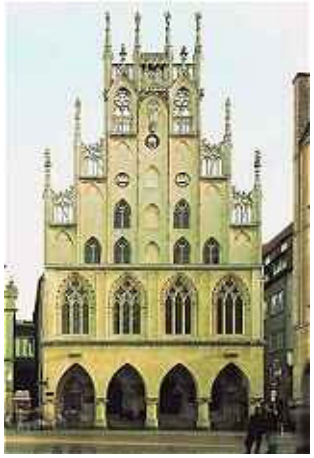
Ulrich Menzel

Westphalian State System or Hegemonic World Order?

A Theoretical Introduction

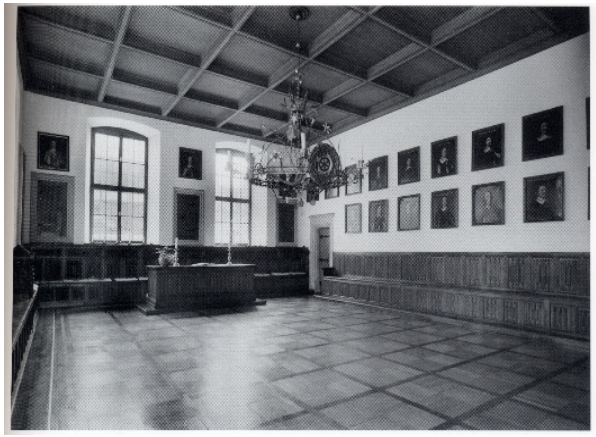
The classical model: The Westphalian State-System since 1648



Münster City Hall

Osnabrück City Hall

Peace Hall Münster



Peace Hall Osnabrück

The classical model: The Westphalian State-System since 1648

Painter: Gerard ter Borch, d. J. 1617-1681:
„Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster May 15, 1648"

Principles of the Westphalian State-System

1) Principle of Territoriality

- Defined Territorial Boundaries
- Absolute Monopoly of Power
- Legal Order
- Taxing Authority
- Ideal Case: Congruency of Territory, State, People, Nation, Religion and all Social Systems

Principles of the Westphalian State-System

2) Principle of Sovereignty

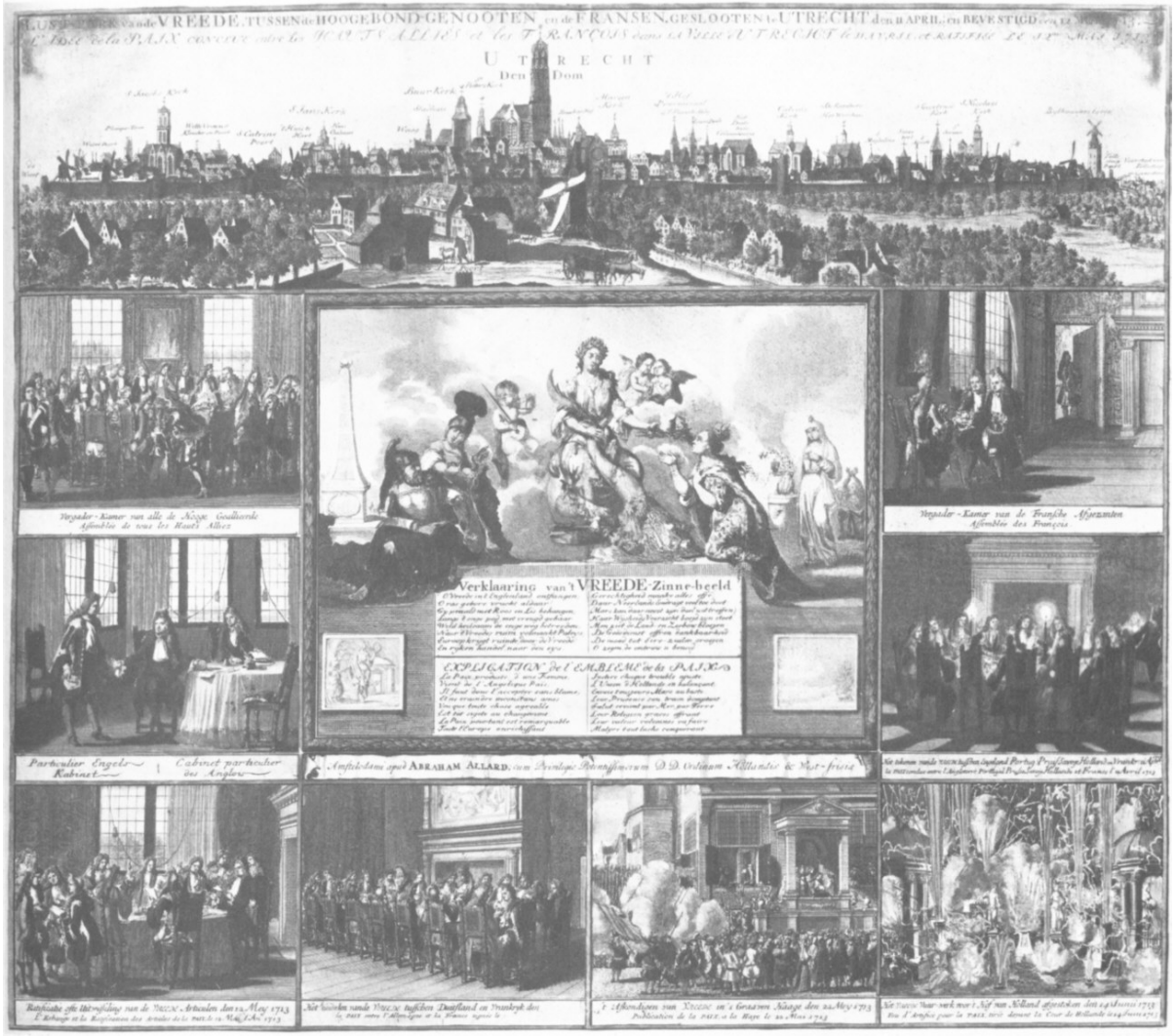
- States are the only relevant Actors
- Outward Sovereignty (no superior Authority)
- Representation of Interest is based on Self Help
- Inward Sovereignty (Free Choice of political System)
- Not Accountable about Internal Affairs

Principles of the Westphalian State-System

3) Principle of Legal Equality

- Sovereign States have Equal Rights
  (whatever their Size, Population, Power etc.)
- Relations among States governed by International Law
  or Treaties are based on Voluntary Acts
- International Cooperation takes place out of Self-Interest

Peace of Utrecht, 1713



Principles of the Westphalian State-System

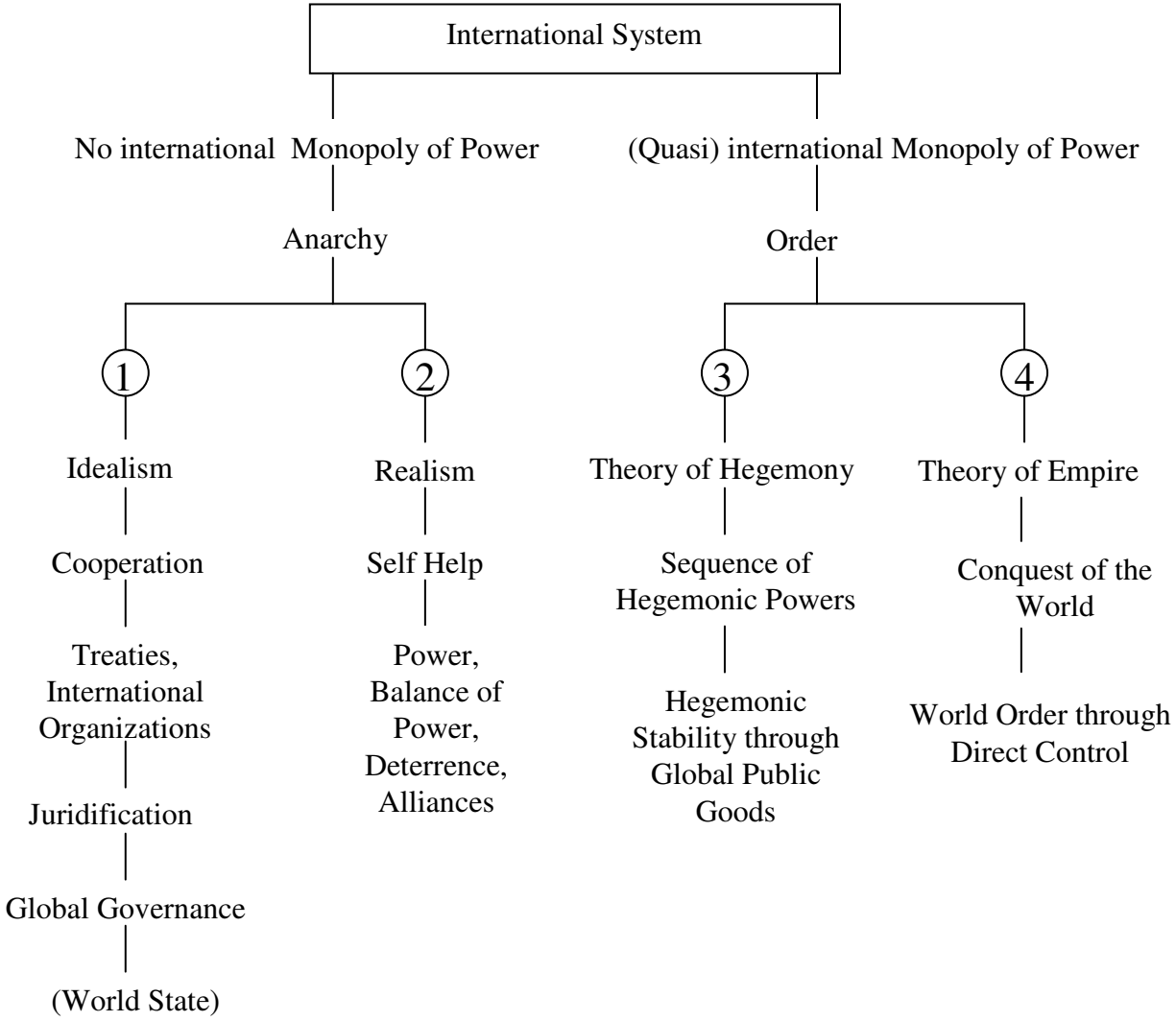
4) Principle of Balance of Power

- Sovereign States form a State-System
- The State-System is Stable, if a Balance of Power exists
- Weak States form Alliances against Strong States
- Since1713 (Peace of Utrecht) the „Concert“ of the 5 European Great Powers (Great Britain, France, Austria-Hungary,Russia, Prussia/ Germany) formed;
  United States and Japan joined the Concert at the End of the 19th Century

