

## **The Creation and Destruction of the global order**

### Introduction

At the turn of the XX and XXI century the world is experiencing a deep crisis of the global order. It is necessary to analyze this crisis in the secular perspective of the processes of long duration and the processes of turning points<sup>1</sup> in the temporal framework of the grand chapter of our historical and prospective experiences of the years 1800 – 2050.

In this context I would like to propose the following thematic construction of this paper:

- 1) The creation and destruction of the global order as the dialectic of the processes of long duration and turning points**
- 2) The creation and development of the global order in the years 1815 – 1914**
- 3) The destruction of the global order in the years 1914 – 1945**
- 4) The great renaissance of the global order in the years 1945 – 1985**
- 5) Á la recherché du temps perdu . Why – in the temporal framework of the 25 years 1985 – 2010 it was impossible to create a new global order for the XXI century?**
- 6) The perspective of the creation of a new global order in the years 2010 – 2050 versus the perspective of global chaos and catastrophe**
- 7) In search of a new paradigm**

### **I. The creation and the destruction of the global order as the dialectics of the processes of long duration and turning points**

The global order<sup>2</sup> is emerging in the scope of inquiry of a broad system of economic, sociological, politic legal and historical sciences. In this context we can find different theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches, which are trying to analyze the visions and realities of the global order.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Kukliński, B. Skuza (eds) Turning points in the transformation of the global scene, The Polish Association for the Club of Rome, Warsaw 2006 – later quoted as Turning points

<sup>2</sup> Compare J. Bielawski, OECD – Contribution to global governance. Institutional aspects for good governance (in:) A. Kukliński, B. Skuza (eds) Europe in the perspective of global change, The Polish Association for the Club of Rome, Warsaw 2003 – later quoted as Europe

In this paper I would like to present a matrix of four concepts which to my mind are most important in the studies related to the global order.

**Global order**  
**The matrix of Key concepts**

Processes of	The global order as a phenomenon of	
	Long duration	Turning points
The creation of global order		
The destruction of global order		

In the perspective of this matrix I would like to formulate four methodological theses:

- 1) In the years 1800 – 2050 the global order was and will be a field of the processes of creation and destruction. In all historical situations we observe the dynamic interactions of the creation and the destruction of global order.
- 2) In each historical situation we find changing relations linking the power of creation of the global order and the power of its destruction. In some situations the power of creation is prevailing, in some other situations the power of destruction is prevailing
- 3) The processes of creation and destruction of the global order are processes of long duration having a strong development at dynamics and at the same time a big power of inertia supporting the given status quo.
- 4) Particular attention should be given to the turning points<sup>3</sup> in the history of global order. The turning points could be defined as deep changes in the structure and the dynamics of the global order. These changes incorporate the transformation of the global scene related to the diminishing power of the same actors of the global scene and the growing power of new emerging actors<sup>4</sup>.

The result of turning point is a new configuration of the global order and the new configuration of the global scene.

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<sup>3</sup> Turning points, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> A. Kukliński, The Transformation of the global scene. The crucial turning points (in:) Turning points, op. cit.

Naturally this set of four theses has only a preliminary character as an inspiration for the discussion related to the methodology of the studies of the global order as an object of transdisciplinary cognitive and pragmatic reflection.

## **II. The creation and development of the global order in the years 1815 – 1914**

Sixty years ago, the well known Polish economist liberal and Christian philosopher<sup>5</sup> has published a charming volume in which inter alia we find the idea that the XIX century was an age of *peace and liberalism*.

This age<sup>6</sup> has shaped the classical period of global order having the following features

- 1) it was a global order dominated by the ideology of leseferism and liberal democracy
- 2) it was a global order dominated by Europe as the leading continent. The colonial system was an important element of this global order
- 3) in the team of global powers, great Britain and the ideology of PAX Britannica were most important
- 4) it was a global order as a framework for the development of the capitalistic system involved in the dynamic forces of the first industrial revolution leading to great technological, economic social and cultural transformation.

Around 1900 there was a prevailing confidence that the global order will last forever. Not sufficient attention was given to processes of destruction growing inside this global order and leading to almost total destruction of the global order in the years 1914 – 1945.

## **III. The destruction of the global order in the years 1914 – 1945<sup>7</sup>**

The time 1914 – 1945 is a period of the destruction of the global order developed in the XIX century. In this destruction the following events should be mentioned. These event created a great historical drama or even a set of tragedies.

