Of the contemporary global order, crisis, and change

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Abstract

The contemporary global order is widely said to be in crisis. But despite a rapidly proliferating literature on the subject, there is little clarity or consensus about wherein the 'crisis' consist, or what precisely is under threat. We offer a restricted characterization of the post-war global order based on its fundamental substantive and procedural ordering principles: sovereign inter-state relations and a relatively open global economy, characterized by practices of inclusive, rule-bound multilateralism. We argue that only if one of more of these foundational principles are systematically violated, can we speak of a demise of the order. To this end, we consider the extent to which each of these basic principles is currently endangered. We conclude that what we are witnessing is not the collapse of the current world order, but rather its transformation and adaptation into a broader, more flexible and multifaceted system of global governance—a change within the order rather than of the order.

Alarm about the fate of the contemporary global order has emerged as a leitmotif among International Relations scholars. Yet despite the heated debate over the 'crisis of the global order', there is surprisingly little clarity about what the crisis consists of, or what precisely is under threat. While there is no shortage of proposed symptoms and causes of the crisis – President Trump's policies and diplomatic style, growing populism, the spread of authoritarianism, unilateral withdrawals from international agreements as exemplified by Brexit, or the rise of non-liberal powers – the precise nature of the 'order' that is threatened by these phenomena often remains unspecified, making it hard to judge the nature and gravity of the challenge(s).

In this short essay, we focus on the contemporary global order's foundations as well as on current intermational challenges to it. We argue that the present global order, which has its origins in the post-war world, rests on three foundational ordering principles: national sovereignty, economic liberalism and inclusive, rule-based multilateralism. These principles stipulate general rules of conduct, but leave considerable scope for contestation and renegotiation of specific norms and agreements. Thus, the global order is a dynamic construct in which crises and contestations can occur without undermining the order as such. Only if one or more of the foundational principles are systematically violated, can we speak of a demise of the order.

This definitional exercise allows us to distinguish between crisis of the global order and challenges to specific norms or power constellations within the order. Today's world is politically, economically and technologically more complex than when the institutional pillars of the current order were founded in the 1940s and 1950s. This has led to contestation, and change. On balance, however, what we witness at present is not so much a profound or definitive crisis of the existing order, but rather its ongoing (and messy) transformation into a broader, more inclusive system of global governance, reflecting the need to accommodate new actors and problems.

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