

Not Zero Sum: The Case for Alternate World Orders

IEA World Economy Working Group

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World Order:

A community of nations, together with a shared understanding of norms, conventions, and rules that guide the behavior of those nations.

Lead example: Globalized world economic order

“a one-world vision of nation-states that trade and interact in a multilateral system of laws, creating an orderly international community”

“laws for nations as for individuals”

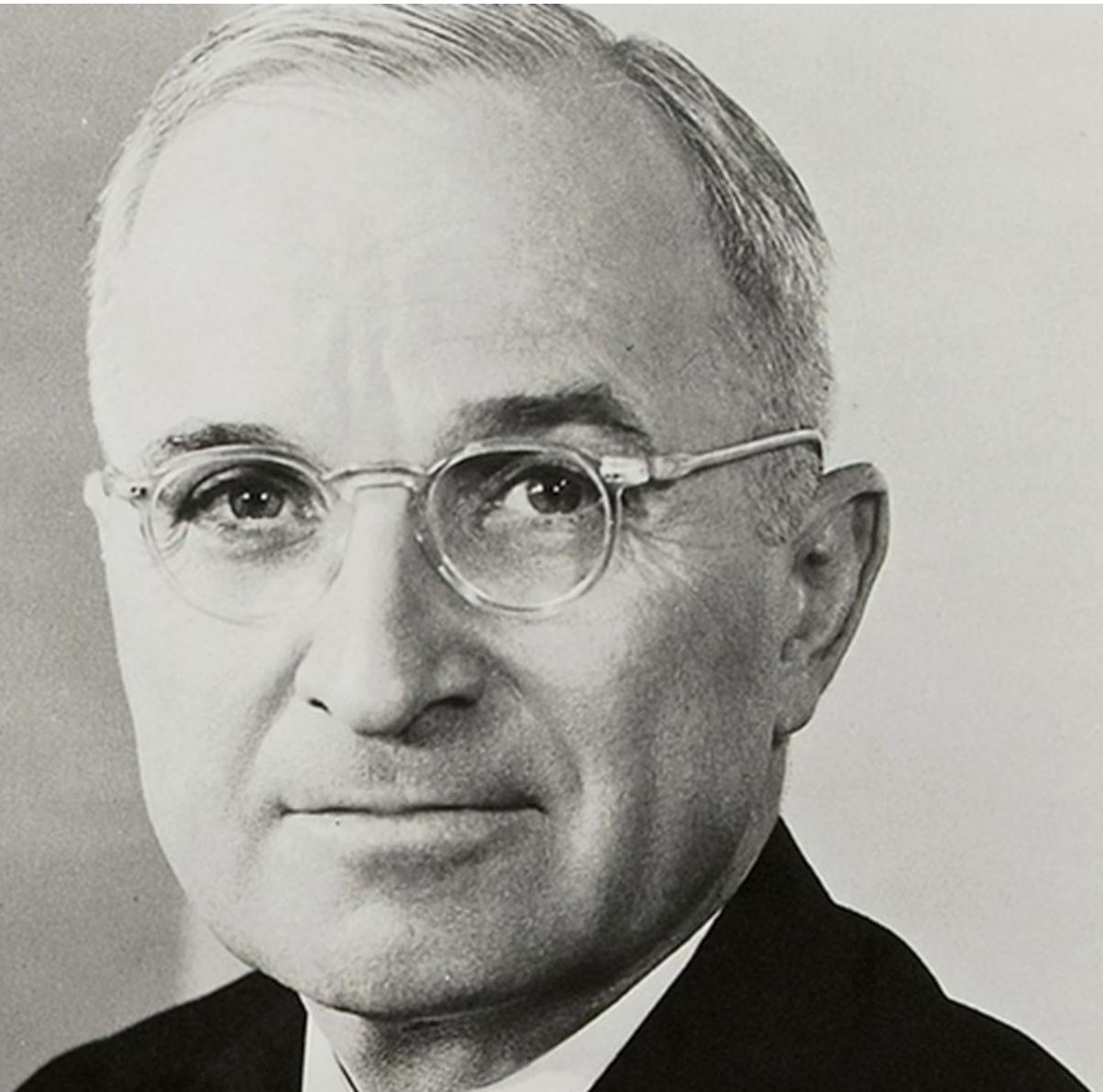
American
hegemonic
provision of GPGs

“reign of law, based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind”

The rules-
based liberal
order?

