

Ulrich Menzel

Lessons from the Theory and History of the International System

Workshop „Searching for a Global Peace and Security Architecture for the
21st Century“

New York, September 28-29, 2015

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The Order of the World



(German title: Die Ordnung der Welt)

ca. 1229 pages

Clothbound

2015

Rights available

The standard work on the past and future of our world

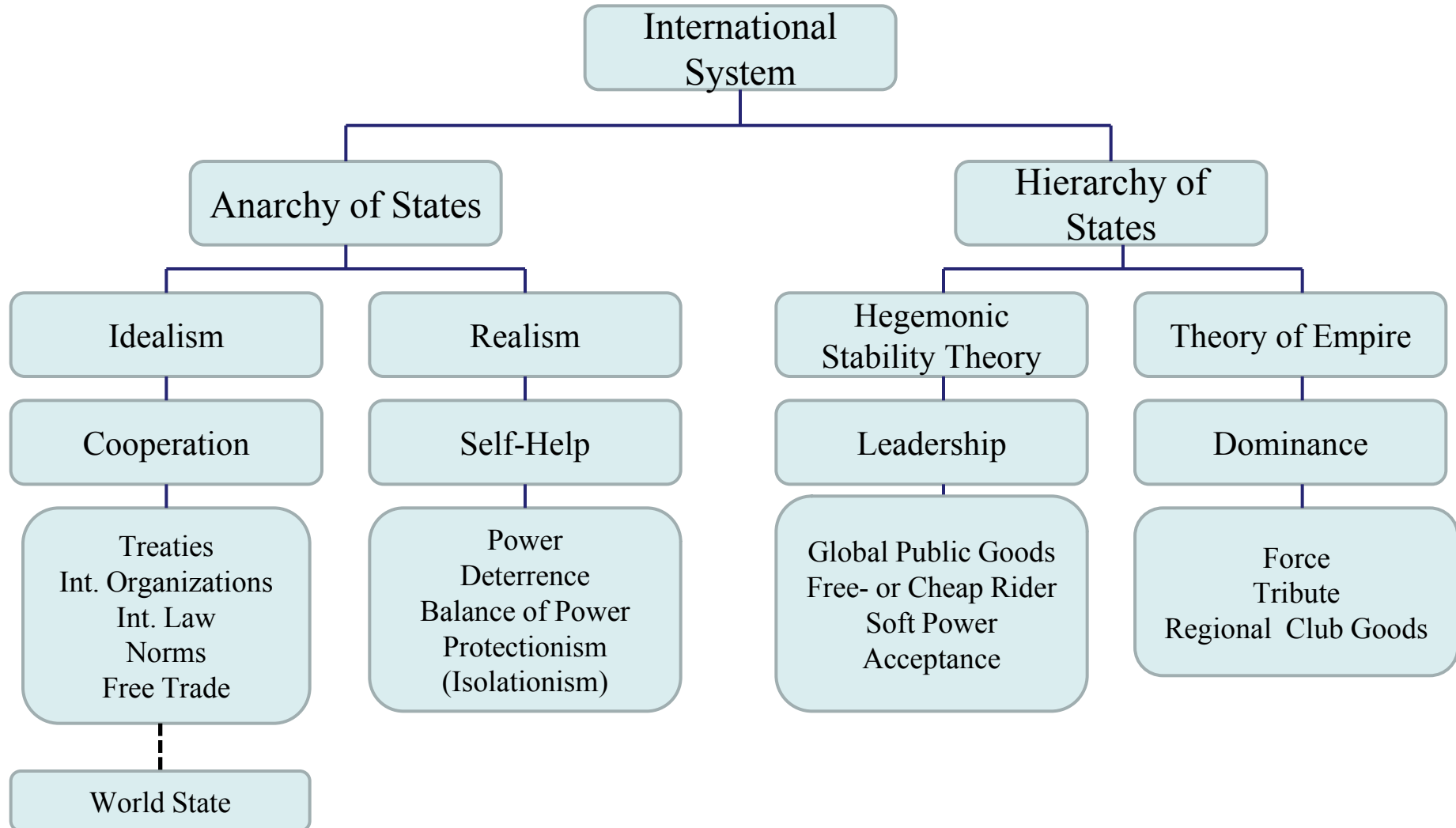
About

The order of the world is one of the major problems that nations find themselves confronted with. Who creates order in the anarchy of the international system if the relationships between nations become increasingly dense and the need for an international order is growing as a consequence of globalization?

A unified world-nation is utopian; the voluntary cooperation of nations by the means of treaties, membership in international organizations and abiding international law is stretched to its limits time and again when important interests are at stake.

