一带一路"沿线发展中国家落实可持续发展目标;途径是实现理念对接、领域对接和机制对接。

　　【GC26】全球治理能力建设的中国实践　　吴志成、王慧婷（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第7期，第4-23、154-155页。

　　随着全球化进程的不断深化和逆全球化的泛起,全球治理赤字也日趋严重,加强国家全球治理能力建设的任务更加紧迫。国家的全球治理能力主要表现为国家为有效解决全球性问题而主动提供全球公共产品的素质和技能,包括硬能力、软能力和巧能力三个方面。新中国成立以来,中国参与全球治理经历了一个复杂曲折的过程,中国的参与和融入不仅促进了全球问题的有效解决,推动了全球治理体系变革,提升了全球公信力和影响力,也展现出负责任大国的责任与担当。但是,参与全球治理的硬能力相对欠缺、软硬能力发展不平衡、在全球治理中的主导和引领能力不足等问题,已经成为中国全球治理能力建设的明显制约。进入新时期,中国在全球治理中的作用和贡献不断扩大,也越来越重视树立负责任大国形象,特别是人类命运共同体理念的提出,使全球治理能力建设成为国际问题研究的热点和国家战略聚焦的重点。基于现阶段中国全球治理能力建设的不足,必须加快推动国家治理能力和治理体系现代化,优化全球治理战略设计,增强全球公共产品的有效供给能力,倡导互利共赢、险责共担的新型合作理念,构建和完善全球治理人才培养体系。

　　【GC27】中国参与全球治理的历史进程及前景展望　　王新影（2019），《马克思主义研究》，第1期，第120-129页。

　　随着全球化进程的不断深化和逆全球化的泛起,全球治理赤字也日趋严重,加强国家全球治理能力建设的任务更加紧迫。国家的全球治理能力主要表现为国家为有效解决全球性问题而主动提供全球公共产品的素质和技能,包括硬能力、软能力和巧能力三个方面。新中国成立以来,中国参与全球治理经历了一个复杂曲折的过程,中国的参与和融入不仅促进了全球问题的有效解决,推动了全球治理体系变革,提升了全球公信力和影响力,也展现出负责任大国的责任与担当。但是,参与全球治理的硬能力相对欠缺、软硬能力发展不平衡、在全球治理中的主导和引领能力不足等问题,已经成为中国全球治理能力建设的明显制约。进入新时期,中国在全球治理中的作用和贡献不断扩大,也越来越重视树立负责任大国形象,特别是人类命运共同体理念的提出,使全球治理能力建设成为国际问题研究的热点和国家战略聚焦的重点。基于现阶段中国全球治理能力建设的不足,必须加快推动国家治理能力和治理体系现代化,优化全球治理战略设计,增强全球公共产品的有效供给能力,倡导互利共赢、险责共担的新型合作理念,构建和完善全球治理人才培养体系。

　　【GC28】全球货币治理的中国效应　　张发林（2019），《世界经济与政治》，第8期，第96-126、158-159页。

　　2008年国际金融危机带来的国际货币制度变迁动力逐渐减弱,国际货币体系改革进展缓慢,其固有的问题依然存在,全球货币治理的需求依然强烈。在中美竞争加剧和国际秩序变革的背景下,人民币制度和政策更多被以美国为主的西方社会视为问题的原因,而非全球货币治理的助力因素。但是,在全球货币治理的组织结构和体制两个方面,中国货币制度都产生了积极的制度渐进变革效应,具体表现为制度替代、制度叠加、制度偏离与制度转变。制度替代主要指人民币对美元的部分功能替代以及中国主导建立的国际或区域货币组织对既有组织功能的部分替代。制度叠加主要表现在人民币双边互换、人民币纳入特别提款权货币篮子以及中国货币组织融入全球货币治理体系三个方面。制度偏离表现为"去美元化"趋势渐强和"美元循环"趋势弱化。制度转变表现为中国货币制度的干预主义特色在国际收支调节、国际汇率稳定等方面的积极影响。这些国内货币政策的国际积极效应提示出全球货币治理的另一可循路径:通过主要国家国内货币政策改革,自下而上、从部分到整体地推动国际货币体系的渐进变革。