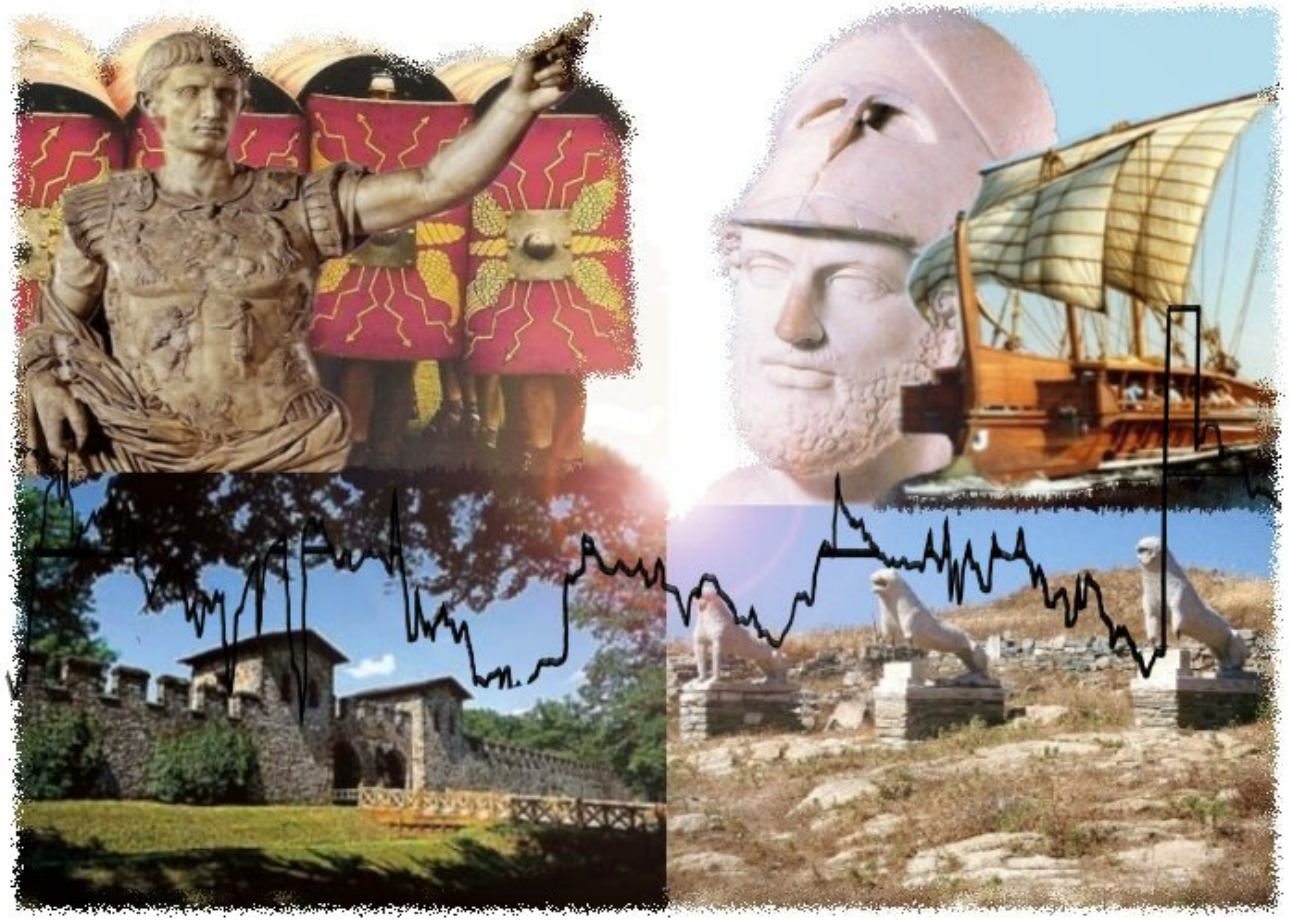
Key Principles of the Westphalian State-System

- No international Monopoly of Power
- Anarchy of State-System
  - Realistic Solution: Self Help
  - Idealistic Solution: Cooperation

4 Models of World Order



Empire or Hegemony?



Empire or Hegemony

Definitions:

Hegemony (greek *ηγεμονια*) = Leadership

Example: Athens in the Delian League

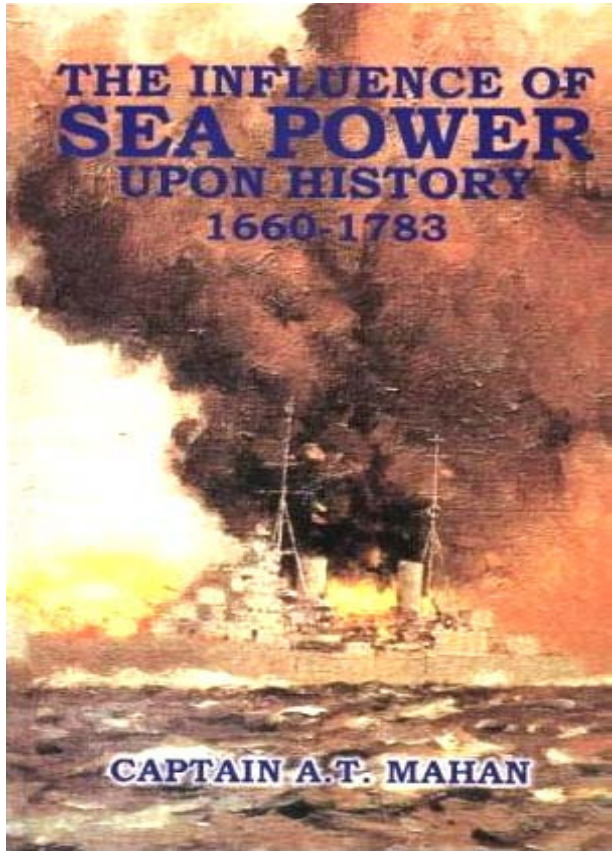
Empire (latin *imperium*) = Command, Rule

Example: Roman Empire

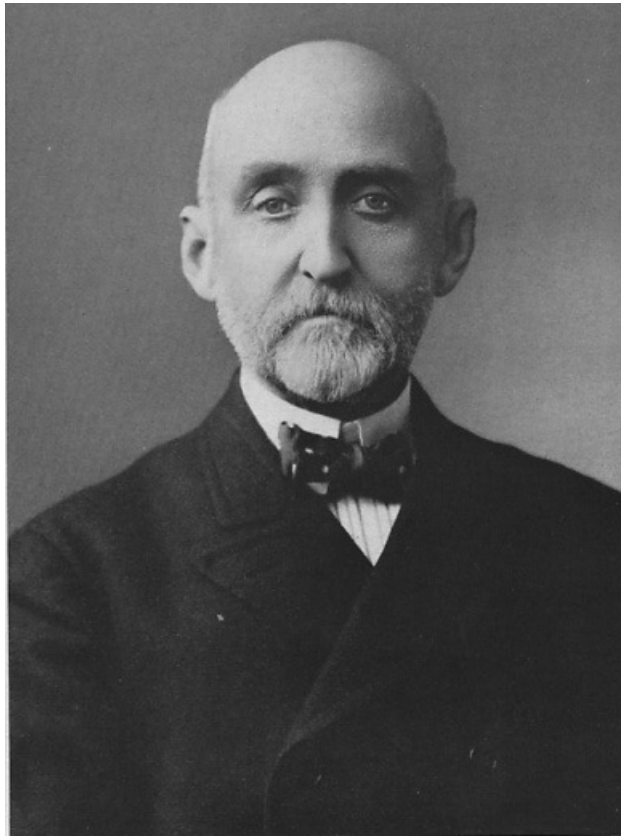
General Proposition

It can be shown that, at least temporarily, World Order during the last 1000 years was established by Hegemonic or Imperial Powers.