- 1) World War One and World War Two creating a set of big waves of genocide and material and moral destruction. This Wars have ruined the dominating position of

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<sup>5</sup> A. Krzyżanowski, *Wiek XX*, Krakow 1947

<sup>6</sup> Compare N. Davies, *Europe*, Oxford University Press, 1996, page 759

<sup>7</sup> N. Davies, *op. cit.* page 897

Europe on the global scene. This dominating position was taken over by two victorious superpowers of USA and Soviet Union. We should not forget the special role of Germany in the ignition of World War One and World War Two<sup>8</sup>.

- 2) The second crucial point in the years 1914 – 1945 was the Bolsheviks Revolution<sup>9</sup> which in a certain fragment of the global history was trying to create an alternative in the relation to the system of capitalism and liberal democracy.
- 3) The third crucial point of the years 1914 – 1945 is the great crisis 1929 – 1933 which destroyed the model of classical *laissez – faire* capitalism

These thirty years were not only the domain of the destruction of the global order. In the dominating climate of destruction we find concepts and processes which anticipated the renaissance of the global order in the years 1945 – 1985.

One can indicate the following phenomena being the seeds of the new global order.

- 1) the theory and ideology of keynesism as a concept organizing the world economy<sup>10</sup>.
- 2) Initial elements of the ideology and practice of the welfare state<sup>11</sup>.
- 3) Already in the time of World War Two the ideas of a new system of international organizations were born as a *sui generis* substitute of global government.
- 4) In the time of World War Two in the USA new intellectual and political elites have emerged. These elites were able to define in a convincing way the role of USA as a leading superpower developing an effective integration of hard and soft power<sup>12</sup>. The culture of the American intellectual and political elite, in the climate of the growing Soviet danger has created a result that the whole Free World has recognized the American leadership in the years 1945 – 1985.

We need a deep evaluation of the years 1914 – 1945 including the establishment, the crisis and the catastrophe Versalian Europe. We have to remember that the Versalian Europe has reestablished the Independence of Poland after 123 years of partitions<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> N. Davies, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> R. Pipes, *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime*, Vitage Books, Random House, New York 1994

<sup>10</sup> compare, Z. Madej, *Turning Points*, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Compare, A. Kukliński, *The Future of Europe (in:) Europe*, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> J.S. Nye, *The Paradox of American Power, Why the world's only superpower can't go it alone*, Oxford University Press 2002

<sup>13</sup> N. Davies, *op. cit.*

#### **IV. The great renaissance of the global order in the years 1945 – 1985**

This is a splendid period of the renaissance of the global order in the years 1945 – 1985.

I would like to present seven observations related to this renaissance

- 1) this is an period of the dominance of theory and ideology of keynesism and fordyzm as a pattern to organize the global economy
- 2) it is a period of deep modification of the theory and practice of liberal democracy. The welfare state was the most important instrument of this modification
- 3) It is a period of the greatest long term boom<sup>14</sup> in the history of capitalistic economy. This boom has created a climate of optimism documented in the growth of employment and welfare.
- 4) It is a period of not only a negative but also the positive face of Cold War. The Cold War increased the leadership role of the USA and promoted the cohesion of the institutional structures of the Free World.
- 5) It is a period of the creation of an innovative and efficient system of international organizations like UNO<sup>15</sup>, OECD<sup>16</sup> Washington Institutions and the European Union. In cumulative and multiplayer effects this system has created the theory and practice of a quasi global government.
- 6) It is a period when the pluralistic ideology of PAX Americana was a positive phenomenon
- 7) It is a period of innovative, long term strategic thinking and the eruption of a great team of global leaders, who were able to thinks in terms of next generation and not only in terms of next election.

I fully understand that the evaluation of great renaissance is in shadow of a sin of sui generis cosmopolitan ideology concentrating attention on the power and performance of great global actors. From the point of view of Central and Eastern Europe which was located on the wrong site of Iron Curtain this vision of the great renaissance can be seen in a extremely critical perspective. We have to remember however that Central and Eastern Europe was not a

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<sup>14</sup> W. Michalski, The anatomy of long boom (in:) H. Bunz and A. Kukliński (eds) Experiences and prospects, F. Ebert Stiftung, Warsaw 2001 – later quoted as Globalization

<sup>15</sup> L. Emmerij, The history of ideas. A blind spot in the life of the United Nations (in:) Europe, op. cit.

<sup>16</sup> J. Woroniecki, Future oriented studies on globalization, OECD un tapped potential (in:) P. Jakubowska, A. Kukliński, P. Żuber (eds) The Future of European Regions, Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2007

very important actor of the global scene, having strong impact on the reconfiguration of this scene. This is however a subjective judgment, which may be challenged in the next stage of our project.