　　【GC29】全球气候治理中的知识供给与话语权竞争——以中国气候研究影响IPCC知识塑造为例　　李昕蕾（2019），《外交评论》，第4期，第32-70、5-6页。

　　"科学共识"其实是一种"非中性"知识框定过程,不同国家在全球气候治理体系中的知识塑造能力决定其能否在话语权竞争中占据优势。目前欧美西方国家凭借其对气候知识生产和科学评估的结构性主导权,在科学与政治的互动中获得了更多的话语权,加剧了"南北分割"下的话语不平等与治理合法性赤字。随着发展中国家在气候治理中影响权重和治理诉求的不断提高,中国亟需在气候治理共有知识的塑造过程中发挥能动性作用,从知识供给角度提升知识权威和话语影响力。从知识供给视角分析气候话语权的塑造,意味着不能仅仅关注气候知识的生产过程,还需要关注相应的影响策略和话语传播能力。通过评估中国气候研究对于IPCC第五份报告的话语塑造,可以看出中国在气候知识供给中的话语合法化、话语公共化和话语有效化均有待提升。鉴于IPCC第六份评估报告的撰写已进入关键性阶段,中国应该把握通过自身气候研究影响IPCC知识建构的重要机会窗口期,提升话语生产质量,通过议程设置和议程管理等推进话语的制度化嵌入,优化传播机制、拓展平台,以增强话语的规范扩散和受众接纳度,更有效地影响国际层面的共有知识生产,强化在全球气候科学评估中的知识输入和规范塑造,从根本上提升中国在全球气候政治中的话语权和制度性权力。

　　【GC30】中非合作论坛与中国特色国际公共产品供应探索　　张春（2019），《外交评论》，第3期，第1-28、156页。

　　伴随自身快速发展,中国正日益参与国际公共产品供应,其中与发展中国家特别是非洲地区的合作最具代表性。自创立以来,中非合作论坛的国际公共产品供应角色日益明显,迅速从供应物质性公共产品,拓展至供应安全性乃至思想性公共产品。与内涵拓展相适应,中非合作论坛正在推动形成中国特色的国际公共产品供应之道,表现出三大特征:理念上,欢迎免费搭车,避免强制搭车;目标上,促进可持续发展,预防援助依赖;机制上,培育制度稳定性,降低不确定性预期。随着国际公共产品供应的理念、目标和机制日渐成熟,中非合作论坛产生了重要的全球性外溢,推动了整个国际社会对非合作的优化发展。为进一步提升国际公共产品供应能力,促进中国特色国际公共产品供应之道的发展和完善,中非合作论坛仍需进一步完善国际公共产品供应的理论支持、制度框架及评估方法。

（二）全球经济治理学2019年最佳英文论文TOP10候选论文

　　【GE01】Legacies and innovations in global economic governance since Bretton Woods　　Fioretos, O. & Heldt, E. (2019). Review of International Political Economy, 26(6), 1089-1111.

　　The international economic system that emerged after the 1944 Bretton Woods conference became the most durable international arrangement devoted to economic openness. Seventy-five?years after the conference, however, global shifts in power, institutional gridlock, and populist backlash figure prominently in accounts predicting the system’s demise. This article examines the legacies of the Bretton Woods conference for structures and practices of global economic governance and innovations that emerged over time to adapt the system to new political and economic circumstances. It explores how and why the Bretton Woods system became a more variegated system over time with respect to four features of governance: membership, legalization, organizational focality, and market embeddedness. It identifies sources and effects of expanding membership in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the emergence of new formal and informal institutions, the challenges of a more fragmented institutional landscape, and shifts in the underlying principles of economic governance. Finally, the article discusses lessons from past crises in and reforms to the Bretton Woods system, and their implications for understanding recent challenges to global economic cooperation.

　　【GE02】Does international pooling of authority affect the perceived legitimacy of global governance?　　Anderson, B., Bernauer, T. & Kachi, A. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(4), 661-683.

　　Recent instances of political backlash against global governance efforts as well as conventional wisdom suggest that there is a link between shifting decision-making authority from the domestic to the global level, on the one hand, and the legitimacy of global governance institutions as perceived by citizens and other stakeholders on the other. We use a population-based survey experiment in Germany and the United States (N?=?1600 each) to investigate whether increasing the authority of a global governance institution negatively affects citizens’ legitimacy perceptions. The empirical focus is on climate change, a costly and paradigmatic global governance effort. The results show that shifts of political authority, notably changes towards majority decision making at the international level and automatic implementation of international decisions domestically, do not, on average, significantly affect citizens’ legitimacy perceptions of global governance institutions. Interestingly, the absence of the presumed negative effect is not due to citizens’ incapacity to understand the implications of increasing international authority in the sense that increasing international authority results in a loss of control over climate policy in Germany and the United States. Rather, legitimacy perceptions appear to be shaped by citizens’ perceptions of procedural and performance quality of such efforts in more general terms, and not by authority levels per se. Overall, these findings suggest that there could be more room for increasing the authority of global governance institutions, provided this can be done in ways that ascertain high procedural and output performance quality.