Alfred Thayer Mahan

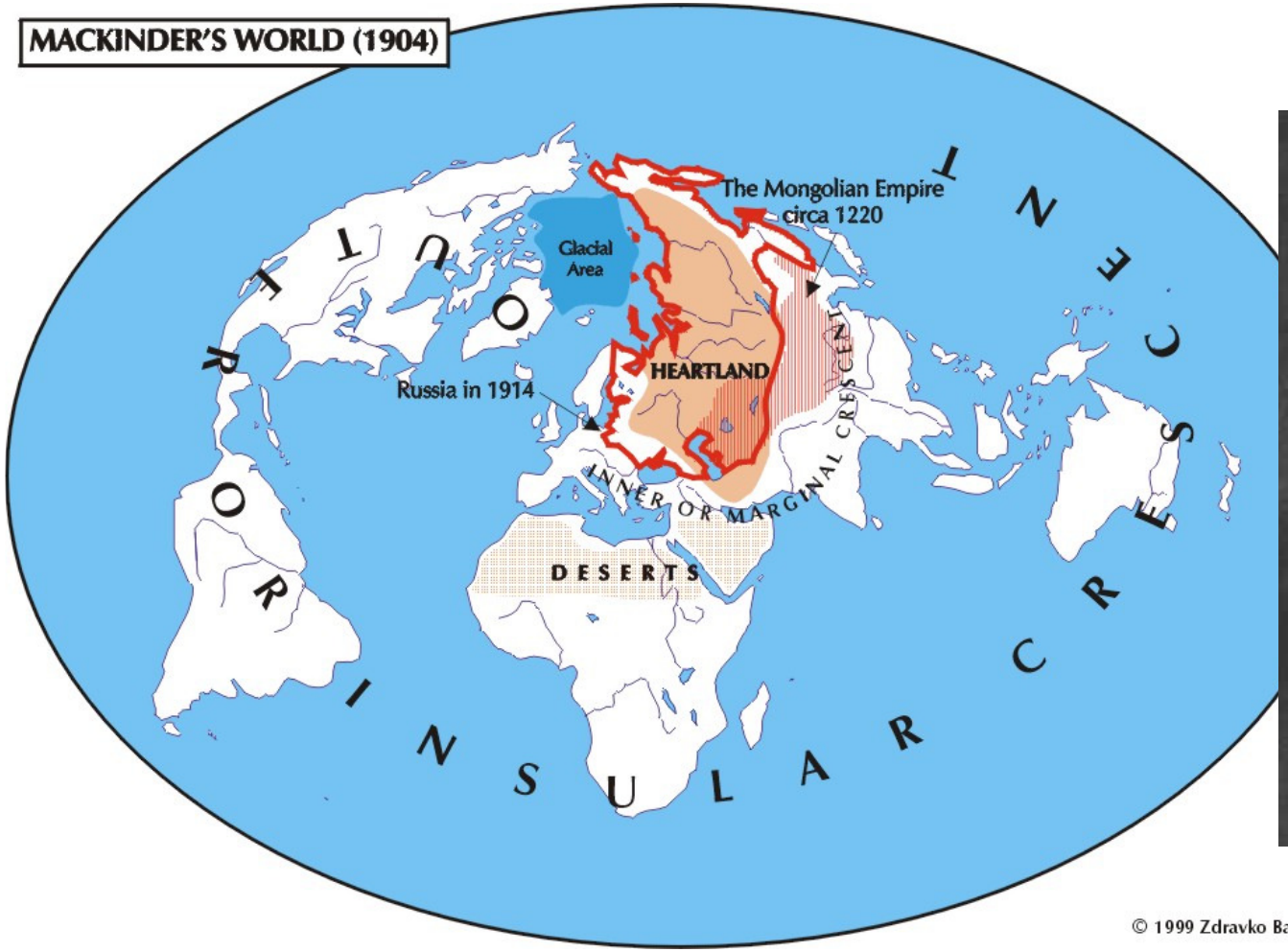


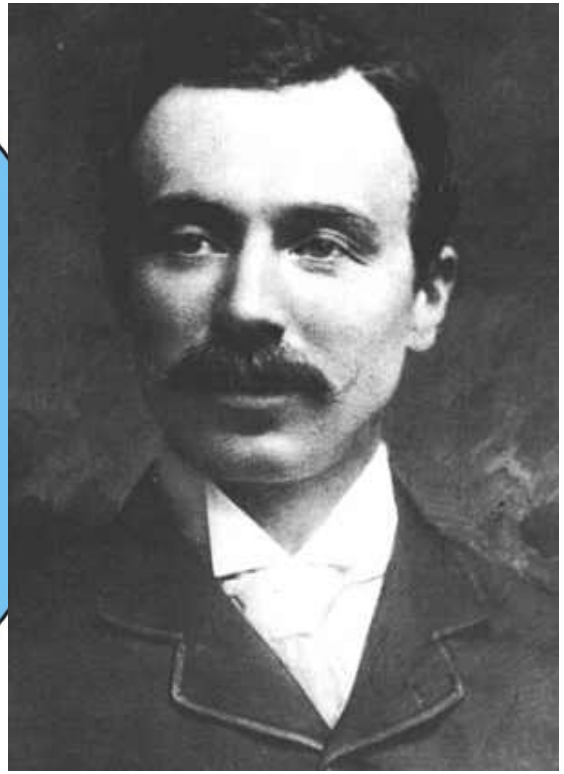
1890



1840-1914

Halford Mackinder

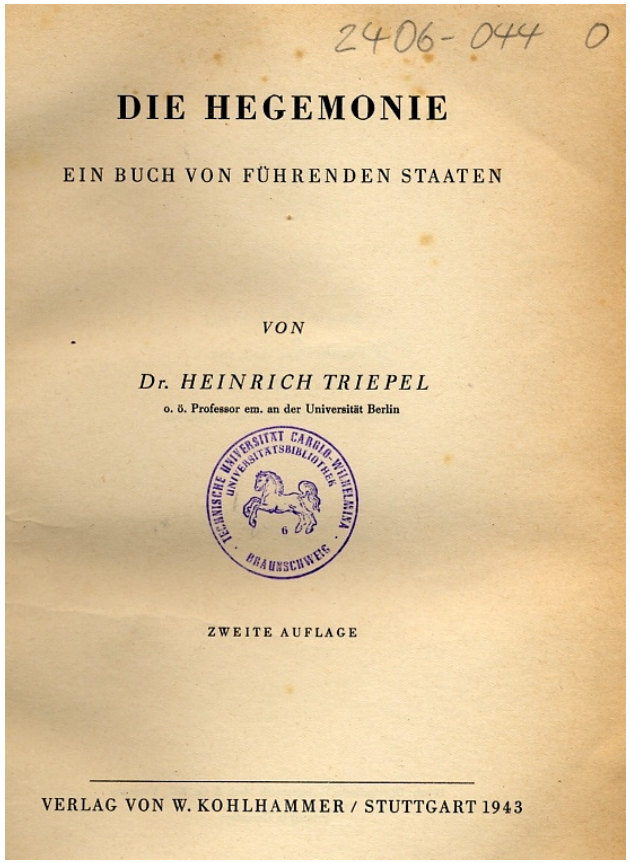




1861-1947

„The Geographical Pivot of History“, Geographical Journal, 1904

Heinrich Triepel


2406-044 0

DIE HEGEMONIE

EIN BUCH VON FÜHRENDEN STAATEN

VON

Dr. HEINRICH TRIEPEL

o. ö. Professor em. an der Universität Berlin

ZWEITE AUFLAGE

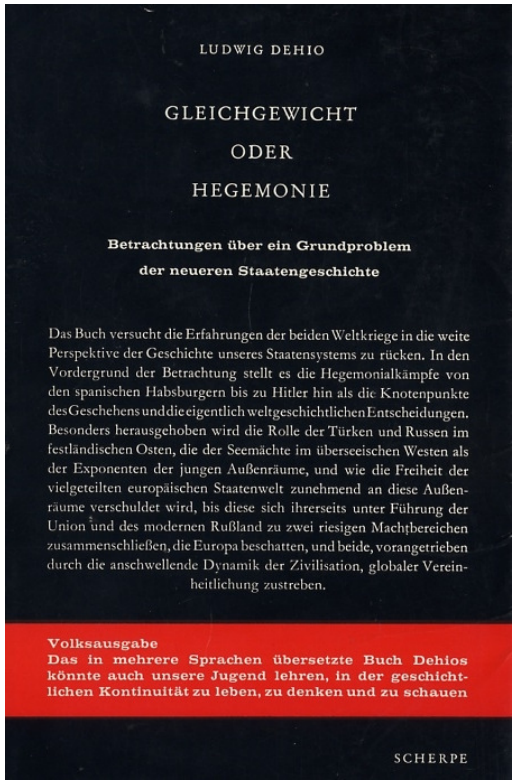
VERLAG VON W. KOHLHAMMER / STUTTGART 1943

1937

(Hegemony: A Book on Leading States)

1868-1949

Ludwig Dehio

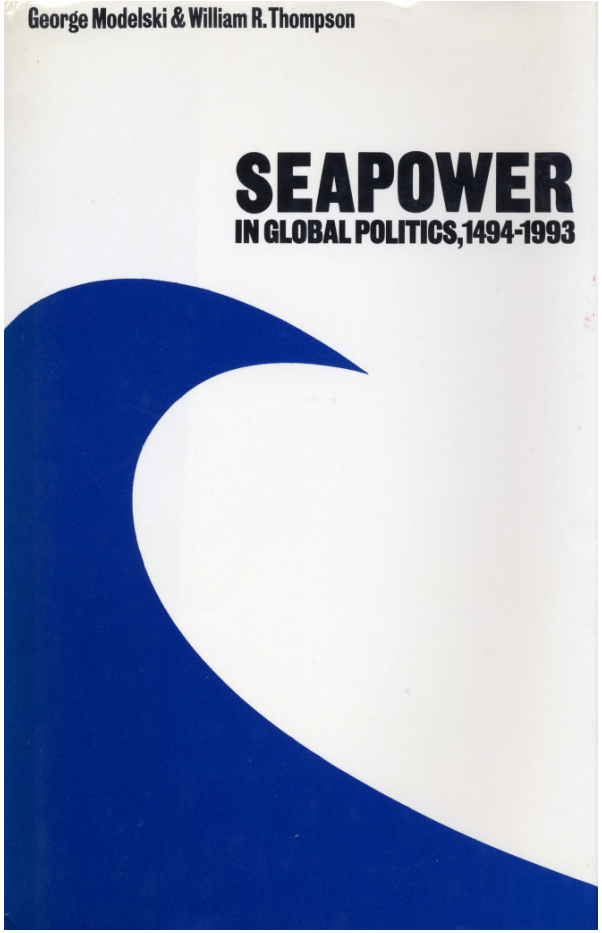


1946

(The Precarious Balance: Four Centuries of the European Power Struggle)