Ulrich Menzel formulates a theory of international order through a comparative analysis of major powers – from the China of the Song-rule up until the USA today – and in doing so renders an essential contribution to the current debate on hegemony and imperialism that has gathered new momentum after the end of the Cold War. At the same time, he delivers an interpretation of the Cold War as a conflict between American hegemony and Soviet empire as well as of the new constellation at the beginning of the 21st century that is shaped by the global struggle for dominance between the USA as a weakened hegemonic power and China as the new hegemonic challenger.

Four Models of World Order



Definitions

Hegemony (Greek: ἡγεμονία)

Example

=

Leadership

Athens in the Delian League

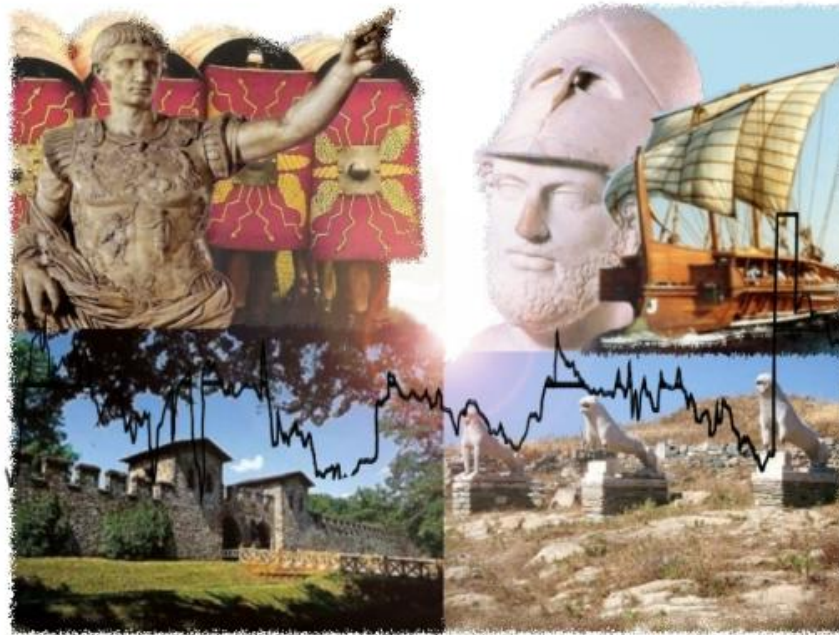
Empire (Latin: imperium)

Example

=

Command, Rule

Roman Empire



Terms

Empire

Land Power

vs.

Military Power

vs.

Hard Power

vs.

(regional) Club Goods

vs.

(regional) Commons

vs.