“That we totally defeated our enemies and then brought them back to the community of nations. I would like to think that only America could have done this.”

33.





“We simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates, and threaten its neighbors. There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation.”

(Nixon 1967)

Sleepwalking to the next world order?

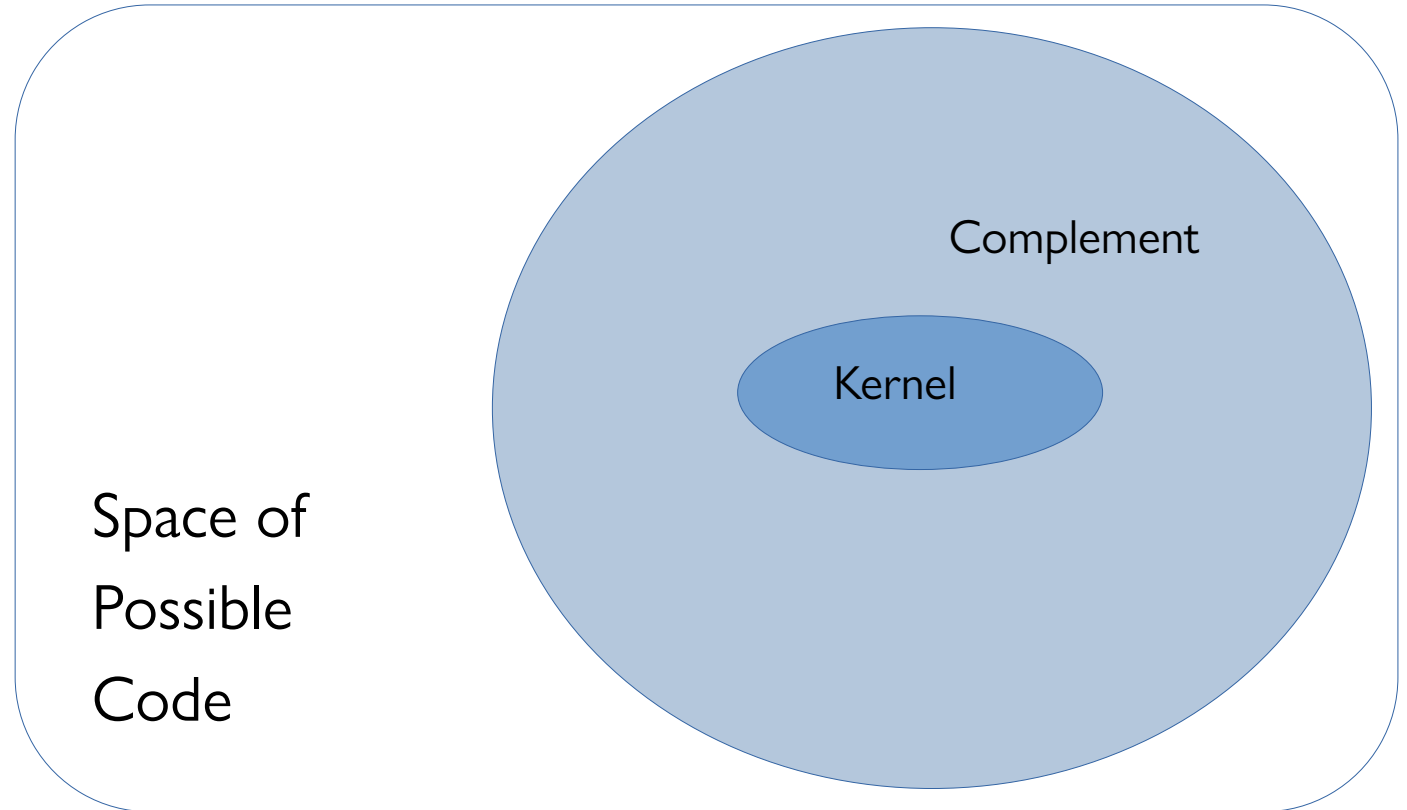
What minimal set of code allows peaceful coexistence across nations? What maximizes economic well-being across all nations?