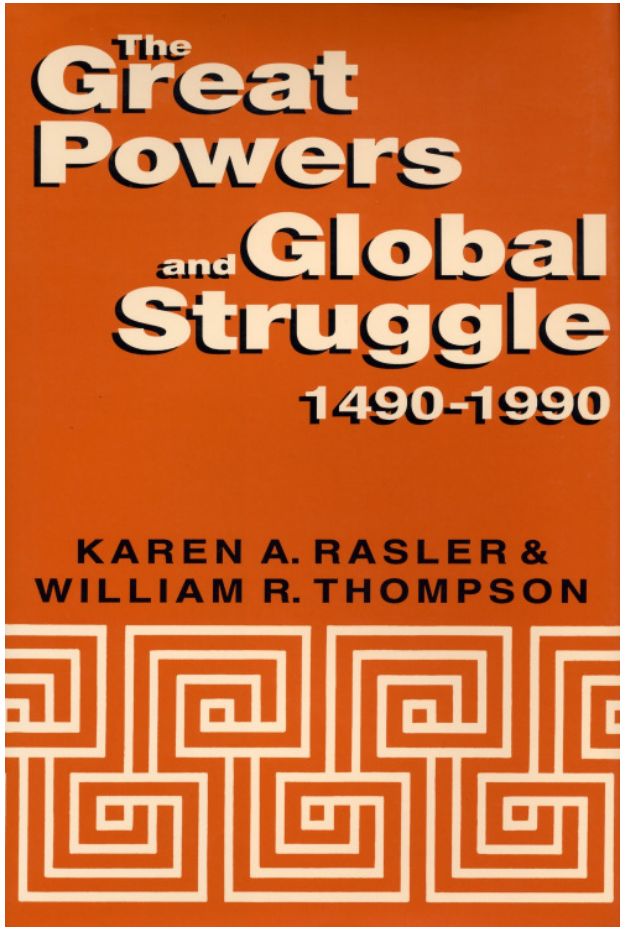
1888-1965

George Modelski

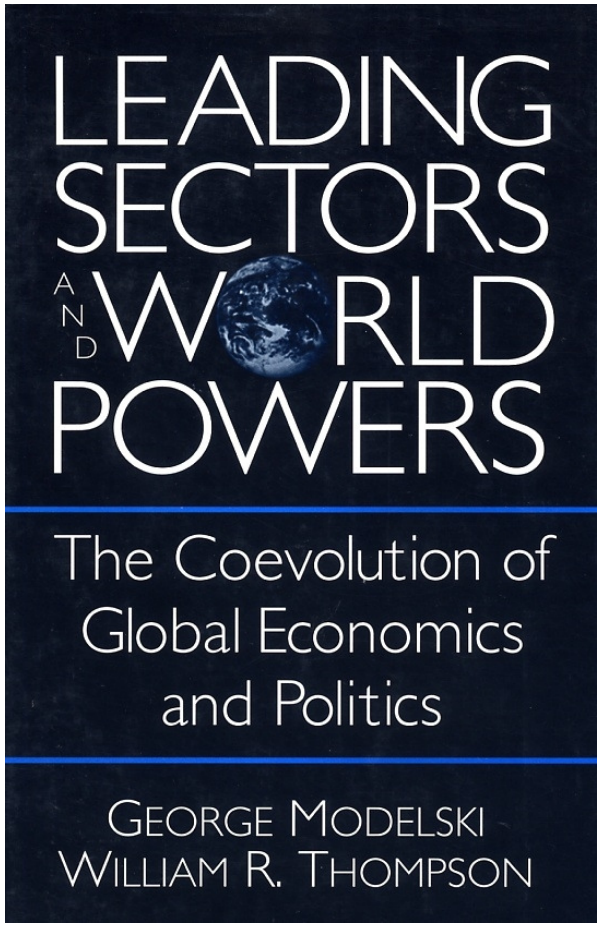


*1926

William R. Thompson (*1946), Karen Rasler (*1952)

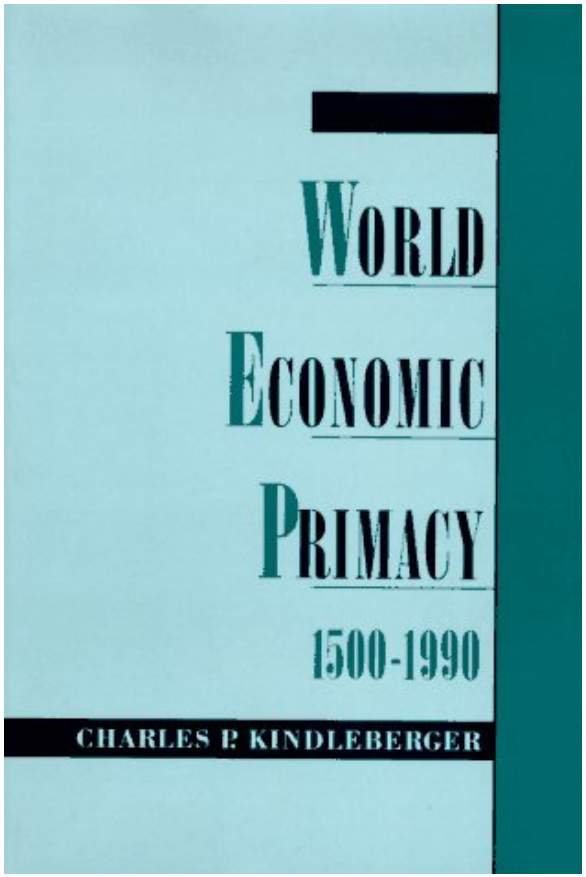


1994



1996

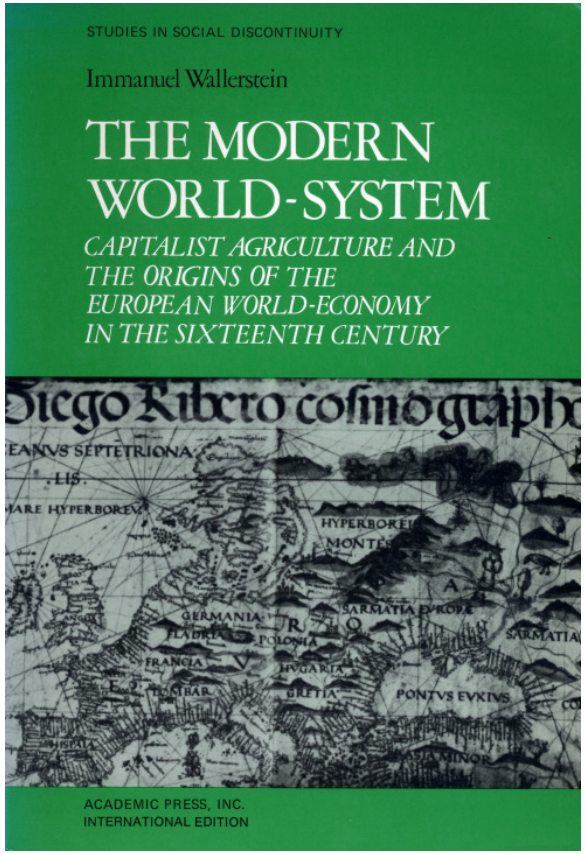
Charles P. Kindleberger



1996

*1910

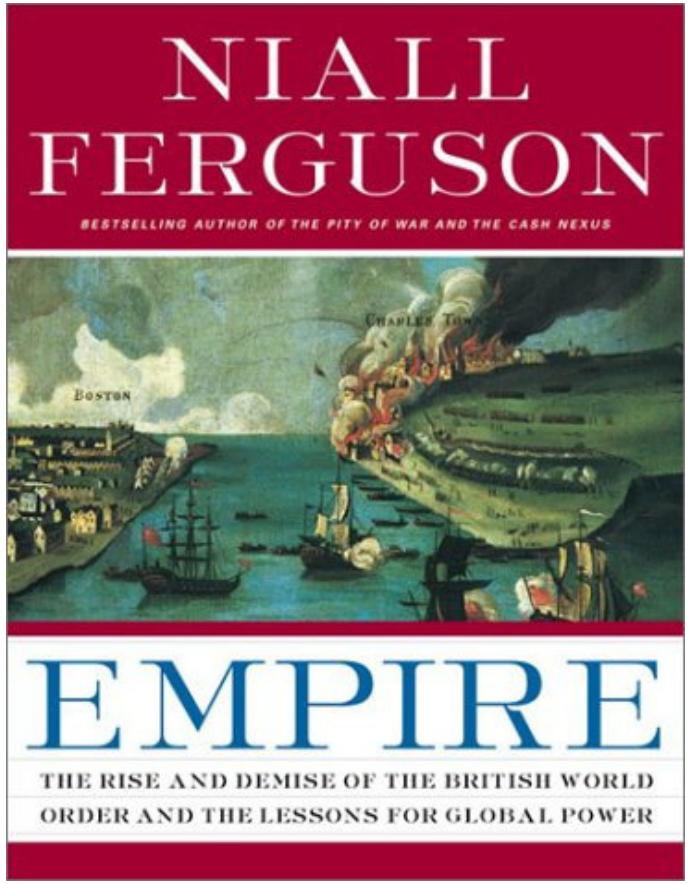
Immanuel Wallerstein



1974ff.