Hegemony

Sea Power

Air Power

Space Power

Cyber Power

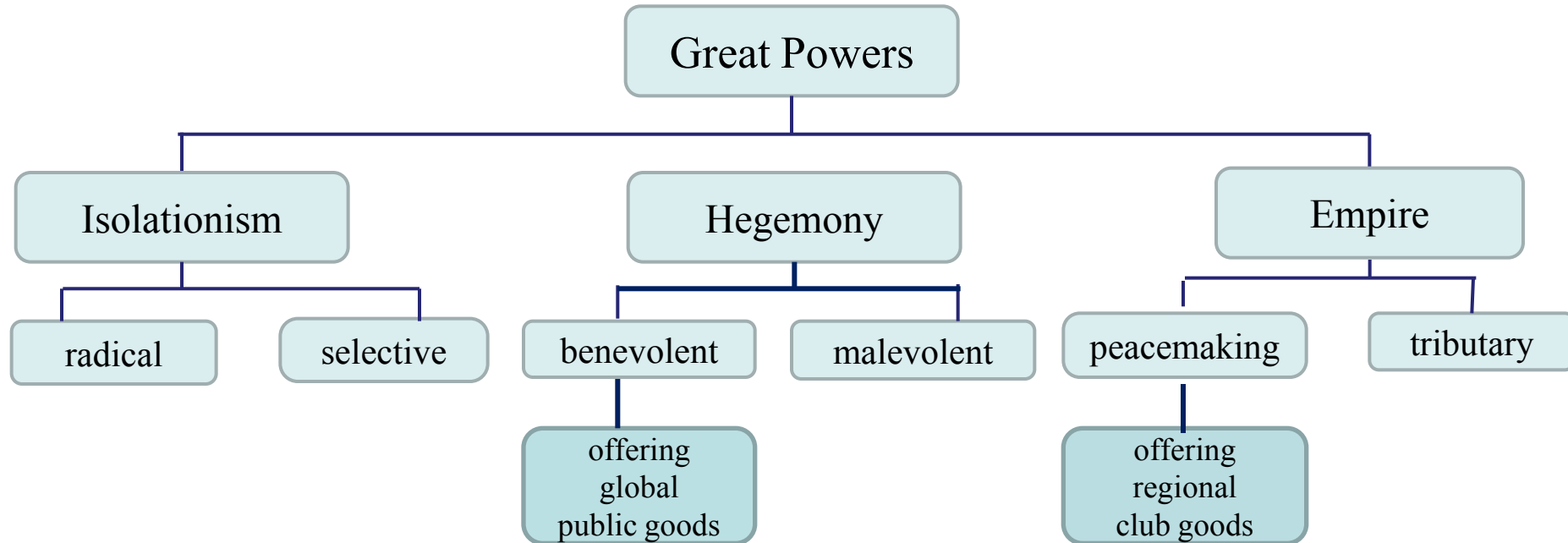
Trading Power

Soft Power

(global) Public Goods

(global) Commons

Typology of Great Powers in World Politics



US vs. SU

	Empire	Hegemony	
Land Power	SU		Military Power
Sea Power/ Air Power		US	Trade Power
	Hard Power	Soft Power	



former German-German border

The Four Types of Goods

		Rivalry	
		yes	no
Excludability	yes	Private Goods	Club Goods
	no	Common Goods	Public Goods

Global Public Goods

Characteristics of Global Public Goods:

- no one can be excluded from usage
- no competition between users
- can be used for free

Classical example: Lighthouse



Global Public Goods of the 21st Century



Typology of Empire and Hegemony (1)

	Empire	Hegemony
geopolitical	land power	sea power, air power, cyber power
region	Eurasia	„outer crescent“, world, global commons
range	restricted	open
control of	space, borders	streams, knots
dimension	onedimensional (military)	multidimensional (all)
cost	high	low
number of actors	few	many
period of rise/ decline	short	long
reasons for rise	military innovations	innovations in many fields + spill over effects
reasons for decline	imperial overstretch	decreasing innovation capacity

Typology of Empire and Hegemony (2)