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At the end of the 70ties the architecture of the global order started to break down. The global order was quickly loosing its vital power confronted with new technological, economic, social and political phenomena. The challenge of the new global order has emerged. The success of this new global order will change the XXI century in to an age of development and well being. The failure of the new global order will create an age of crisis and catastrophes.

#### **V. Á la recherché du temps perdu . Why – in the temporal framework of the 25 years 1985 – 2010 it was impossible to create a new global order for the XXI century?**

*Prima facie* one might think that the years 1985 – 2010 would be an opening for the magnificent word of the XXI century. In this opening we might see three bundles of processes having a great development dynamics and an immense technological, economic and social potential.

The first bundle are the processes of globalization<sup>17</sup> changing the faces of the world.

The second bundle is related to the creation of information society as a new chapter in the history of civilization.

The third bundle is related to the development of knowledge based economy<sup>18</sup> which is changing inset into a new source of the dynamics of economic growth.

The years 1985 – 2010 are a period of the transformation of the global scene. Let me mention five elements of this transformation.

- 1) the downfall of the Soviet Empire and a short period of *smuta* in the history of Russia. I mean the Russian *smuta* at the beginning of the XVII century and the Russian *smuta* at the end of the XX century. These were the unique historical opportunities the break down the Russian *samodzierzawie* the Russian incarnation of absolutum dominum  
The first opportunity was wasted by the elites of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth.

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<sup>17</sup> Europe, op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> A. Kukliński, C. Lusinski, K. Pawlowski, Towards a New Creative and Innovative Europe, Nowy Sącz 2007

The second opportunity<sup>19</sup> was wasted by the Western World, which could be a develop long term strategic policy – change the *smuta* of Jelcyn into a new chapter of the history of Russia and the world. The waste of this opportunities has created the reconstruction of russian *samodzierzawie* in the incarnation of the Putin empire. In this way the positive effects of the break down of the Soviet Empire were in large wasted.

- 2) The rapid growth and slow decline of the USA as an monopolistic superpower<sup>20</sup>. In the end of the XX century the USA reaches the peak of its power and glory. The two presidential terms of George W. Bush promoting an arrogant version of unilateralism as an apotheosis of hard power and as a negligence of soft power, are in our time limiting the imperial status of USA which is in the process of transformation from the status of the monopolistic superpower to a new more modest status of one of the superpowers. The USA of the XXI century will not decide in an unilateral way about the grand shape of global scene. The PAX Americana is already located on the sunset boulevard which is definitely a drama of the Western Civilization which can be described in the language of Oswald Spengler *Untergang des Abend Landes*.
- 3) The enlargement and weakening of the European Union which at the turn of the centuries found it self in a process of deep and multidimensional crisis – the crisis of the will of life, the crisis of innovation and the will to power.
- 4) A rapid growth of the importance of China and India as the new superpowers of the XXI century<sup>21</sup>.

We could have an impression that the beginning of the XXI century and the transformations of the global scene will create a conducive climate for the emergence of a new global order. This is not the case. The beginning of the XXI century is a chaotic time. The old global order is not functioning well and the new order is not yet born.

This diagnosis can indicate three reasons:

*Primo* – the bankruptcy of the neoliberalism<sup>22</sup> as a doctrine organizing the global scene and the global order. The deification of the markets as an universal arbiter for all problems was a fatal religion of the turn of centuries.

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<sup>19</sup> A. Kukliński, The future of Europe (in:) A.J. Nadolny, T. Schauer (eds) The Future of Europe – Sustainable Development and Economic Growth, Scientific Centre of the Polish Academy of sciences. Vienna 2007

<sup>20</sup> Compare P. Bender, Ameryka – Rzym – Historia równoległa dwóch imperiów, Warszawa 2003,

Wysawnictwo Sic

<sup>21</sup> S.W. Mosher, Hegemonia – Droga Chin do dominacji, Warszawa 2007

*Secundo* – the bankruptcy of the ideology of PAX Americana which experienced a shorter life than the ideology of PAX Britannica. The USA failed the test<sup>23</sup> as a global leader at the turn of the XX and XXI century. The irresponsible policies of the USA have weakened the system of international organizations which is an important element of the global order.

*Tertio* – the bankruptcy of long term strategic thinking in the minds of the global elites of power, money and culture.

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The vision of the years 1985 – 2010 may be seen as an over pessimistic vision. This vision may be contrasted with an optimistic vision. We have to remember however that we are not discussing an universal vision but only a vision related to the conditions of the emergence of a new global order. From this point of view I would like to defend the theses – that the years 1985 – 2010 – are a lost time.