Is that minimal set encompassing, or, what space remains for varying forms of economic practice and political values?

Can such code be adaptive across time and space?

How is that set of code sensitive to the experiences of those who live that world order?

World Order:



World Order:

1. An object of choice for multiple players with diverse interests
2. An equilibrium outcome for some mechanism or game form

Alternate World Orders

Underlying Models

Cause and Effect

Ways forwards

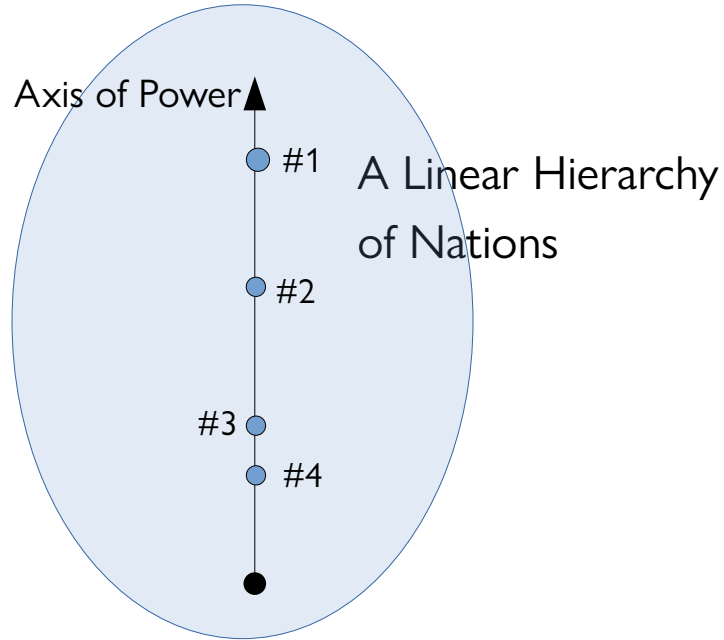
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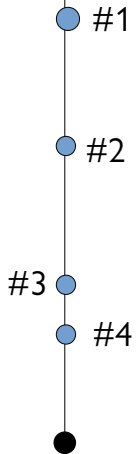
Alternative Geometries of World Order



1. Zero-sum by construction, thus confrontational
2. Winner-take-all
3. Differences magnified (“democracy vs authoritarianism”)
4. Non-inclusive