　　【GE03】Contested world order: The delegitimation of international governance　　Hooghe, L., Lenz, T. & Marks, G. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(4), 731-743.

　　This article argues that the chief challenge to international governance is an emerging political cleavage, which pits nationalists against immigration, free trade, and international authority. While those on the radical left contest international governance for its limits, nationalists reject it in principle. A wide-ranging cultural and economic reaction has reshaped political conflict in Europe and the United States and is putting into question the legitimacy of the rule of law among states.

　　【GE04】Beyond a Seat at the Table: Participation and Influence in Global Governance.　　Moraes, H. (2019), Global Governance, 25(4), 563–586.

　　Debates on the legitimacy of global governance pay remarkably little attention to whether and how developing countries can influence global governance. Instead, the focus lies significantly on addressing legitimacy challenges such as access and exclusion in global governance. Despite their merits, these debates often stop short of addressing a crucial question: How can weak states harness increased participation in global governance if they are ill-equipped to do so? To respond to this question, this article lays down a framework of mechanisms that might induce more influence by developing countries. The article makes two claims. First, we should understand influence as the combination of two skills: translation of global governance and empowerment to defend the interests of a country at global decision-making processes. Second, increased influence by developing countries must be stimulated by leveraging both domestic capacities (actor-level mechanisms of influence) and resources available at the international system (system-level mechanisms).

　　【GE05】Legitimacy and contestation in global governance: Revisiting the folk theory of international institutions　　Hurd, I. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(4), 717-729.

　　https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11558-018-9338-z

　　【GE06】The legitimacy and legitimation of international organizations: introduction and framework　　Tallberg, J. & Zürn, M. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(4), 581-606.

　　While legitimacy dynamics are paramount in global governance, they have been insufficiently recognized, conceptualized, and explained in standard accounts of international cooperation. This special issue aims to advance the empirical study of legitimacy and legitimation in global governance. It engages with the question of when, how, and why international organizations (IOs) gain, sustain, and lose legitimacy in world politics. In this introduction, we first conceptualize legitimacy as the belief that an IO’s authority is appropriately exercised, and legitimation and delegitimation as processes of justification and contestation intended to shape such beliefs. We then discuss sources of variation in legitimation processes and legitimacy beliefs, with a particular focus on the authority, procedures, and performances of IOs. Finally, we describe the methods used to empirically study legitimacy and legitimation, preview the articles of the special issue, and chart next steps for this research agenda.

　　https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11558-018-9330-7

　　【GE07】Diffusion Across International Organizations: Connectivity and Convergence　　Sommerer, T. & Tallberg, J. (2019). International organization, 73(2), 399-433.

　　While extensive research shows that policies and institutions spread across states through processes of diffusion, we know little about diffusion among international organizations (IOs). We develop a novel approach for the study of diffusion among IOs. This approach consists of three components: a theoretical focus on connectivity among IOs as pathways for diffusion; a conceptual differentiation between alternative types of convergence effects; and a methodological strategy combining dyadic and spatial analysis of diffusion. We illustrate the usefulness of this approach through an empirical case: the diffusion of participatory governance arrangements among IOs from 1970 to 2010. The analysis shows that connectivity among IOs contributes to convergence, which typically is manifested through imitation of very specific institutional models. The article's findings have implications both for the study of IOs and for the general study of diffusion.

　　【GE08】The Choice between Intergovernmentalism and Nongovernmentalism: Projecting Domestic Preferences to Global Governance　　Grigorescu, A. & Başer, Ç. (2019). World Politics, 71(1), 126-160.

　　This article seeks to explain when governments are more likely to take an intergovernmental approach to resolving global collective problems rather than step back and encourage (or simply allow) nongovernmental actors to become the main global governors. The authors suggest that an important factor driving this choice is the domestic ideological leanings of powerful states toward greater or lesser government activism. Such ideologies connect domestic preferences to international ones. They also lead to the establishment of domestic institutions that, in turn, facilitate the emergence of international organizations. Using these arguments, the authors develop a set of inferences regarding the likelihood that governments will establish and join intergovernmental organizations. The authors test their hypotheses through a study of global governance in the education realm, and also apply a series of statistical analyses covering developments in all issue-areas over the last century and a half.

　　【GE09】Hello, goodbye: When do states withdraw from international organizations?　　Borzyskowski, I. v. & Vabulas, F. (2019). Review of international organizations, 140(2), 335-366.