	Empire	Hegemony
benefits	club goods	public goods
financial basis	rent	profit
economic policy	protectionist, self sufficient,	liberal, devision of labour, open
financing the international order	by tribute of the subjugated	by own resources
dilemma	between cost and yield	between loss of position and loss of status
order by	force, hard power	model, acceptance, soft power
status of members	subjects, collaborators	cheap rider, free rider, follower
reasons for membership	fear, privileges, opportunism	self- interest, fascination, loyalty
change of order	by force, fast	peaceful, slow
debates on the reasons of decline/ attemphts to stop decline	no	yes
comeback	impossible	possible

Succession of Hegemonies/Empires (1)

Hegemony/ Empire	Power Cycle	Challenger
1. Northern Song (China)	960-1065	
2. Northern Song (China)	1065-1126	Liao
3. Southern Song (China)	1161-1204	Mongol Empire (Yuan)
4. Mongol Empire	1230-1350	Ming
5. Genova	1261-1350	Venice
6. Early Ming (China)	1368-1435	Self- Isolation
7. Venice	1381-1499	Ottoman Empire
8. Portugal	1494-1580	Netherlands
9. Ottoman Empire	1453-1551	Castile/ Spain
10. Safavid Empire (Persia)	1501/1587-1666	Ottoman Empire

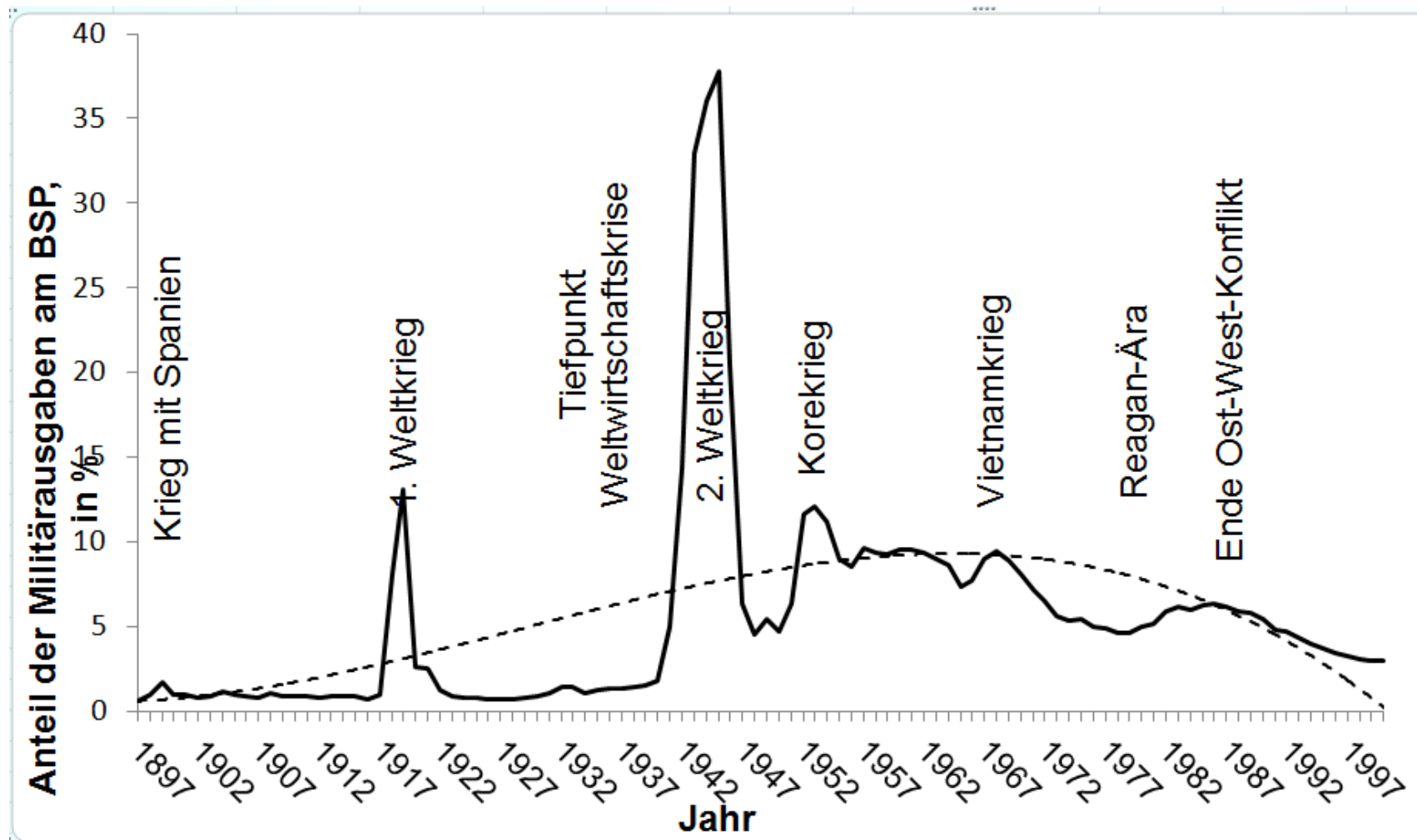
Succession of Hegemonies/Empires (2)