*1930

Niall Ferguson



2003

*1964

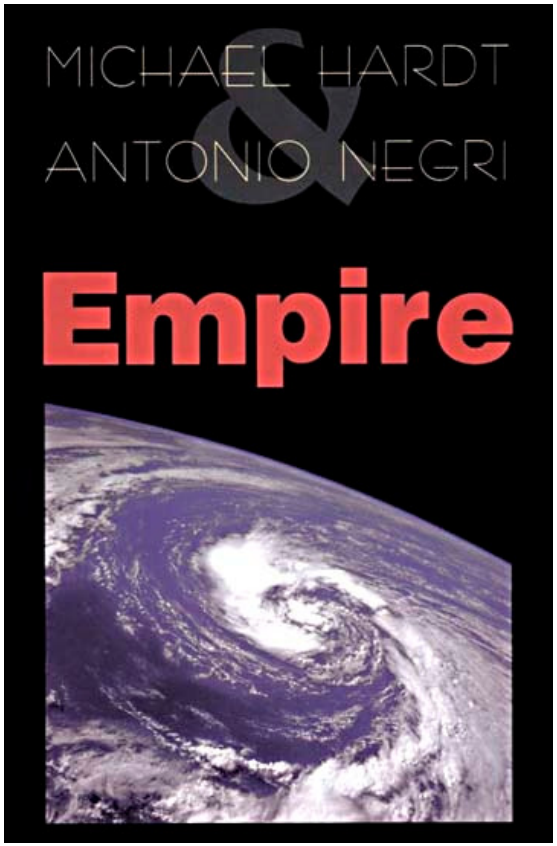
Herfried Münkler

2004

(Empires: The Logic of World Domination from Ancient Rome to the United States)

*1951

Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri



2000

*1960 *1933

Typology of Hegemonic Powers

	Military Power	**Trade Power**	
Territorial Power	Army, Garrisons, Border Fortification	Trade by Land via Caravan, Railway, Pipelines	**Rather Territorial State**
Sea Power	Navy, Naval Bases	Maritime Trade, Trading Posts	**Rather Island-/City-State**
Air-/ Space-/ Cyberpower	Air Force, Missiles Airfields, Aircraft Carrier, Internet (Server)	Trade via Screen/ IT-Centers, WWW (Software)	**Rather Global City/ Technopol**
	Control of Space	**Control of Streams**	

Examples of Hegemonies & Empires

	Hegemony	**Empire**
Territorial Power		Soviet Union, Napoleonic France, Mongol Empire
Sea Power	Great Britain, Netherlands, Portugal, Venice, Genoa, Athens	
Territorial/ Sea Power	United States, Ming-China	Spain, Ottoman Empire, Roman Empire

Model of the Succession of Hegemonies and Empires

Power A	Power B	Power C
(1) Innovation		
(2) Ascendency		
(3) Hegemonial Conflict I		
(4) Hegemonial Order	(1) Diffusion of Innovation Counter-Innovation	
(5) relativ Decline	(2) Ascendency	
(6) Hegemonial Conflict II	(3) Hegemonial Conflict I	
(7) Chaos	(4) Hegemonial Order	(1) Diffusion of Innovation Counter-Innovation
	(5) relativ Decline	(2) Ascendency
	(6) Hegemonial Conflict II	(3) Hegemonial Conflict I

Causes of Hegemonic/ Imperial Decline

- Imperial/ Hegemonic Overstretch
- Declining Innovative Power
- Diffusion of Innovations
- Others Catch Up
- Problem of Freeriders

Hegemonic Powers and Challengers I

1) China I (Northern Song)	960-1065	Territorial Power
2) China II (Northern Song)	1065-1126	Territorial Power
3) China III (Southern Song)	1127-1279	Territorial/Sea Power
4) Mongols (Yuan)	1279-1368	Territorial Power
5) Genoa	1298-1381	Sea Power
6) China IV (early Ming)	1368-1433	Territorial/Sea Power
7) Venice	1381-1500	Sea Power
8) Ottomans I	1453-1571	Territorial/Sea Power
9) Portugal	1500-1580	Sea Power
10) Spain I	1500-1588	Territorial/Sea Power
11) Ottomans II	1581-1683	Territorial Power
12) Spain II	1588-1648/59	Territorial Power

Hegemonic Powers and Challengers II

13) Netherlands	1609-1713	Sea Power
14) France I	1659-1713	Territorial Power
15) Great Britain I	1713-1815	Sea Power
16) France II	1713-1815	Territorial Power
17) Great Britain II	1815-1890	Sea Power
18) Germany	1870-1945	Territorial Power
19) United States I	1919-1990	Territorial/Sea Power
20) Japan	1895-1945	Sea Power
21) Soviet Union	1919-1989	Territorial
22) United States II	1990-2030	Territorial/Sea Power
23) China V (Peoples‘ Republic)	2030-	Territorial Power

(China vs USA: Battle for the World of Tomorrow)

Modelski‘s Long Cycles of Hegemonies

Cycle	Hegemonic Powers	Leading Sectors	Timespan
1	China (Northern Song)	K1: Paper, Print K2: Interior Market, Iron,	930-990 990-1060
2	China (Southern Song)	K3: Financial, Tribute System K4: Expansion of Maritime Trade, Compass	1060-1120 1120-1190
3	Genoa	K5: Champagne-Fairs K6: Black Sea Trade	1190-1250 1250-1300
4	Venice	K7: Galley Fleet K8: Pepper	1300-1355 1355-1430
5	Portugal	K9: Gold from Guinea K10: Pepper from India	1430-1494 1494-1540
6	Netherlands	K11: Baltic Trade K12: Far Eastern Trade	1540-1580 1580-1640
7	Great Britain I	K13: American-Asiatic Trade (Sugar) K14: American-Asiatic Trade	1640-1688 1688-1740
8	Great Britain II	K15: Cotton, Iron K16: Railway, Steam Engine	1740-1792 1792-1850
9	United States I	K17: Steel, Chemistry, Electronics K18: Automobile, Aircraft, Electronics	1850-1914 1914-1973
10	United States II	K19: Information Technology	1973-2030
11	China (Peoples Republic)	K20: ???	2030-

Definitions of Modelski

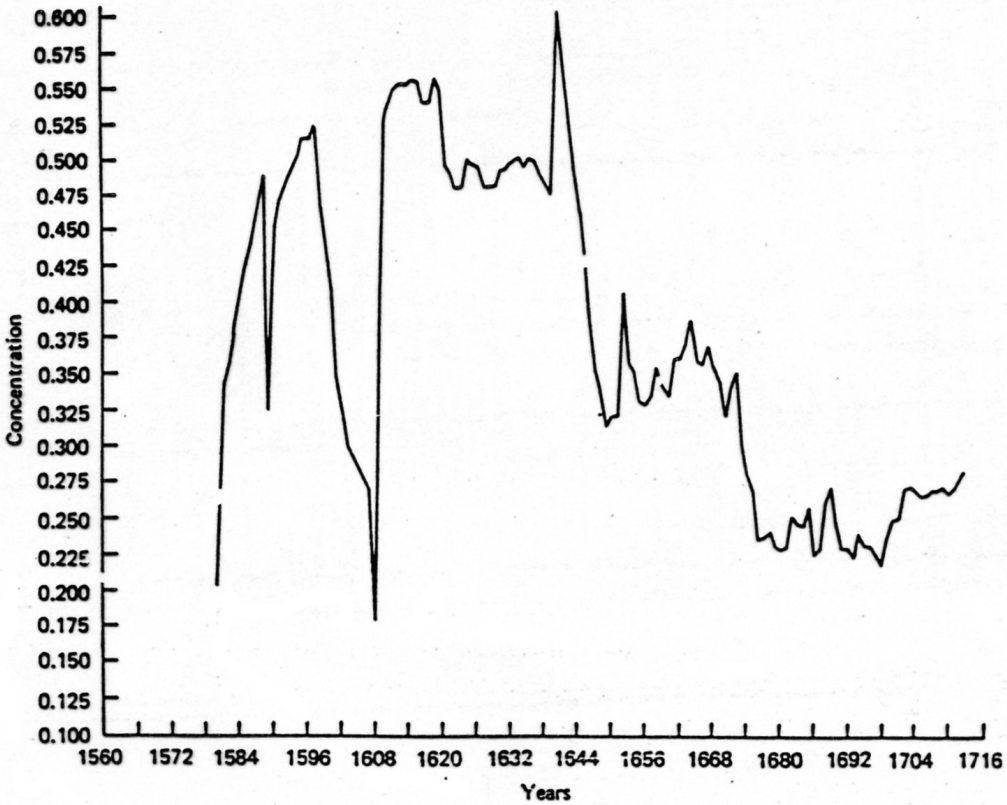
1. Hegemonic Orders are World Orders
2. Only Sea Powers have Global Reach
3. Seapower is based on the Navy
4. If a Sea Power commands more than 50% of World-Wide Naval Power, it is a Hegemonic Power
5. Indicator is the relative Share of the Total Number of „Capital Ships“ world-wide
   (e.g. War Galley, Galleon, Ship of the Line, Battleship, Aircraft Carrier, Strategic Nuclear Submarines)

