

# World Order Under Duress

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# World Order's 3 Principles

“[The 9/11 attacks illuminated] a world that had emerged in its full form a decade earlier but had been two centuries in the making. It is a world dominated by three major ideas: peace as the preferred basis for relations among countries; democracy as the optimal way to organize political life within them; and the free market as the indispensable vehicle for producing wealth.”

-- Michael Mandelbaum, *The Ideas that Conquered the World* (2002), pp. 1-5 (emphasis added)

**“Trump’s rise is symptomatic of the ongoing great transformation of U.S. society ... In particular, existing liberal internationalist grand strategy is likely to be revised and gestured toward ‘neo-isolationism.’ We are witnessing a historical watershed during which the direction of U.S. hegemony and the post-war liberal world order is beginning to change.”**

-- Taesu Cha (Seoul National University), “The Return of Jacksonianism: the International Implications of the Trump Phenomenon,” TWQ (forthcoming winter 2017)

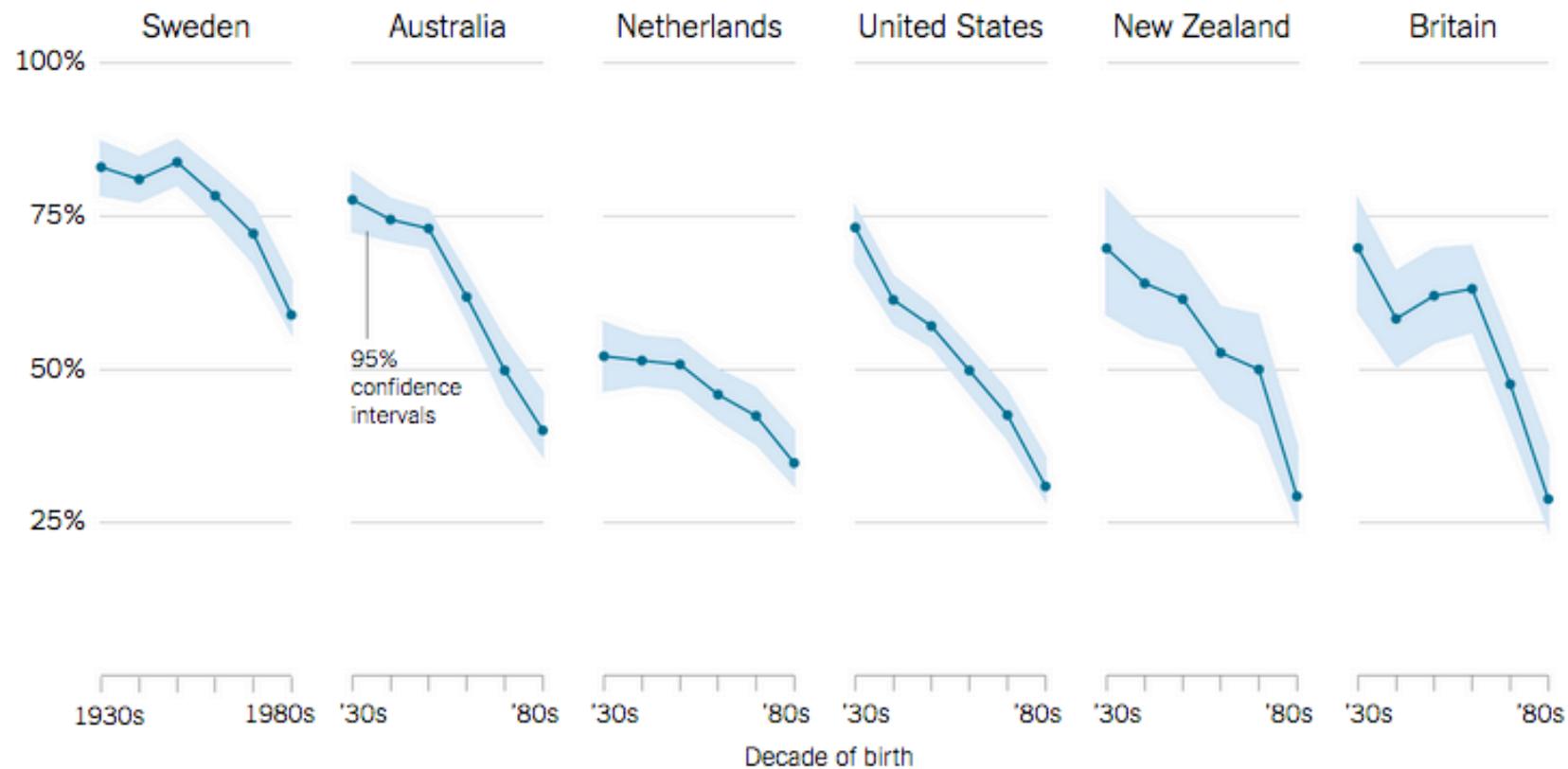
# World Order's 3 Principles

**Democracy**

Free Markets/Trade

Peace/use of force in self-defense

## Percentage of people who say it is “essential” to live in a democracy



Source: Yascha Mounk and Roberto Stefan Foa, "The Signs of Democratic Deconsolidation," *Journal of Democracy* | By The New York Times

# Democracy

Used as pretext for invasion of Iraq (democracy promotion)

Paralyzed by political polarization? Too much information?

Vulnerable to populism internally/cyberdisruption externally?

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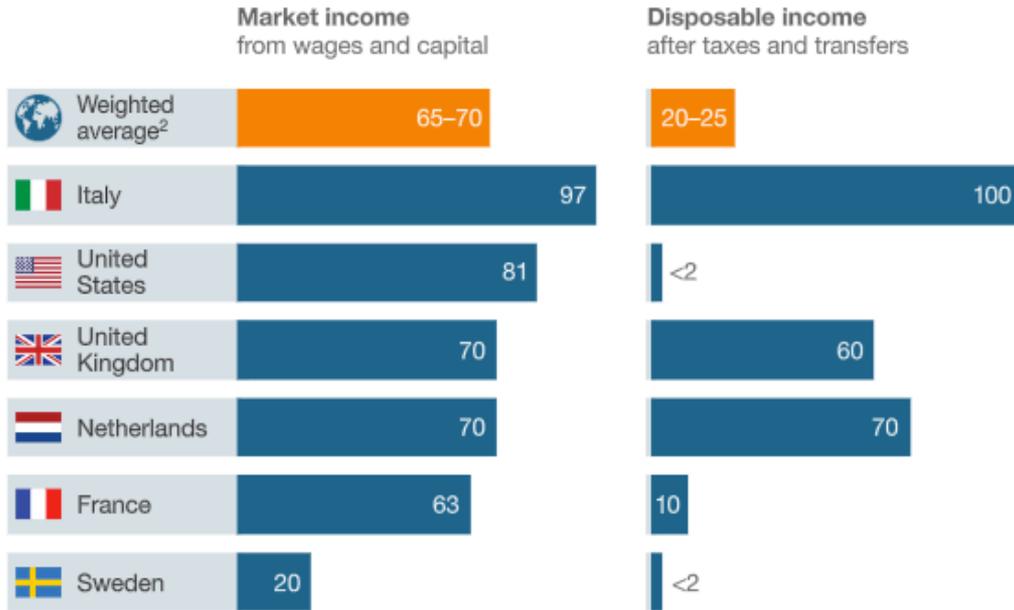
Democracy

**Free Markets/Trade**

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## The extent of flat or falling market incomes has varied significantly across countries.

% of households in segments with flat or falling income, 2005–14<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup>Data for each country are the latest available: Sweden, 2013; Netherlands, 2014; United Kingdom, 2013/14; France, 2012; United States, 2013; Italy, 2014 disposable incomes, 2012 market incomes.