## **VI. The perspective of the creation of a new global order in the years 2010 – 2050 versus the perspective of global chaos and catastrophe**

The XXI century is an age of global risk and universal uncertainty. Every day we are living on the brink of a global catastrophe. The vision of an apocalyptic catastrophe is not a pathological, utopian, pessimistic dream. The emergence of a new effective global order is a *conditio sine qua non* of a survival and development of humanity. This grand dramatic problem should be an object of innovative, scientific and pragmatic reflection.

In this context I would like to submit to your attention the concept of five strategic triangles:

- 1) The triangle of the grand actors of the global scene
- 2) The triangle of sustainable development
- 3) The triangle of the system of power
- 4) The triangle of the vehicles of civilizations
- 5) The triangle of leading religions

### **The triangle of the grand actors of the global scene**

In the processes of the creation and destruction of the global order of the XXI century a great role will be performed by the grand actors of the global scene.

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<sup>22</sup> R. Boyer, D. Drashe, States against markets. The limits of globalization, Routledge 1998

<sup>23</sup> compare, J.S. Nye, op. cit.

The first actor is the system of international organizations will experience a deep reconstruction following the challenges of the XXI century.

The second actor is the system of grand powers – the USA, the European Union, Russia, China, India, Brazil and Japan.

Will these superpowers be able to create a climate of cooperation which will lead to a new strong system of global order?

The third actor are the transnational corporations. Some years ago in Geneva I have presented a point of view that the world needs not only UNO but also UCO. I mean UNO the United Nations Organization and UCO – the United Corporation Organization. UCO should have an important share in the collective responsibility for the state and the development of the global order. It is difficult to continue the present situation in which the TNC are using the benefit of the global order, without the responsibility for the state of this order.

### **The triangle of sustainable development**

An important foundation of the global order is sustainable development integrating the dynamism and structures of economic, social and ecological change.

### **The triangle of the systems of power**

The global order is strongly influenced by the power and dynamics of three global actors:

the liberal democracies, the autocratic regimes, the systems of global anarchy created by international terrorism and by the narko business complex.

In this context we have two questions:

- 1) Will the XXI century be a preponderant domain of liberal democracy of the Western Civilization or a domain of autocratic empire of China<sup>24</sup>?
- 2) Will the XXI century be an age of global anarchy dominated by international terrorism and by the mafia of narko business?

### **The triangle of the vehicles of civilizations**

The global order is an crucial element of the development of civilization. In this context especially important is the interactive and dynamic performance of the triangle

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<sup>24</sup> P. Opala, K. Rybiński, Gordian Knots of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (in:) A. Gasior – Niemiec, J. Niżnik (eds) The Individuality of a Scholar and of Social Science, Rewasz 2008

education, science and culture. This triangle can create a climate to improve the quality of global order.

### **The triangle of leading religions**

Contrary to the expectations of fundamentalistic atheism the religion will be an important element of the global scene and a potential participant in the creation of the global order.

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This idea of strategic triangles is an original interpretation of the processes of the creation of the global order of the XXI century.

### **VII. In search of a new paradigm of the global order**

I hope that this paper can be seen as the opening a trajectory to discover a new paradigm of the global order. We remember that a paradigm is a set of questions addressed to the objective reality and a set of concepts and methodological approaches used in answering those questions.

This paper is representing the opinion that the institutional framework is not the only field for the rich and differenced *problematique* of the global order. The global order should not be interpreted in the narrow framework of the institutional system responsible for the global order. We need a new paradigm of holistic interpretation seeing the processes of the creation and destruction of the global order as processes of long duration and turning points. These processes have not only an institutional dimension but also material and ideological dimension. These processes are related to the holistic interpretation of human activity in all context of time and space.

Naturally this proposal to see the holistic causality of global order in the years 1800 – 2050 has numerous weaknesses in theoretical, empirical and pragmatic perspective. However the most important is the question is this paper entering a trajectory to outline a new paradigm of the global order? If the critical reader of this paper will find a positive answer we can say *vivant sequentes*.

This *vivant sequentes* mean:

- *Primo* - the design and inspiration of an international research conference and publication Programme for the year 2008 – 2010
- *Secundo* – the organization in Warsaw of an international conference. The creation and destruction of the global order. The experiences and prospects of the year 1800 – 2050.

The Programme and the conference should be seen as a modest link in the grant effort to promote Warsaw as an emerging element in the network of global centers, which are able to present veiled contributions in the process shaping the visions of the XXI century.