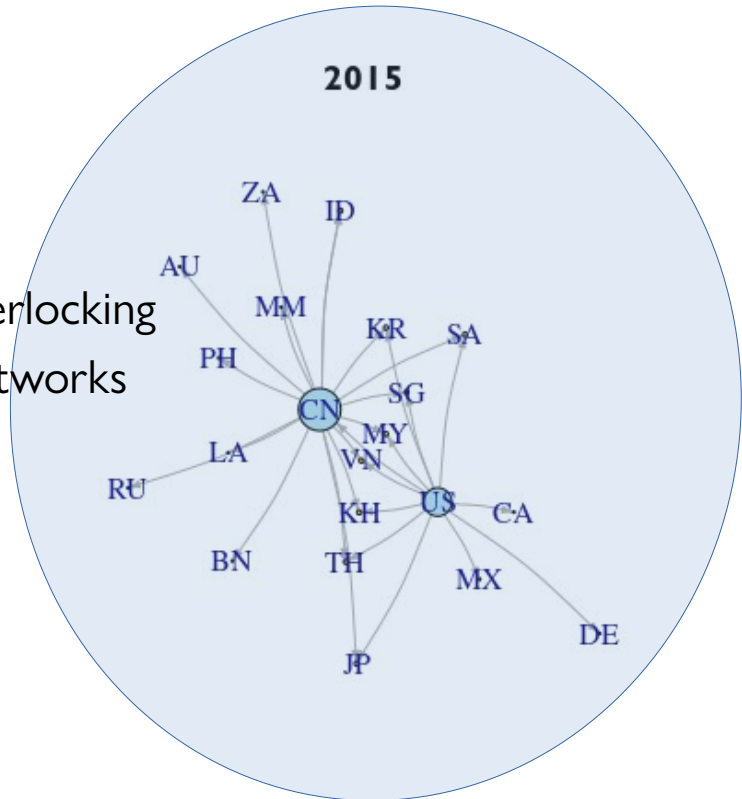
Alternative Geometries of World Order

Axis of Power ▲



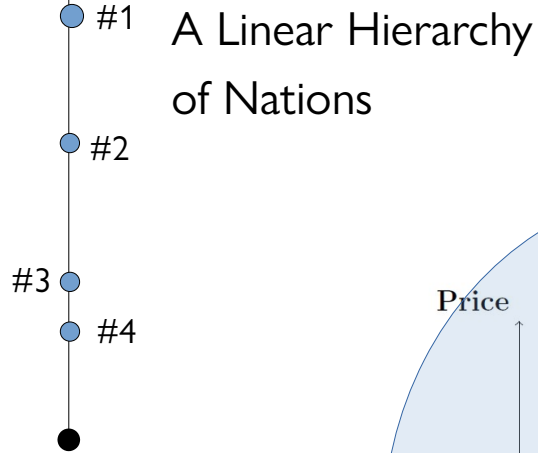
A Linear Hierarchy
of Nations

Interlocking
Networks



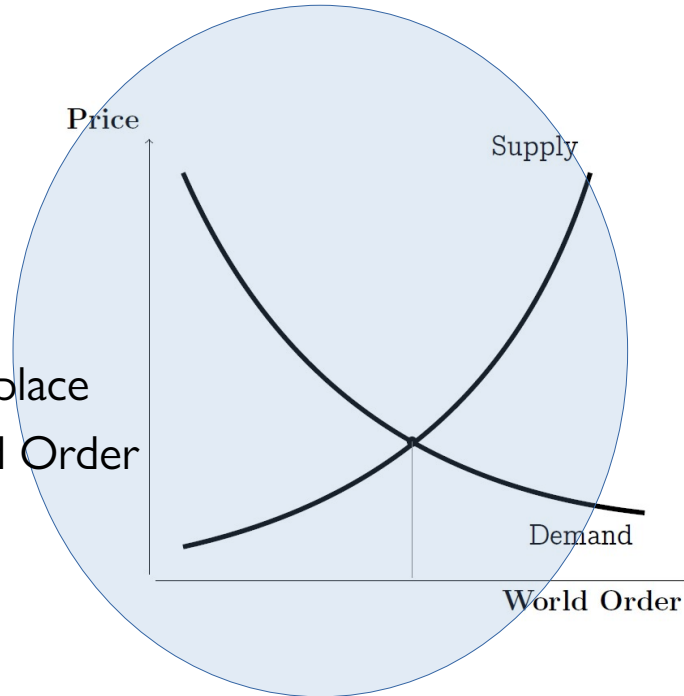
Alternative Geometries of World Order

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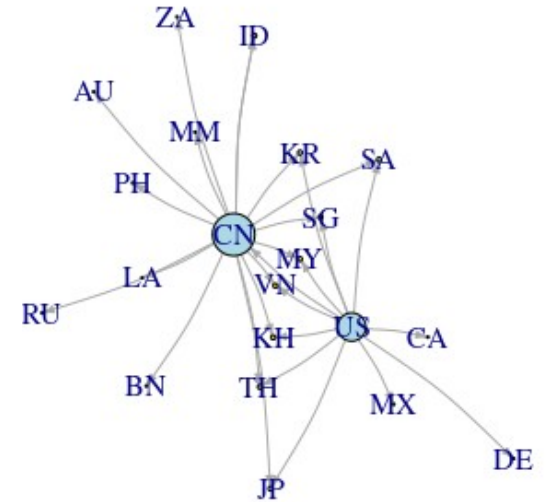


