

International Order and the Liberal International Order: The Relations with the UN

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2015 - 2019

International Christian University (BA; majored in International Relations)

2019 - 2021

School of International and Public Policy, Hitotsubashi University (Master of International and Administrative Policy)

2019 - 2020

KU Leuven (Studied abroad, had to return due to COVID-19)

2021 -

Graduate School of Law, Hitotsubashi University

International Relations

Publications:

Peer-Reviewed Article:

- Moritani, Yuki. "The Partnership Agreement with Japan as a Part of Structural Foreign Policy." *The Greater European Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1, September, 2020: 72-8.

Non-Peer-Reviewed Article:

- Moritani, Yuki. "Religions as Actors in Global Governance." *Young Leaders Blog*, No. 14, 2019.

Presentations at Conferences:

- 守谷優希 「「安全保障化」による日欧SPAの再考—価値規範の安全保障」 国際安全保障学会 2020年度年次大会、2020年12月6日（オンライン）。
- 守谷優希 「加盟国の外交姿勢からの欧州連合の外交政策の再解釈——ベルギーと日欧SPA」 日本国際政治学会 2020年度研究大会、2020年10月23日（オンライン）。
- 守谷優希 「避けられない安全保障化？：COVID-19と自衛隊の活用」 国際安全保障学会 第14回定例研究会、2021年7月10日（オンライン）。

Editorial Assistance:

- Both year 2021 & 2022 of the *Hiroshima Report* by JIIA

University Education

“Contemporary View of ICU”
and “Discussing the Future ICU”
available on ICU
OpenCourseWare

“Rethinking
University during the
Pandemic – 改めて大
学とは何か -”
TEDx talk available
on YouTube

The Liberal International Order in Crisis



Dani Rodrik, “Taming the Security Dilemma,” *Project Syndicate*, 9 March 2022, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/new-world-order-avoiding-zero-sum-competition-by-dani-rodrik-2022-03>; and 身勝手な安全保障から脱せよ 米ハーバード大学教授 ダニ・ロドリック氏、日本経済新聞、2022年3月31日、
[<https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGKKZO59530330Q2A330C2TCR000/>].

International Order?

- Ideal peaceful image of the world and international environment?
 - Utopian-like imagination, not the reality
 - Based on certain belief or ideology
- Ideal international system or doctrine for major powers (or hegemonic state(s))?
 - Made based on rules and norms forced by winners of a major war
 - “the strong do what they can and the weak suffer they must” (Athens from the Melian Conference)

International Order by Hedley Bull

- Anarchy ≠ complete chaos with no order
- International society = collection of states + common interests and values
- International order = “a pattern of activity that sustains the elementary or primary goals of” international society
 - Primary goals of international society: 1. preservation of international society, 2. maintenance of the independence of states, 3. regulation (not elimination) of war and use of violence
 - Secondary or advanced order is not international order (for Bull)

Balance of Power and International Order

- 18th Century Europe = Golden Age of Balance of Power
- Sense of “society” existed in 18th Century Europe
 - Common interest: to deny the rise of empire to dominate Europe and maintain diversity and the independence of each states
- Balance of power as international order
 - Pursuit of national interests and balancing leads to an ideal order
 - But fragile, and couldn't prevent a big war

International Order after WWI

- Woodrow Wilson wanted international cooperation with the rule of law
- Sense of “society” after WWI
 - Written in a preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations
 - At least among the members of the League
- Collective security as international order
 - With the promise to no invasion, states act together to repel the aggressor to member states
 - Limited acts couldn’t prevent the WWII

G. John Ikenberry, “Debating World Order: Sovereignty, Interdependence, and the Future of Liberal Modernity,” *Oughtopia*, Vol. 33, No. 3, (2018): 23; G. John Ikenberry, “Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (March 2009): 72-3; G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*, (Princeton and Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2011), 239-40; G. John Ikenberry, “The Emerging Great Power Concert? World Order after the Cold War,” *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 4, (1992): 549-50; and 小川浩之ほか『国際政治史—主権国家体系のあゆみ』有斐閣、2018年、94頁。

A Preamble of the Covenant

The high contracting parties,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and

by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

International Order after WWII

- Sense of “society” after WWII
 - Written in a preamble of the UN Charter
 - At least among the members of the UN
- Collective security as international order
 - With the promise to no invasion, states act together to repel the aggressor to member states
 - With strengthened measures compared to that of the League

A Preamble of the UN Charter

We the peoples of the United Nations determined
to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

A Preamble of the UN Charter

And for these ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institutions of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

Have resolved to combined our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Liberal International Order?

- Originally by G. John Ikenberry
 - Rule-based and progressive international order
 - Westphalian state system + liberal internationalism
- Current order: US-led liberal hegemonic international order
- The understanding differs among scholars and researchers

Daniel Deudney, and G. John Ikenberry, “The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order,” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, (1999): 179-96; G. John Ikenberry, *A World Safe for Democracy: Liberal Internationalism and the Crises of Global Order*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020), 1; G John Ikenberry, “Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (March 2009): 84; and G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*, (Princeton and Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2011), 2-283.

LIO from Literature Review

LIO as international cooperation
(especially the role of international institutions)

(ex. John J. Mearsheimer, “Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order,” *International Security*, Vol. 43, No. 4, (2019): 7-50.)

LIO as *Pax Americana*, with emphasis on the spread of liberal democracy and capitalism based on the US Interests

(ex. Gideon Rose, “The Fourth Founding: The United States and the Liberal Order,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 1, (2019): 10-21.)

Liberal International Order

- My definition: pattern of states activity with liberal characteristics based on international cooperation (international organization at its center) with the engagement of national interests
 - Liberal characteristics: liberal democracy, rule of law, capitalism, market economy, free trade, (global) civil society
- Rather than a primary order, its mostly about an advanced order

We all know that we are facing a difficult moment in world affairs.

BUT, many people argue in many ways, as they want to.

Definitions and understanding depend on scholars.

Following news is important, but don't just follow it.

Study well and develop a good understanding on International Relations in
the university!