　　Under what conditions do states withdraw from intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)? Recent events such as Brexit, the US withdrawal from UNESCO, and US threats to withdraw from NAFTA, NATO, and the World Trade Organization have triggered widespread concern because they appear to signify a backlash against international organizations. Some observers attribute this recent surge to increasing nationalism. But does this explanation hold up as a more general explanation for IGO withdrawals across time and space? Despite many studies of why states join IGOs, we know surprisingly little about when and why states exit IGOs. We use research on IGO accession to derive potential explanations for IGO withdrawal related to domestic politics, IGO characteristics, and geo-politics. We quantitatively test these potential explanations for withdrawal using an original dataset of 493 IGOs since 1945, documenting about 200 cases of withdrawal. We find that nationalism is not the key driver of IGO withdrawals in the past. Instead, we show that geo-political factors – such as preference divergence and contagion – are the main factors linked to IGO withdrawals, followed by democracy levels in the country and organization. These findings have important implications for research on the vitality of international organizations, compliance, and the liberal world order.

　　【GE10】Elite legitimation and delegitimation of international organizations in the media: Patterns and explanations　　Schmidtke, H. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(4), 633-659.

　　Legitimacy communication in the media reveals when elites become attentive to international organizations’ (IOs) legitimacy and whether they support or question their legitimacy. The intensity and tone of this communication results in communicative support or legitimacy pressures on IOs. Extant research gives few insights into the scope and nature of elite legitimacy communication and the factors that shape it. This article offers a comparative and longitudinal analysis of the patterns of elite communication in the media. It maps and explains variation in the intensity and tone of legitimacy communication based on a quantitative content analysis of roughly 6500 legitimacy evaluations of the EU, the G8, and the UN in the quality press of four established democracies. A multinomial logistic regression analysis yields three key results. First, in contrast to conventional expectations, there is no clear shift from low intensity and positive tone to high intensity and negative tone. Second, communication intensity is considerably higher for powerful IOs. Third, political events, including security crises and institutional reform, are important drivers of the ebbs and flows of western elites’ communicative support and pressure on major IOs.

　　【GE11】The life and times of embedded liberalism: legacies and innovations since Bretton Woods　　Helleiner, E. (2019). Review of International Political Economy, 26(6), 1112-1135.

　　In a widely cited 1982 article, John Ruggie identified the normative framework of Bretton Woods as ‘embedded liberalism’ and pointed to its enduring legacy in international economic governance through the 1970s. Revisiting Ruggie’s analysis at the 75th anniversary of Bretton Woods, I advance three arguments about the content and legacy of embedded liberalism in the international monetary and financial system. First, the embedded liberalism of Bretton Woods was an even more innovative normative framework than Ruggie’s important article suggested, involving a new commitment to a form of institutionalized liberal multilateralism that was compatible with various kinds of active public management of the economy. Second, in the 1944–1980 period, embedded liberalism was more contested and malleable than is often understood, as it coexisted with important alternative normative frameworks and as distinct varieties of embedded liberalism emerged in international monetary and financial governance. Third, in the post-1980 era, scholars have correctly highlighted a ‘neoliberalization’ trend in international monetary and financial governance, but assessments of the degree of the challenge posed to embedded liberalism by this trend need to be nuanced. They also risk overlooking different and newer kinds of challenges to embedded liberalism arising from growing opposition to institutionalized liberal multilateralism.

　　【GE12】Bureaucratic influence and administrative styles in international organizations　　Knill, C., Bayerlein, L., Enkler, J. & Grohs, S. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(1), 83-106.

　　While a consensus seems to be emerging that bureaucracies of international organizations are of growing relevance for policy-making beyond the nation-state, we still do not systematically understand if and how exactly international bureaucracies seek to influence policy. Most importantly, there is a lack of concepts for a comparative assessment of bureaucratic influence across different International Organizations. This article addresses this shortcoming by offering a conceptualization of administrative styles. Depending on dominant strategic orientations shaping administrative routines, we identify four ideal types: a servant style, an advocacy style, a consolidator style, and an entrepreneurial style. We argue that the variation in administrative styles across different organizations can be explained by two factors, namely the internal and external challenges they face. The concept and theoretical explanation are illustrated in four case studies on the bureaucracies of the International Monetary Fund, the Bank for International Settlements, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Labor Organization.

　　【GE13】International organizations and the political economy of reforms　　Galiani, S., Torre, I. & Torrens, G. (2019). Journal of International Economics, 121, Article 103249.