A Linear Hierarchy
of Nations

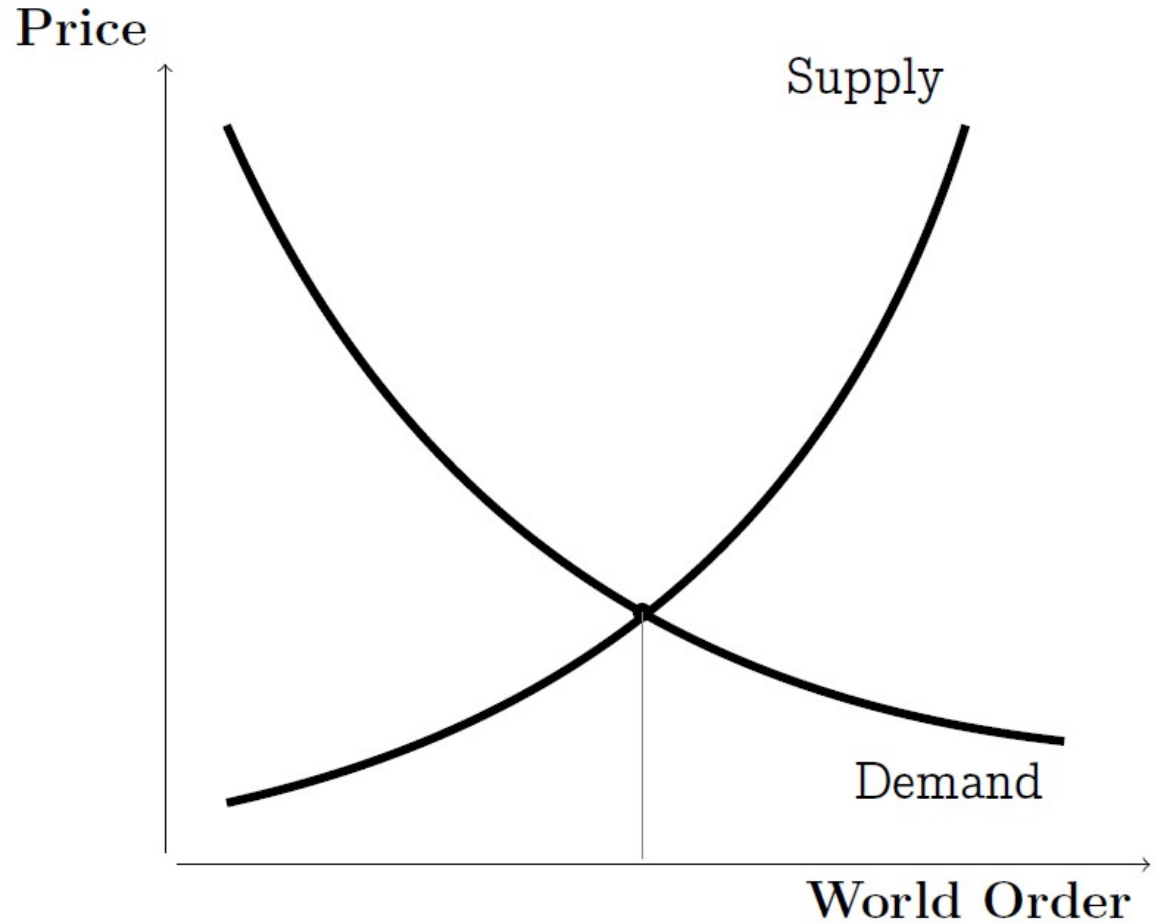
A Marketplace
for World Order



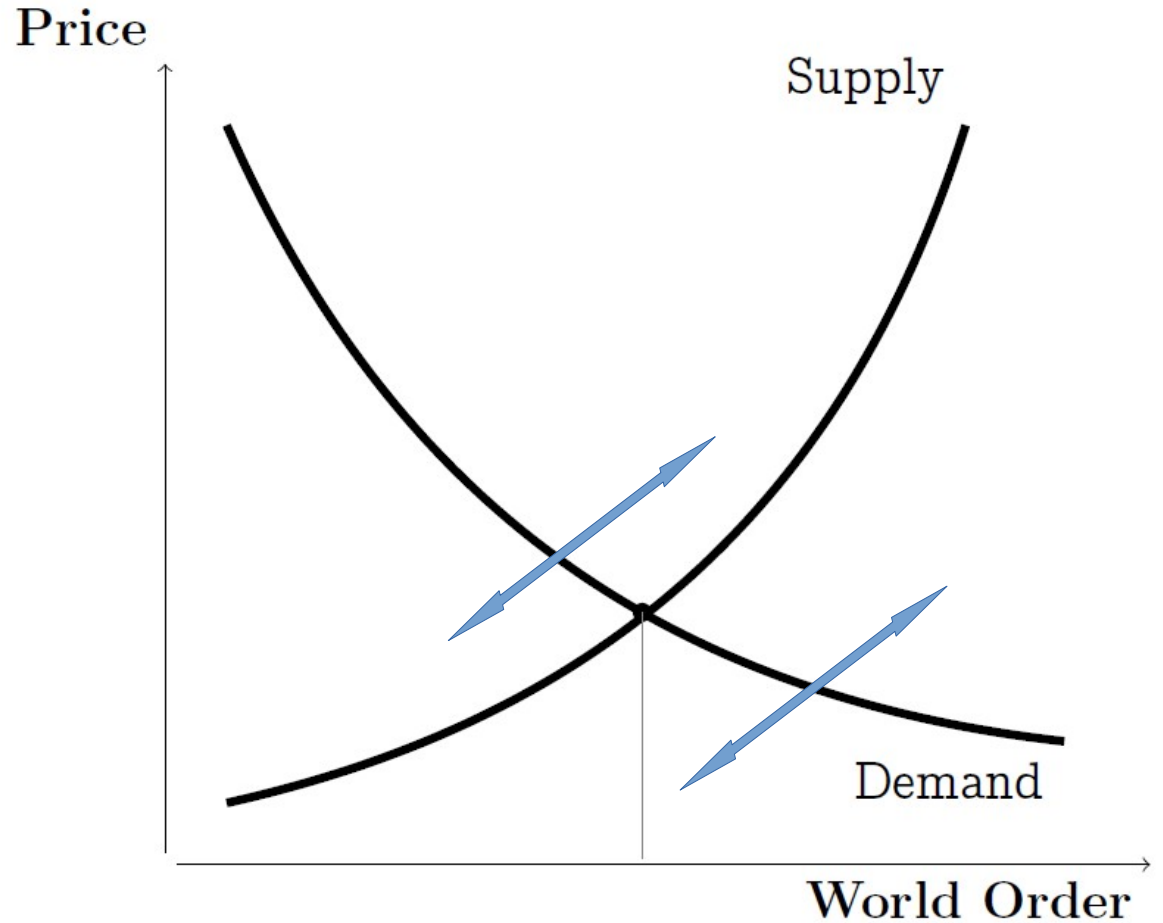
2015



World Order: Supply and Demand



World Order Supply and Demand



“But this is not how the world is”

“It would be as ridiculous to construct a theory of international politics based on Malaysia and Costa Rica as it would be to construct an economic theory of oligopolistic competition based on the minor firms in a sector of the economy.”

(Waltz, 1979)

Thucydides had written, “the strong do what they will, the weak suffer what they must”

Alternate World Orders

Underlying Models

Cause and Effect

Ways forwards

Cause and Effect: New features by agency, influence

1. UN General Assembly

2. International Trade and Financial Architecture

3. CBDR Common but Differentiated Responsibilities in UN Framework Convention on Climate Change

4. Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (1954 Sino-Indian Agreement, but now included in preamble to China's Constitution)