Hegemony/Empire	Power Cycle	Challenger
11. Ottoman Empire	1581-1699	Safavid Empire
12. Mughal Empire (India)	1565-1707	England
13. Castile/Spain	1515/1519-1588	Netherlands
14. Spain	1588-1648/59	France
15. Netherlands	1609-1713	England
16. France	1635-1714	England
17. England/Great Britain	1714-1783	France
18. Great Britain	1783-1919	France, Russia, Germany, US
19. US	1898/1919/1945-1989	Japan, Soviet Union
20. US	1989- ca. 2030?	China
21. China?	ca. 2030- ?	? (India)

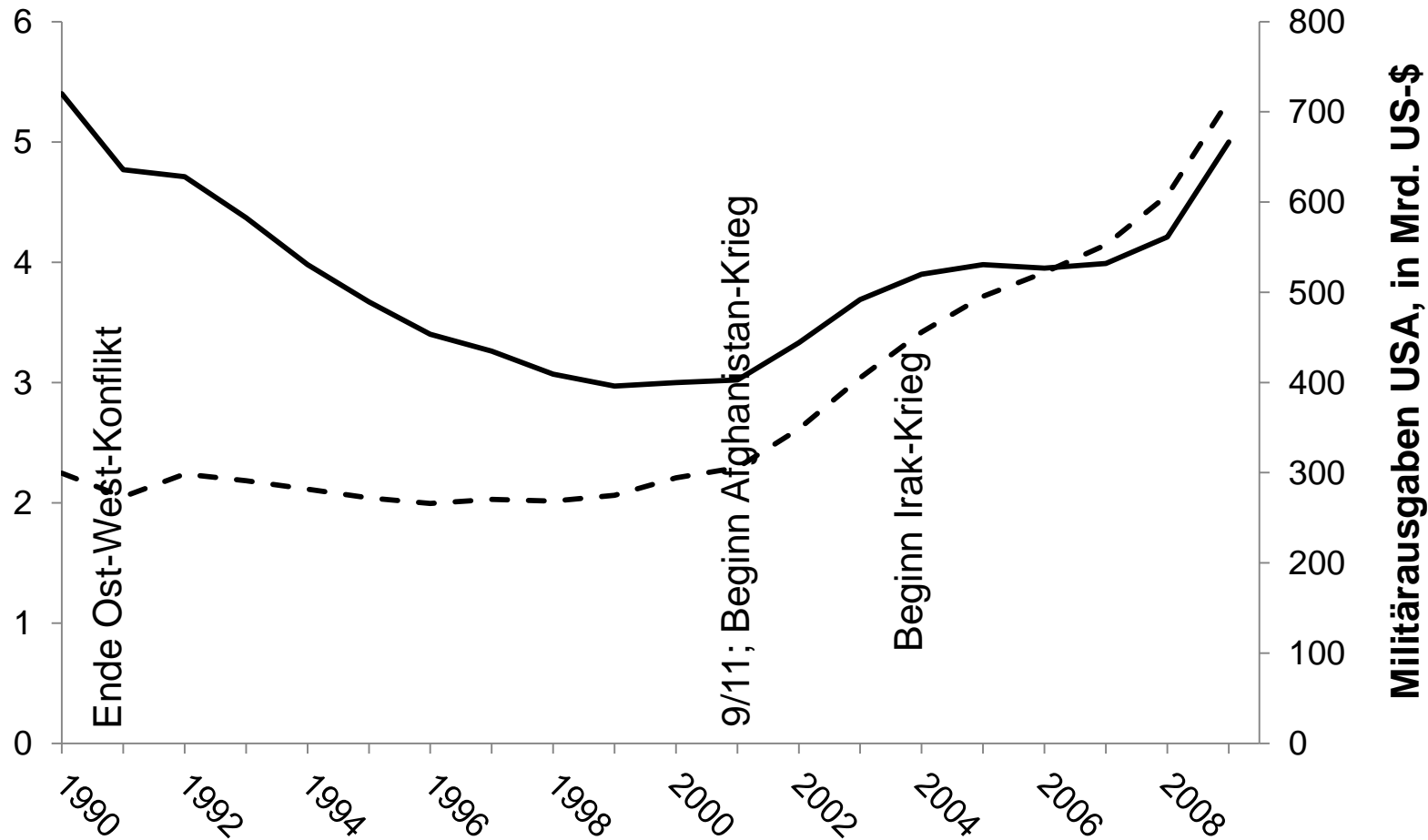
Hegemonic and Imperial World Orders

Peace of Shanyuan (Song and Liao)	1004
4 Parts of Mongol Empire/Khublai Khan (= Great Khan & Chinese Emperor)	1260/79
Peace of Turin (Venice and Genova)	1381
Sixth Journey of Zheng He/Climax of Chinese Tribute System	1421-23
Treaty of Tordesillas /Zaragossa (Castile and Portugal)	1494/1529
Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (France and Spain)	1559
Personal Union Spain and Portugal	1580
Peace of Westphalia	1648
Peace of Utrecht	1713
Peace of Paris (England and France)	1763
Congress of Vienna	1815
Peace Conferences of Paris	1918
Conferences of Yalta, Potsdam, Dumbarton Oaks, San Francisco, Bretton Woods	1944/45
End of Cold War/"New World Order"	1989/90

US: Military Expenditure in Percent GNP 1897- 2000



US: Military Expenditure in Bill. US\$ and Percent of GNP 1990-2009



Actual Situation

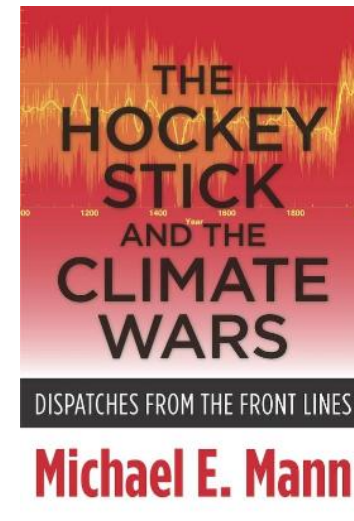
Second American decline weakens capacity of the US as a benevolent hegemon to offer global public goods (security and stability).

Chinese rise means growing capacity to become a malevolent hegemon.

Hegemonic transition is coming up. If peaceful or violent is undecided.