　　We develop a simple dynamic model of policy reform that captures some of the determinants that underlie the differences between the reform paths taken by a number of countries since the early 1990s. The model focuses on the interaction between domestic institutions and international organizations that promote reform, on the one hand, and the political incentives for reversing reforms, on the other. At equilibrium, there are three types of reform paths. A country can undergo a full-scale, lasting reform, can carry out a partial but lasting reform, or can go through cycles of reforms and costly counter-reforms. Domestic institutions, along with the incentives provided by international organizations, determine the equilibrium path. A politically myopic international organization may induce cycles of reforms and costly counter-reforms, thereby reducing the country's well-being. An international organization that only provides funds to promote reforms may have a less beneficial effect than one that assists the country with fresh funds to defend reforms when there is a risk of reversal. International funds that promote reforms can also influence domestic institutions. For example, due to the intervention of an international organization, countries could have incentives to dismantle institutions that build up reversal cost and/or do not fully build their fiscal capacity.

　　【GE14】International organizations in a new era of populist nationalism　　Copelovitch, M. & Pevehouse, J. C. W. (2019). Review of international organizations, 140(2), 169-186.

　　This article introduces the special issue on International Organizations in a New Era of Populist Nationalism. The special issue aims to clarify the stakes for and the politics of international organizations in a time of rising populist nationalism around the world. In this introductory essay, we attempt to disentangle the rise of populism and a resurgence of nationalism as distinct processes and concepts. While neither force is new, we observe significant variation across countries in the type of level of nationalist and populist objections to international institutions. We develop a typology for thinking about how and when populism, nationalism, or their combination might have different effects on international cooperation and organizations. Finally, we review the specific article contributions to the special issue and how they fit with the themes developed in this essay. The final section concludes with questions and ideas for future research on the topic that will enhance our understanding of the complex challenges – and potential opportunities – for international cooperation and organizations in the years ahead.

　　【GE15】Accountants, Europeanists and Monetary Guardians: bureaucratic cultures and conflicts in IMF-EU lending programs　　Lütz, S., Hilgers, S. & Schneider, S. (2019). Review of International Political Economy, 26(6), 1187-1210.

　　When the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund provided financial assistance to crisis-ridden European countries, they frequently clashed over loan conditions related to financial stability, fiscal policy and structural adjustment. This is puzzling given that the three organizations shared a general understanding of how to resolve the crisis, its causes and the need for austerity and were supervised by the same major stakeholders. We argue that these conflicting approaches to financial assistance are the result of distinct bureaucratic cultures. Drawing on empirical evidence from the loan programs to Ireland and Greece we show that preferences voiced by Troika institutions were consistent across countries and reflected coherent approaches to credit lending. The Fund played the role of an ‘Accountant’, seeking to ensure that ‘the numbers add up’ so that its loans are repaid on schedule. The Commission acted as an ‘Europeanist’, interpreting the compatibility of conditions with European rules and treaties as a way to regain competitiveness. The European Central Bank, as the ‘Monetary Guardian’ of the Troika, focused on securing financial and monetary stability for the Eurozone as a whole.

　　【GE16】How did the Washington consensus move within the IMF? Fragmented change from the 1980s to the aftermath of the 2008 crisis　　Kaya, A. & Reay, M. (2019). Review of International Political Economy, 26(3), 384-409.

　　While the Washington Consensus is one of the most (in)famous economic policy paradigms of recent times, the literature on it still lacks a detailed, diachronic analysis of how it evolved within one of its most important disseminators, the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Such an analysis is important not just for gaining a better empirical sense of the Consensus, but also for illuminating a key question of interest in the study of international organizations: how ideas and institutions change. Toward this end, this paper uses content analysis to explore almost 12,000 IMF documents from 1982â€“2011, providing a uniquely detailed map of the institution's discourse on the Consensus. It tracks this policy paradigm's constituent parts across three different types of institutional documentation, representing different aspects of the institution's operations: Executive Board meeting minutes, Article IV staff reports, and Working Papers. Using vector autoregression techniques, the paper also examines the relative timing of discursive shifts across these three document types. Through these discussions, the paper advances and shows the relevance of â€œfragmentedâ€ change, where different dimensions of an overall policy paradigm shift at several different speeds, at different points in time, and led by a variety of different institutional activities.

　　【GE17】International demands for austerity: Examining the impact of the IMF on the public sector　　Rickard, S. & Caraway, T. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(1), 35-57.

　　What effects do International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans have on borrowing countries? Even after decades of research, no consensus exists. We offer a straightforward explanation for the seemingly mixed effects of IMF loans. We argue that different loans have different effects because of the varied conditions attached to IMF financing. To demonstrate this point, we investigate IMF loans with and without conditions that require public sector reforms in exchange for financing. We find that the addition of a public sector reform condition to a country’s IMF program significantly reduces government spending on the public sector wage bill. This evidence suggest that conditions are a key mechanism linking IMF lending to policy outcomes. Although IMF loans with public sector conditions prompt cuts to the wage bill in the short-term, these cuts do not persist in the longer-term. Borrowers backslide on internationally mandated spending cuts in response to domestic political pressures.

　　https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11558-017-9295-y

　　【GE18】The IMF As a Biased Global Insurance Mechanism: Asymmetrical Moral Hazard, Reserve Accumulation, and Financial Crises　　Lipscy, P. & Lee, H. (2019). International organization, 73(1), 35-64.