Cycles: Seapowers

Long cycle I

Portuguese Cycle

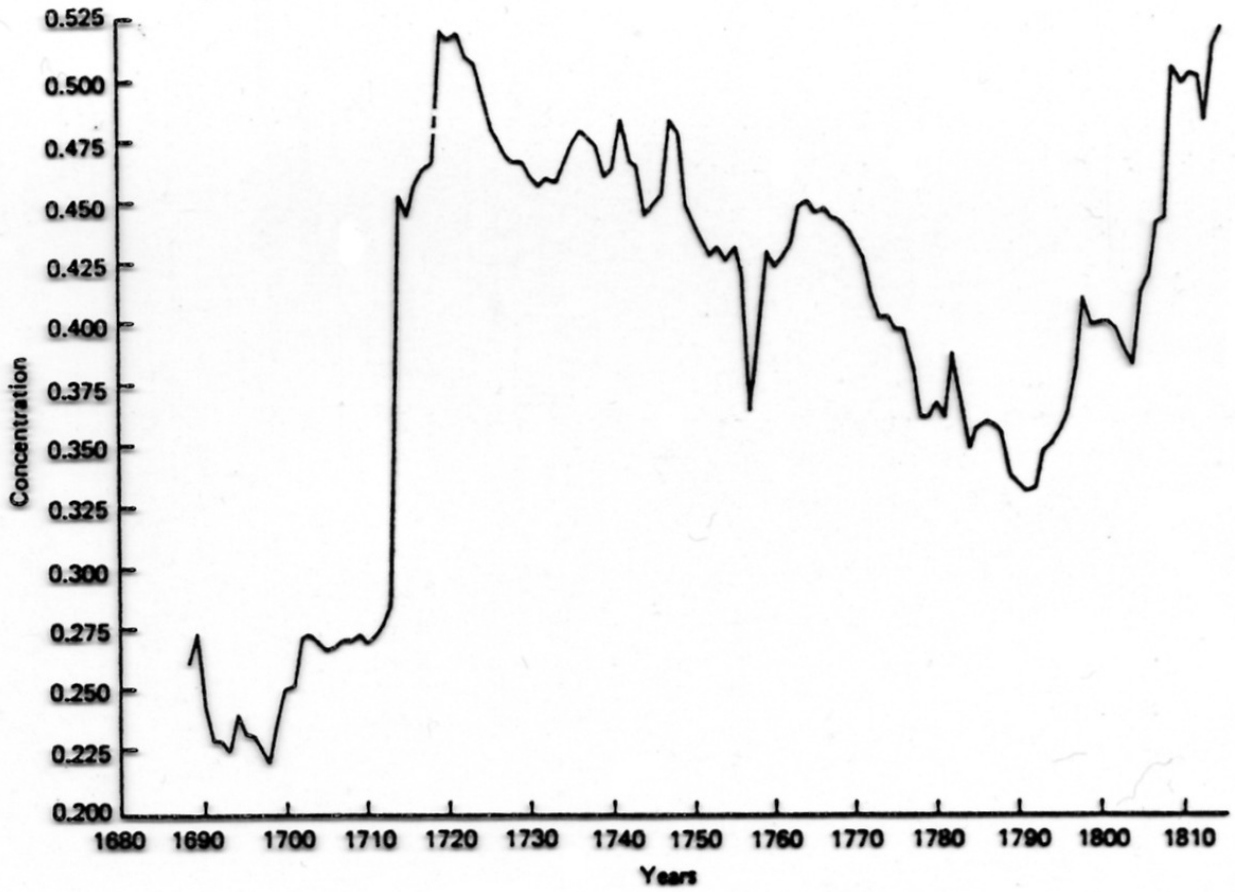
Cycles: Seapowers



Long cycle II

Dutch Cycle

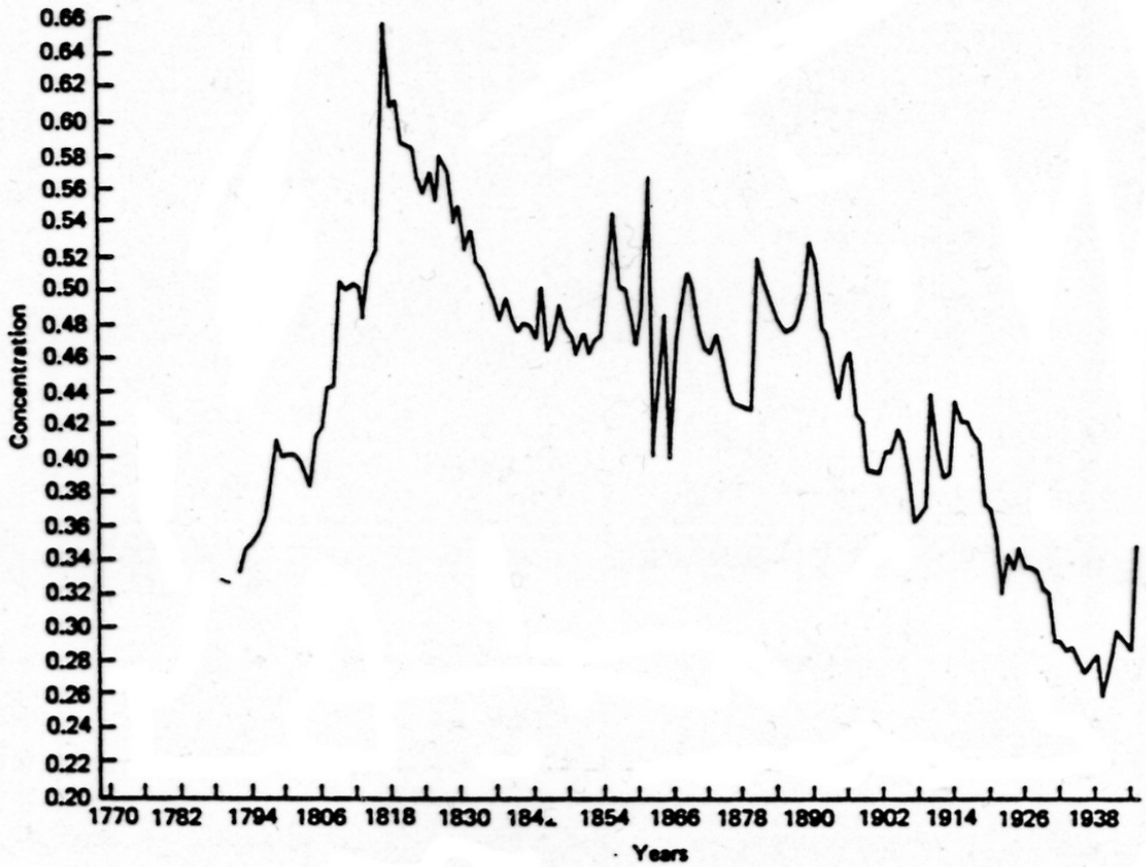
Cycles: Seapowers



Long cycle III

Cycle Great Britain I

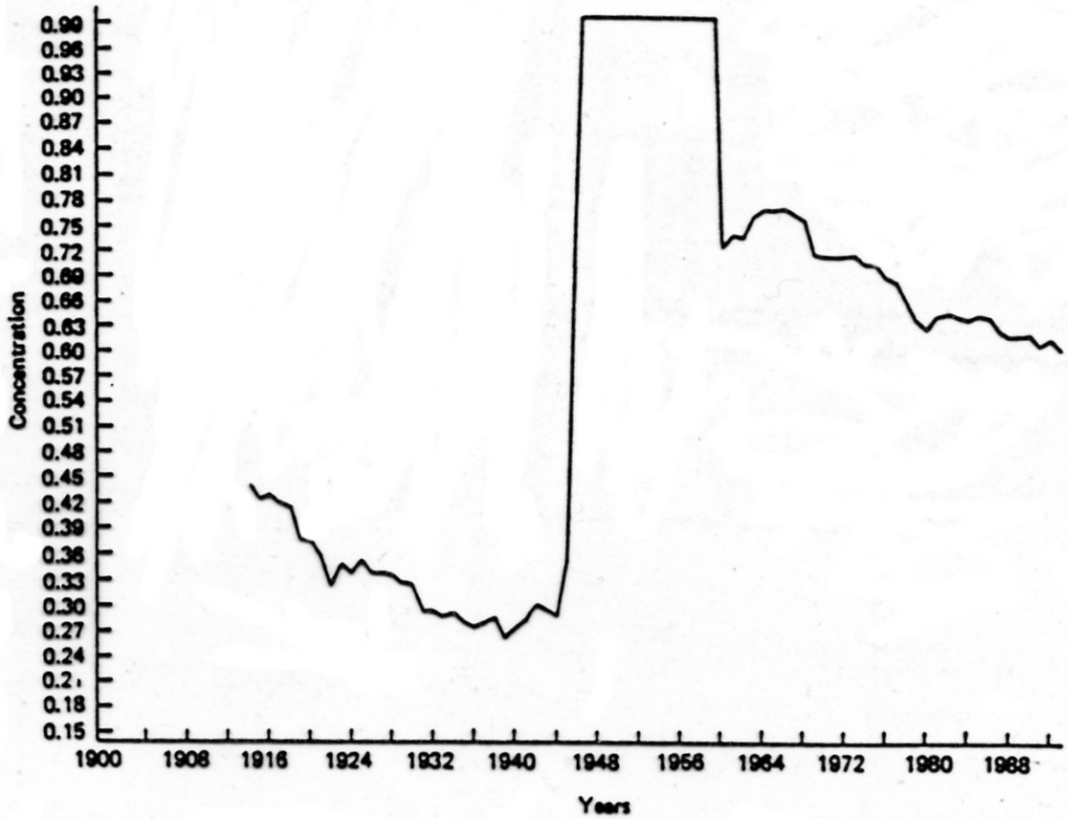
Cycles: Seapowers



Long cycle IV

Cycle Great Britain II

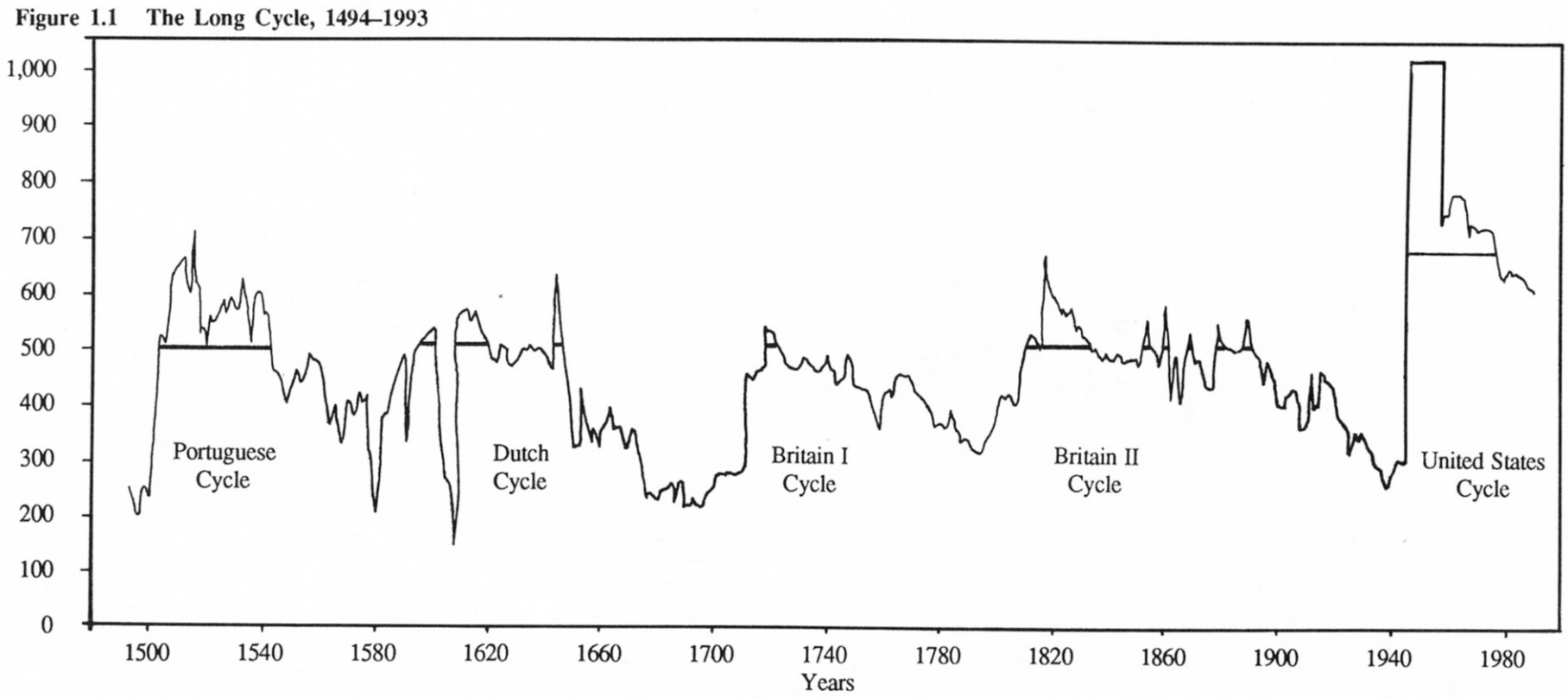
Cycles: Seapowers



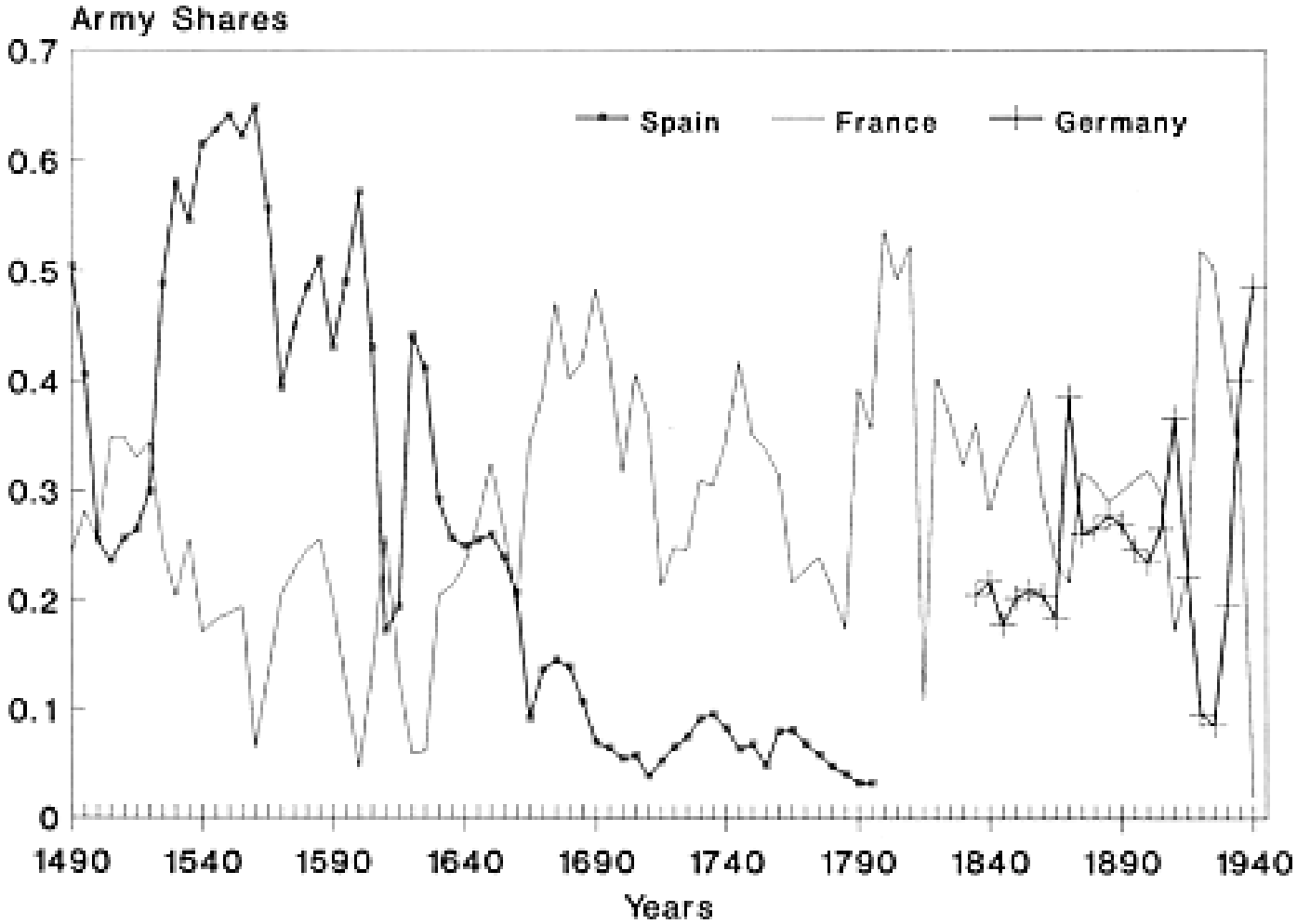
Long cycle V

United States Cycle I

Modelski‘s Long Cycle, 1494-1993

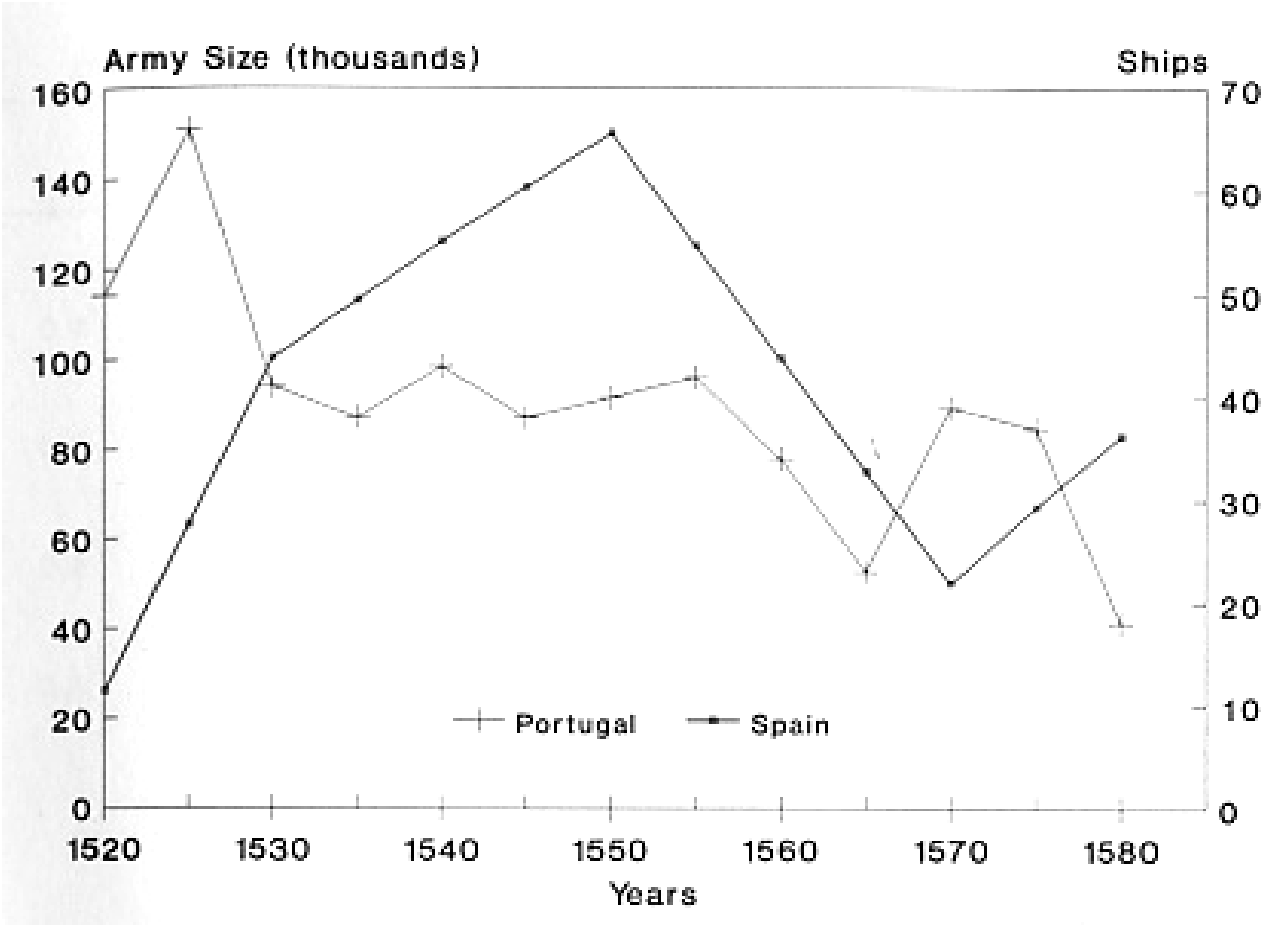


Cycles: Territorial Powers



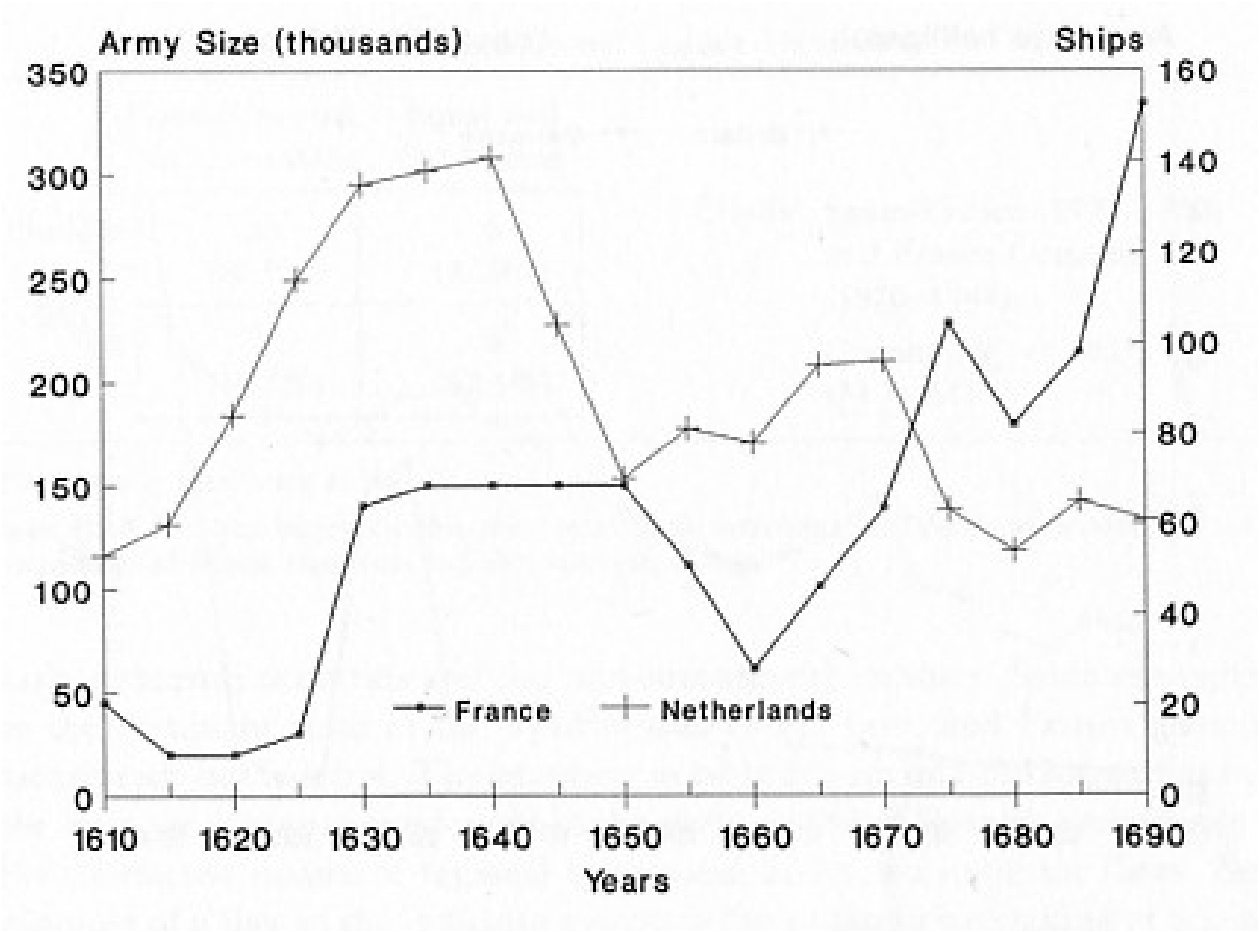
Rasler/Thompson: Great Powers and Global Struggle

Territorial vs Sea Powers



Spain vs Portugal

Territorial vs Sea Powers

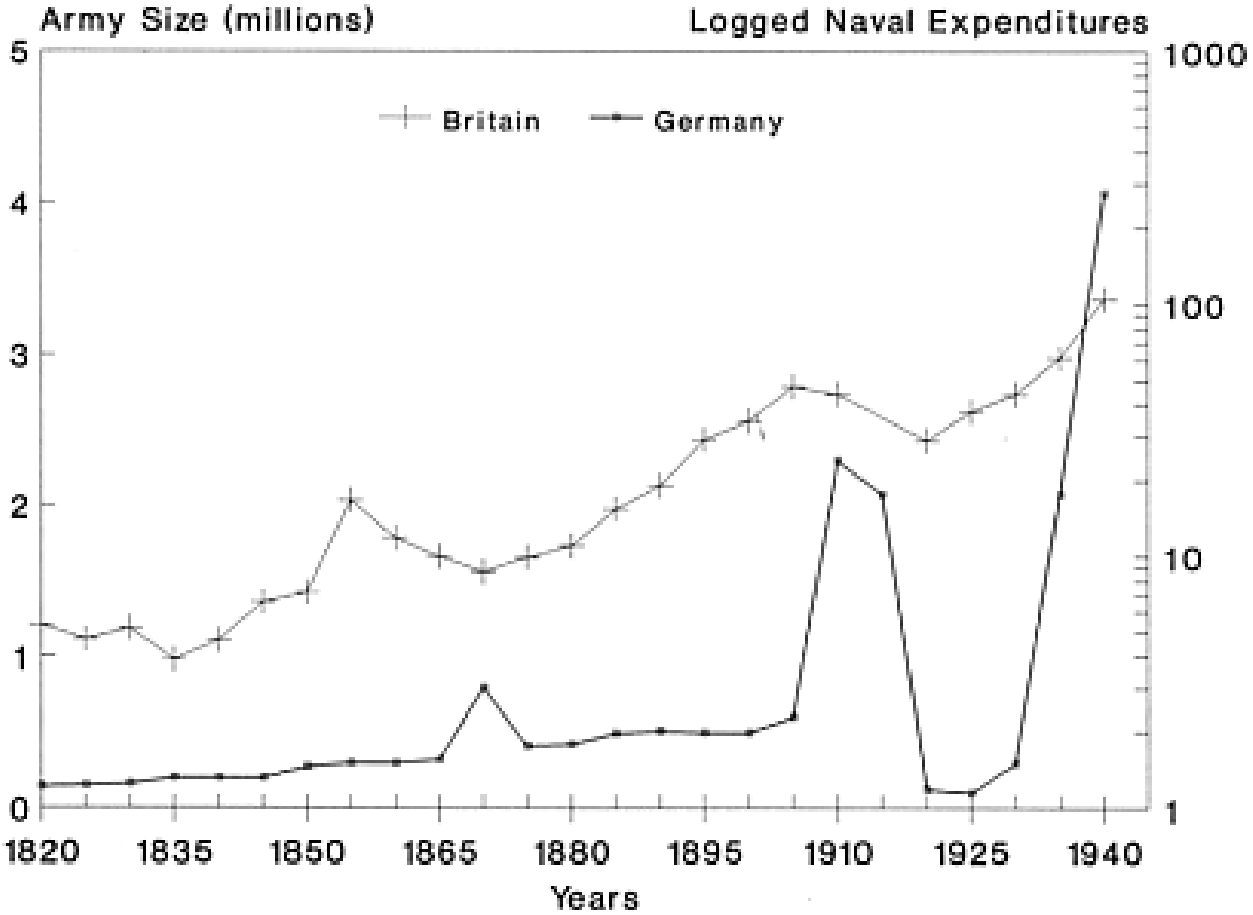


France vs Netherlands

Territorial vs Sea Powers

France vs Great Britain

Territorial vs Sea Powers



Germany vs Great Britain

Hegemonic and Imperial World Orders

Peace of Shanyuan (Song and Liao)	1004
4 Parts of Mongol Empire/ Khublai Khan (= Great Kahn & Chinese Emperor)	1260/1279