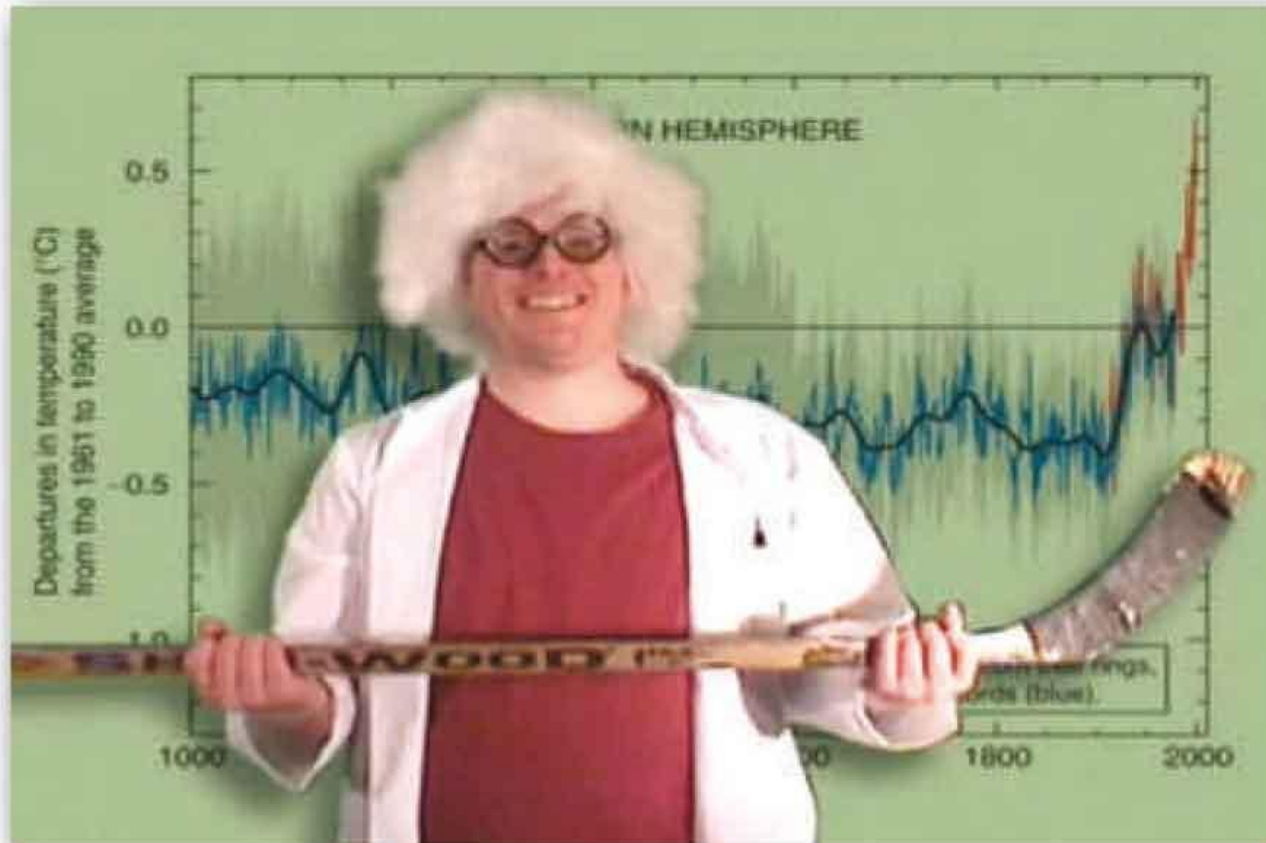
„Hockey stick effect“ with built-in tipping points and spill over-effects :

- growth of population + growing life expectancy
- economic growth + growth of income per capita
- use of resources (land, forrest, water, energy, etc.)
- climate change
- collapsing states
- „new wars“
- migration
- return of the anarchy of states
- return of the self-help principle



2012

Actual Situation



„Hockey stick effect“

Result

Demand

Contradicting trends of globalization and fragmentation lead to growing demand for global public goods and the protection of the global commons.

Supply

The declining hegemon (US) is no more willing and/or able to offer these goods (hegemons dilemma).

The rising hegemon (China) is not yet able and/or willing to do so.