　　A large literature has established that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is heavily politicized. We argue that this politicization has important consequences for international reserve accumulation and financial crises. The IMF generates moral hazard asymmetrically, reducing the expected costs of risky lending and policies for states that are politically influential vis-à-vis the institution. Using a panel data set covering 1980 to 2010, we show that proxies for political influence over the IMF are associated with outcomes indicative of moral hazard: lower international reserves and more frequent financial crises. We support our causal claims by applying the synthetic control method to Taiwan, which was expelled from the IMF in 1980. Consistent with our predictions, Taiwan's expulsion led to a sharp increase in precautionary international reserves and exceptionally conservative financial policies.

　　【GE19】Minilateralism and informality in international monetary cooperation　　Fioretos, O. (2019). Review of International Political Economy, 26(6), 1136-1159.

　　The 1970s marked the beginnings of a transition to a variegated system of international monetary governance that featured a mixture of multilateral and minilateral forums with both formal and informal characteristics. The emergence of two new forums for international cooperation – the Group of Five (G5) and Group of Seven (G7) – alongside the legacy organizations of the Bretton Woods conference represented a novel and unexpected development. With their emphases on minilateralism and informality, the two new forums stood in stark contrast to the multilateral and formal International Monetary Fund, which had been the focal organization in the international monetary system since the 1940s. The new forums were not intended to be durable innovations and yet they became quickly institutionalized. This article examines the contributions of agency-centered, structural, and institutional theories to fuller understandings of patterns of institutional innovation in international cooperation and, more specifically, to why the transition to a variegated international monetary system took place. Based on research in official and private archives, it concludes that informal minilateralism emerged incrementally through diplomatic practice in response to failures within the formal legacy organizations of the Bretton Woods system. It further argues that the new forums produced unanticipated feedback effects that enhanced support among member governments and contributed to the two forums becoming durable features of the international monetary system despite senior government officials originally having no such intentions.

　　【GE20】Explaining coherence in international regime complexes: How the World Bank shapes the field of multilateral development finance　　Heldt, E. & Schmidtke, H. (2019). Review of International Political Economy, 26(6), 1160-1186.

　　The landscape of multilateral development finance has changed dramatically in the past decades. At Bretton Woods, delegates envisioned the World Bank as the focal organization mobilizing financial support for national development strategies. Today, this issue area is populated by no less than 27 multilateral development banks including the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the New Development Bank created under Chinese leadership. This paper shows that, despite this institutional proliferation, the development finance regime remains largely coherent and core governance features designed at Bretton Woods continue to shape the emerging regime complex. We develop a historical institutionalist argument for why newly created institutions are likely to imitate extant institutions. We suggest that states add new institutions not only in response to deficiencies in extant institutions but also to increase their control and reputation. We analyze three causal pathways – path-dependence, orchestration, and independent learning – that contribute to a coherent regime complex. We show that focal international organizations can use their position to prevent incoherence.

　　【GE21】The proliferation of multilateral development banks　　Kellerman, M. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(1), 107-145.

　　Since 1945 the number of multilateral development banks (MDBs) has increased at a linear rate, with approximately one new MDB created every three years. The proliferation of MDBs has resulted in an inefficient duplication of international institutions with overlapping functions. Further, this trend contradicts our existing understanding of why states create countervailing international organizations. This article proposes a novel, two-step theoretical model of institutional change and creation in an attempt to explain this empirical puzzle. Utilizing the complementarities of rational-choice and historical institutionalism, the model demonstrates that the rational actions of states in the past can lead to seemingly irrational institutional change in the future. This process results in the repetitive creation of countervailing MDBs designed to solve the same functional problems. To evaluate the model’s hypotheses, three case studies are undertaken, employing archival material, internal documents, and 48 interviews conducted by the author in London, Washington, D.C. and Manila, Philippines. The empirical results are of direct interest to policy-makers currently negotiating the structure of new MDBs in Asia and Latin America.

　　https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11558-018-9302-y

　　【GE22】Malang, T. (2019).Why national parliamentarians join international organizations. Review of international organizations, 14(3): 407-430.