<sup>2</sup>Population-weighted average of 25 advanced economies.

Source: Bank of Italy; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS); Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE); Statistics Sweden; UK Office for National Statistics; US Congressional Budget Office; McKinsey Global Institute analysis

“[B]etween 2005 and 2014, real incomes in...advanced economies were flat or fell for 65 to 70 percent of households, or more than 540 million people [see graph]. And while government transfers and lower tax rates mitigated some of the impact, up to a quarter of all households still saw disposable income stall or fall in that decade.”

-- “Poorer than their parents? Flat or falling incomes in advanced economies,” report, McKinsey Global Institute, July 2016.

# Free Markets/Trade

## Rising income inequality (critique of free market?)

“[E]xcept for a brief hiatus in the 1970s, buoyant global economic and employment growth over the past 70 years saw all households experience rising incomes [in advanced economies until 2005]...Yet this overwhelmingly positive income trend has ended....And the hardest hit are young, less-educated workers, raising the spectre of a generation growing up poorer than their parents.”

-- “Poorer than their parents?” McKinsey Global Institute (July 2016)

## Vulnerable to financial volatility (2008-09). China recovered faster...

“Data show that the United States, Europe, and even countries with lesser ties to the international financial system have suffered large permanent losses in aggregate output and unemployment since the financial crisis...However, the symptoms of the Great Recession were not observed in China...”

-- FRB St Louis working paper, Yi Wen and Jing Wu, Tsinghua University (2014)

- Free trade scapegoated for unemployment (NAFTA, TPP, TTIP)

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# Peace (use of force in self-defense)

Al Qaeda/ISIS (nonstate actors) - 9/11, London 7/05, Paris Nov 2015, etc

“[ISIS attacks against a Russian jetliner and Paris in 2015] triggered a ‘Grotian moment’: a fundamental paradigm shift...” -- Michael P Scharf, former US advisor for UN Affairs, 2016

Iraq (2003): what is “imminent” with today’s intell?

China in South China Sea  
Russian annexation/referendum of Crimea (2014)

“[T]he fact remains that the international law restraining the use of armed force has utterly and completely failed to constrain Russia’s actions in Ukraine.” -- Julian Ku, *Opinio Juris*, March 2, 2014

# The Bright Side

## Generational question

“The pertinent unit of time is the generation, for a shift in a society’s prevailing values requires that people whose formative experiences equipped them with one set of norms be replaced by others who embraced, at later times and in other circumstances, different values.” -- Mandelbaum, p. 380 (emphasis added)

No alternative yet established (democracy still better than everything else?)

Age of Trump=Age of Reevaluation: What is being questioned?

Are questions narrow? Is US a good democracy? Electoral college? Parliamentary v. direct?

Retreat of the enforcer? US/other countries as leader/defender of these principles?

Are questions fundamental: value of 3 principles themselves in a globalized information age?

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“[S]ince 2005, Freedom House’s index has shown a decline in global freedom each year. Is that a statistical anomaly, a result of a few random events in a relatively short period of time? Or does it indicate a meaningful pattern?”

“Mr. Mounk and Mr. Foa developed a three-factor formula to answer that question... The **first factor** was public support: How important do citizens think it is for their country to remain democratic? The **second** was public openness to nondemocratic forms of government, such as military rule. And the **third factor** was whether “antisystem parties and movements” — political parties and other major players whose core message is that the current system is illegitimate — were gaining support.

“According to the Mounk-Foa early-warning system, signs of democratic deconsolidation in the United States and many other liberal democracies are now similar to those in Venezuela before its crisis.

Across numerous countries, including Australia, Britain, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States, the percentage of people who say it is “essential” to live in a democracy has plummeted, and it is especially low among younger generations.”

-- Amanda Taub, “How Stable Are Democracies? ‘Warning Signs are Flashing Red’,” *The New York Times*, November 29, 2016.