5. Non-Aligned Movement (from the 1950s, largest group after the UN)

6. UN Human Rights Council; and before that UN Commission on Human Rights (1946-2006). Anti-apartheid

7. Group of 77 (1969-)

8. New International Economic Order (1969-)

9. New World Information and Communication Order (1970s-)

Cause and Effect: Elasticity

1. Berlin Wall: East Germany vs Soviets

2. Nicaragua, ICJ, and the US

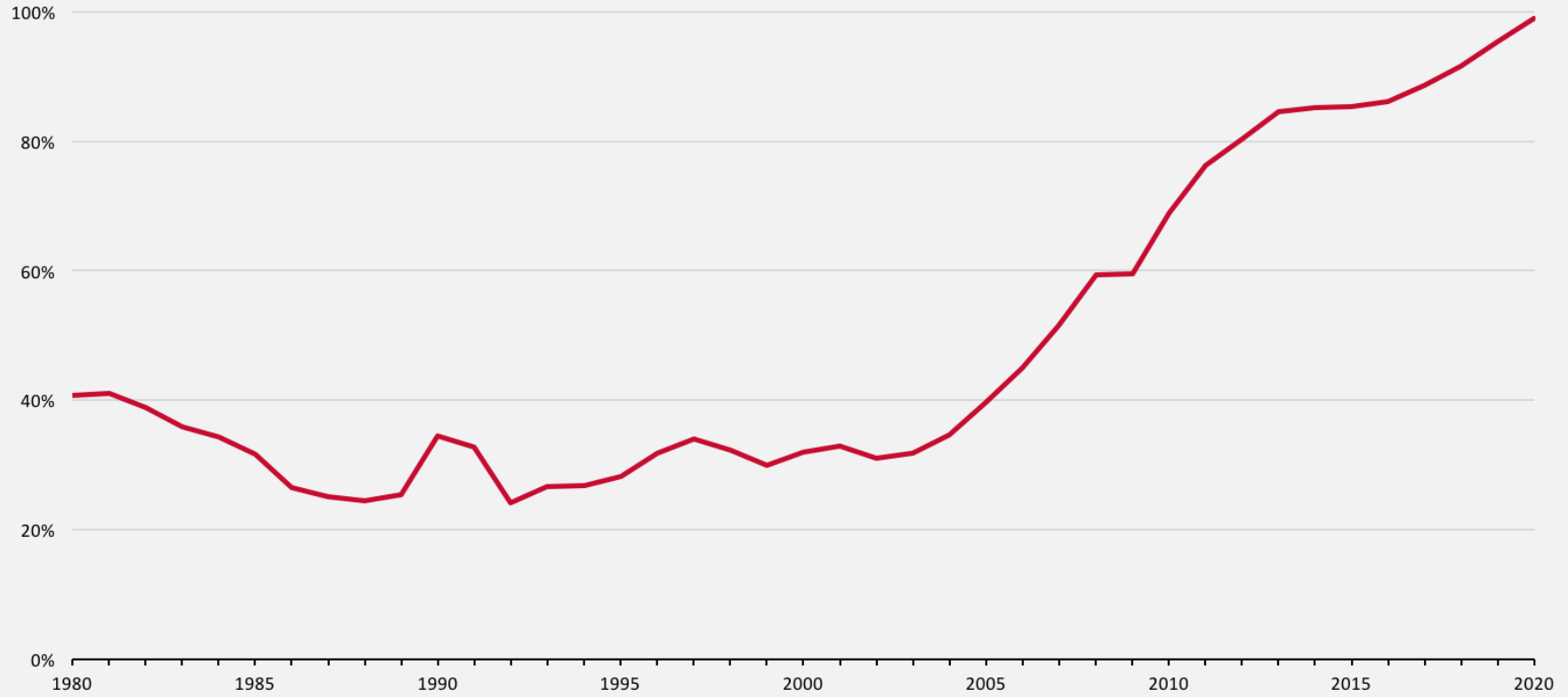
3. Korea's dynastic transitions and the acceptance of 14th-C Ming hegemony

4. Japan's domestic order building under the Tokugawa Shogunate and its challenge to 17th-C Qing hegemony

5. Israeli lobby and US Foreign Policy

The Globalization Lift

Emerging countries' combined GDP as a share of G7 GDP



Note: GDP data are measured in constant USD

Sources: the authors' own calculations, IMF *World Economic Outlook* (Oct 2015, updated)

Ouah and Mahbubani (2016)

Alternate World Orders

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Cause and Effect

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Implications

1. Defining feature not conflict and its resolution, but instead reconciling diversity of interests. Reconciliation is a staple of the market mechanism but others as well

2. Outstanding problems remain collective action and GPGs. These are positive-sum challenges and are less in degree than RW Category 2 but remain intractable.

3. Agency: “You own the rise, you take the fall.”

4. Less dichotomous: Not “democracy vs authoritarianism” but “republicanism”...

5. Inclusiveness, not assimilativeness

6. Not entitled emerging nations but social scientists assessing alternate world orders: Multipolarity bothers potential unipolar hegemon or bipolar Great Powers (“complicated, contingent, hard to manage”). Or just reduced monopoly power?

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