　　It is customary to argue that international organizations (IOs) are very much dominated by national executives, with national parliaments wielding no or at best marginal influence. According to this accepted wisdom, there cannot be many reasons for national parliaments and their members to be active within IOs. However, we can observe a movement towards the parliamentarization of IOs, materialized in a growing number of parliamentary bodies with increasing competencies that accompany governmental actions and decisions. My paper wants to shed light on the underlying incentive for members of national parliaments (MPs) to engage in these international parliamentary assemblies (IPAs). Proceeding from the assumption that IPAs can enable parliamentarians to fulfil their representation and control function, I argue that (1) district level factors related to internationalization can explain why some MPs become members of IPAs, and (2) opposition parties can use the information generated in IPAs to control governmental activities in International Organizations. I test the claims with data of all parliamentarians of the recent legislative period of the German Bundestag and personal interviews with 10 IPA members. The results suggest that especially district incentives are positive predictors for membership in the different assemblies, whereas variance in membership can hardly be explained by party-level factors.

　　【GE23】Legalization and dispute settlement benefits: The case of the GATT/WTO　　Lee, H. (2019).LReview of international organizations, 141(3), 479-509.

　　This study investigates how the legalization of the GATT into the WTO affects the distribution of its dispute settlement benefits between developed and developing countries. Existing studies present two arguments to this question — the capacity argument emphasizing the importance of economic capacity for the use of the dispute settlement mechanism (DSM) and the legalization argument suggesting its participatory effects for developing countries. Statistical data about the use of the DSM under the GATT and the early WTO provide some support for the capacity argument, while those under the WTO of its whole period for the legalization argument. However, the capacity theory fails to explain the use of the DSM by developed and developing countries after about the year, 2000, while the legalization theory has so far lacked an adequate empirical support. The purpose of this study is to find out why the capacity theory fails to do so, and to provide more empirical support for the legalization theory. It finds that the respective impacts of economic capacity and socialization experiences on the use of the DSM under the GATT/WTO vary depending on the degree of its legalization: that is, under the less legalized GATT a member country’s economic capacity is important, while under the legalized WTO its previous experiences are so, for its use of the DSM. The legalization has definitely attenuated the impact of its economic capacity on the use of the DSM, while it has strengthened the impact of its previous experiences on it very positively in the first half period of the WTO, and positively in its second half period. These results may mean that the WTO has by now leveled the playing field of dispute settlement not only for its economically less capable members but also for its relatively less experienced ones.

　　【GE24】Who Settles Disputes? Treaty Design and Trade Attitudes Toward the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)　　Hahm, H., K?nig, T., Osnabrügge, M. & Frech, E. (2019). International organization, Volume?73(4), 881-900.

　　What type of trade agreement is the public willing to accept? Instead of focusing on individual concerns about market access and trade barriers, we argue that specific treaty design and, in particular, the characteristics of the dispute settlement mechanism, play a critical role in shaping public support for trade agreements. To examine this theoretical expectation, we conduct a conjoint experiment that varies diverse treaty-design elements and estimate preferences over multiple dimensions of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) based on a nationally representative sample in Germany. We find that compared to other alternatives, private arbitration, known as investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS), generates strong opposition to the trade agreement. As the single most important factor, this effect of dispute settlement characteristic is strikingly large and consistent across individuals’ key attributes, including skill levels, information, and national sentiment, among others.

　　【GE25】New Powers and the Distribution of Preferences in Global Trade Governance: From Deadlock and Drift to Fragmentation　　Stephen, M. & Parízek, M. (2019). New Political Economy, 24(6), 735-758.

　　Existing theories make divergent predictions about the impact of new powers on the global political economy. Some argue that a more even distribution of power will erode international cooperation, while others argue that cooperation can continue with the help of international institutions to overcome collective action problems. We argue that this debate overlooks a critical determinant of the shape of power transitions: the distribution of preferences amongst the major powers. It is primarily in the context of divergent preferences that power transitions are likely to give rise to conflict. Moreover, even where preferences diverge, the gains of cooperation provide a strong incentive to continue to pursue goals through multilateralism. This situation leads to forms of institutional change unanticipated by established theories. These include deadlock in expansive multilateral fora, institutional drift as old rules cannot keep up with the changing political and economic context, and fragmentation as countries seek minilateral solutions that reduce preference diversity. We develop this preference-based, institutional argument by examining the distribution of preferences and institutional change at the World Trade Organization (WTO) and its Doha Round, where the power transition is relatively advanced.

　　【GE26】Policy Integration for Sustainable Development through Multilateral Environmental Agreements: An Empirical Analysis, 2007–2016　　Azizi, D., Biermann, F. & Kim, R. (2019). Global Governance, 25(3).

