

Rethinking Fundamentals of International Order

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International Christian University

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Research Area

International Relations:

Theories; International Order; Foreign and Security Policy Analysis

Yuki Moritani, “The Partnership Agreements with Japan as Part of Structural Foreign Policy,”

The Greater European Journal, vol. 2, no. 1 (September 2020), pp. 72-78.

& more

University Education:

Brief Introductions

For long time, it is said that...

“international order is facing crisis”

Before 2016

- The end of the Cold War
 - Disappearance of the threat of communism and the common vision among the West
- Decline of the norm of sovereign states
 - The emphasis on human rights and the responsibility to protect (R2P)
- Globalization and the development of technology
 - Allowed the development of transnational crimes and heavy armament of non-state actors
- The rise of new stakeholders
 - Rise of Brazil, China and India, and the middle power states and global governance (decline of the United States)

After 2016

- (Looking back) neoliberal economy and economic crisis damaged liberal international order
- Rise of nationalism, and criticism on globalization
 - The election of President Trump and Brexit
 - The decline of the trust and belief on liberal democracy
- Rise of illiberal states
 - Decline of the US (as a leader of liberal order), rise of China and Russia
 - Power politics rather than international cooperation

3 Types of Crisis of the Current International Order

Crisis of liberal politics & economy

- The Russian invasion of Ukraine “marks the end of the neo-liberal post-Cold War global order”
 - The neo-liberal post-Cold War global order = **The global system that Western liberal ideology is dominant**
- Democracy is in retreat, and capitalism is in decline
- Russia (P5) has done a devastating act

Crisis of international law

- Many intellectuals demand “**a global order that takes seriously the rules of the United Nations Charter** – notably on respect for sovereignty and fundamental human rights”
 - **A rules-based international order** need to appeal that it is global, not only limited to the west.
- “The essential issue is not merely inconsistency in following rules that have uncontested legitimacy. Rather, **it’s whether those rules have withstood the assaults on their legitimacy by their western architects.**”

Crisis of the American hegemony

- The Russian invasion of Ukraine reminded us that a “beautiful aspiration is not reality”
 - Many Western elites imagined believed that we live in a **rules-based world order**
- **It was the US that almost realized the rules-based world order**
 - US commitments brought the absence of war
- Because Obama, Trump and Biden decreased American role, the world became unstable

Democracy? Capitalism?
International law?
American hegemony?

**What is the most significant feature of the
current international order?**

International order...

is formed when:

- mutual recognition of who is an actor and how to act
- activities are legitimized based on certain principles
- conflicts are somehow managed

as a term is used:

- to refer to a preferable stable situation of international relations

Predictability

Significant elements of international order

- pattern of activities
- stability of international relations

are formed to make the future **predictable**

- Although it has been overlooked, predictability is an important feature of international order!

Theories of International Order

Balance of Power

➤ Mechanism

- States wish to prevent the rise of a dominant power in international relations
- Rise of power => other states deter (empowerment, alliance) => concentration of power will be avoided (this process continues)

➤ Predictability

- As a result of the mutual deterrence of states, force will not be used
- No dominant power rises

Randall L. Schweller, "The Balance of Power in World Politics," Oxford Research Encyclopedias, 9 May 2016,

<https://oxfordre.com/politics/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-119?print=pdf>; 高坂正堯『古典外交の成熟と崩壊I』（中央公論新社、2012年）5-55頁；中西寛ほか『国際政治学』（有斐閣、2015年）22、67-70頁。

Collective Security

➤ Mechanism

- When a member of a group was attacked, a group will assume that a whole group was attacked
- Members agree to act to defend a whole group in such cases beforehand

➤ Predictability

- Makes other states to attack a group member (deterrence)
- Will have allies when facing a danger

Hegemonic Stability

➤ Mechanism

- The superiority of great power of a powerful status-quo state will stabilize an order, since revisionist states cannot challenge easily
- A hegemonic state will provide international common goods, since it is also national interests

➤ Predictability

- There will be a less chance of war and conflict since a powerful hegemonic state is less likely to be challenged
- Political, economic, security and societal benefits can be gained with international common good by a hegemon

Constitutional Order

➤ Mechanism

- A great power provides stability in order, but by provide a sense of safety to other states, not forcing other states to follow
- A great power will not abuse its power, doing whatever it want to

➤ Predictability

- Since a great power provide a sense of safety, many states will allow a great power to be a hegemon
- Political, economic, security and societal benefits can be gained with international common good by a hegemon

International Regime

➤ Mechanism

- Principle, norm, rule, and decision-making process on certain international issue
- Conflict resolution framework through decentralized negotiation

➤ Predictability

- Allow states and actors to share expectations and form the common expectations among actors

Group Discussion

How should we understand the current international order?

Theories

Balance of Power

Collective Security

Hegemonic Stability

Constitutional Order

International Regime

Is international order really in crisis?

Group Discussion

**How can the situation of international
order can be improved?**

How can international order be recovered?

Questions are welcome!

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