Peace of Turin (Venice and Genoa)	1381
Sixth Journey of Zheng He/ Climax of Chinese Tribute System	1421-23
Treaty of Tordesillas	1494
Personal Union Spain and Portugal	1580
Peace of Westphalia	1648
Peace of Utrecht	1713
Congress of Vienna	1815
Peace Conferences of Paris	1918
Conferences of Yalta, Potsdam, San Francisco and Bretton Woods	1944/45
End of the Cold War/ „New World Order“	1989/90

Global Public Goods

Characteristics of Global Public Goods:

- No one can be barred from usage (nonexcludable)
- No competition between users (nonrivalrous in consumption)
- Can be used for free

Example: Lighthouse

Hegemonic Order through Global Public Goods

Global Public Goods:

- Peace
- Nuclear Security
- Fight against International Terrorism/ Pirates
- Freedom of the Seas
- Key Currence
- Free Trade
- Oil Supply
- etc.

The Hegemon secures the availability of the Goods: Other Powers participate as free rider.

If the Hegemon is no longer capable of providing the Goods, Order can be maintained if others cooperate out of self-interest.

Alternatively, another Power takes the place of the former Hegemon.

Typology of Territorial-/ Sea Powers

	Sea Power	**Territorial Power**
Type of Rule	Hegemony	Empire
Control of	Streams	Spaces
Means of Exercise of Power	Global Public Goods	Army, Bureaucracy
Reach	Global	Regional

Models of World Order

	Realism	Idealism
centralized/ hierarchical	World Empire (based upon Military/ Bureaucracy)	World State (based upon Constitution)
	Global Hegemonic Power	United Nations System (with Comprehensive Authority)
	Regional Hegemonic Power	International Organisations and Agreements (Regimes) with Regional, Transregional or Global Reach (Policy-Specific)
	Cooperation of Great Powers (policy-specific)	World Conferences, World Reports, World Commissions, Campaigns Trilateral Commission, World Economic Forum, Club of Rome, etc.
decentralized/ egalitarian	Self Help of Nation States (Maximization of Power)	Participation of Multi-National Corporations and/or NGOs

Models of World Order

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decentralized/ egalitarian	Self Help of Nation States (Maximization of Power)	Participation of Multi-National Corporations and/or NGOs