　　Over the past three decades, policy integration has become a key objective for guiding and harmonizing policies for sustainable development. Most recently, the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals have added new impetus to efforts of integrating competing objectives of environmental sustainability, social development, and economic growth, as well as of integrating issue-specific environmental policies on climate change and terrestrial and marine biodiversity. While multilateral environmental agreements are important international instruments for achieving sustainable development, there has been little focus so far on their contribution to policy integration. Covering the years from 2007 to 2016, this article presents an empirical analysis of sustainability policy integration (i.e., how multilateral environmental agreements integrate environmental, social, and economic issues in their decisions) and environmental policy integration (i.e., the outreach of multilateral environmental agreements to different environmental issue areas beyond their mandate). The analysis finds that multilateral environmental agreements have not moved toward further policy integration over the studied period. If policy and institutional coherence is a key global governance target in the post-2015 era, a concerted effort will be required to improve the extent of policy integration by multilateral environmental agreements.

　　【GE27】The rise of international parliamentary institutions: Purpose and legitimation　　Rocabert, J. & Schimmelfennig, F., Crasnic, L. & Winzen, T. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(4), 607-631.

　　International parliamentary institutions (IPIs) have become an established feature of international politics. While scholars of international institutions have extensively studied why states delegate to international organizations (IOs) in general, they have said little about the creation of parliamentary bodies. Moreover, IPIs do not fit the functions commonly attributed to international delegation. By differentiating between general-purpose and task-specific IOs, we hypothesize that general-purpose IOs establish and maintain parliamentary bodies that serve their legitimation needs. A nested quantitative and qualitative analysis based on an original dataset on the emergence of IPIs and case studies on the reform of the Economic Community of West African States and the development of the Pacific Islands Forum supports this explanation.

　　【GE28】Who runs the international system? Nationality and leadership in the United Nations Secretariat　　Novosad, P. & Werker, E. (2019). Review of international organizations, 14(1), 1-33.

　　International parliamentary institutions (IPIs) have become an established feature of international politics. While scholars of international institutions have extensively studied why states delegate to international organizations (IOs) in general, they have said little about the creation of parliamentary bodies. Moreover, IPIs do not fit the functions commonly attributed to international delegation. By differentiating between general-purpose and task-specific IOs, we hypothesize that general-purpose IOs establish and maintain parliamentary bodies that serve their legitimation needs. A nested quantitative and qualitative analysis based on an original dataset on the emergence of IPIs and case studies on the reform of the Economic Community of West African States and the development of the Pacific Islands Forum supports this explanation.

　　【GE29】The Global Governance of Systemic Risk: How Measurement Practices Tame Macroprudential Politics　　Kranke, M. & Yarrow, D. (2019). New Political Economy, 24(6), 816-832.

　　This article explores how systemic risk has been governed at the international level after the financial crisis. While macroprudential ideas have been widely embraced, the policy instruments used to implement them have typically revolved more narrowly around the monitoring of risk posed by discrete ‘systemically important’ entities. This operational focus on individual entities sidelines the more radical implications of macroprudential theory regarding fallacies of composition, fundamental uncertainty and the public control of finance. We explain this tension using a performative understanding of risk as a socio-technical construction, and illustrate its underlying dynamics through case studies of systemic risk governance at the Financial Stability Board (FSB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF or Fund). Drawing on official reports, consultation documents and archival sources, we argue that the FSB’s and IMF’s translations of systemic risk into a measurable and attributable object have undermined the transformative potential of the macroprudential agenda. The two cases illustrate how practices of quantification can make systemic risk seemingly more governable but ultimately more elusive.

　　【GE30】Gender Stereotyping and Chivalry in International Negotiations: A Survey Experiment in the Council of the European Union　　Naurin, D., Naurin, E. & Alexander, A. (2019). International organization, 73(2), 469-488.

　　Gender stereotypes—stylized expectations of individuals’ traits and capabilities based on their gender—may affect the behavior of diplomats and the processes of international negotiations. In a survey experiment in the Council of the European Union, we find that female representatives behaving stereotypically weak and vulnerable may trigger a chivalry reaction among male representatives, increasing the likelihood that the men will agree to support a bargaining proposal from the women. The effect is conditional on the negotiators’ cultural background—the chivalry reaction is displayed mainly by diplomats from countries with relatively low levels of gender equality. Our study contributes to the research on nonstandard behavior in international relations, and in particular the expression and reception of emotions in diplomacy. We argue that gender stereotypes may have a moderating impact on decision making based on such intuitive cognitive processes. We also add to the broader negotiation literature, both by showing the pervasiveness of gender stereotyping, and by testing at the elite level the generalizability of claims regarding gender effects derived from laboratory experiments. Overall, our findings demonstrate the importance of bringing gender into the study of international negotiations, where it has been largely and surprisingly ignored.