

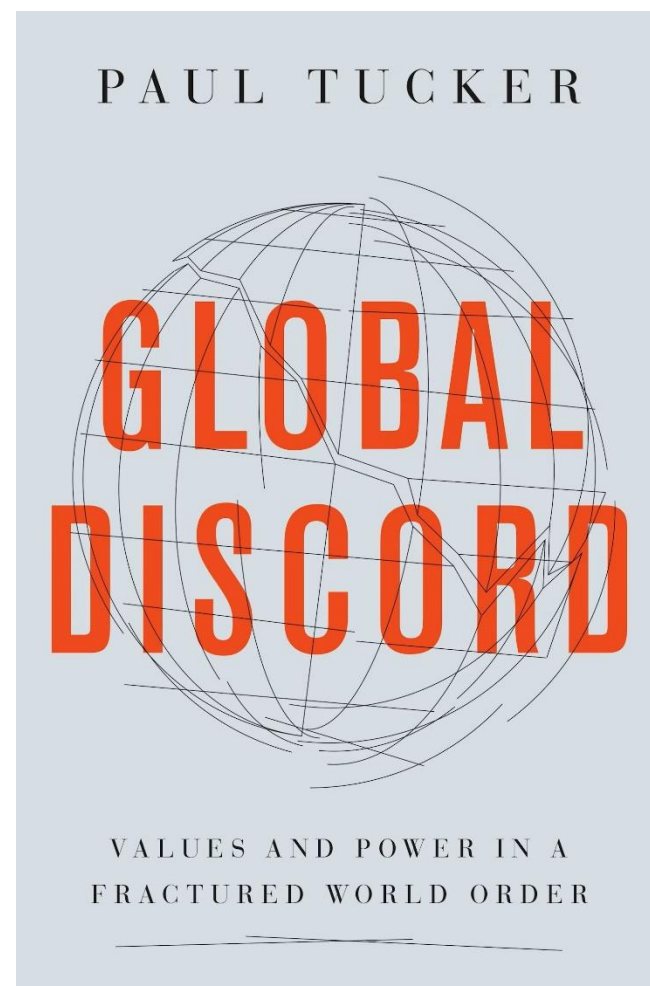
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**Global Discord:
Values and Power in a Fractured
World Order**

by
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Commentary

by
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“Global Discord” in a nutshell

> Questions

- How can democracies maintain their liberal traditions under interdependence with rising authoritarian states?
- Can peaceful coexistence be sustained without the powers retreating into blocs?
- Can democracies reconcile legitimacy at home with legitimate international cooperation?

> Argument

- **Incentives** (state interests) must be aligned with **values** if institutions are to endure
 - **Legitimacy** is key for the **incentives-values compatibility**
 - Creating a **world of concentric circles** to cooperate more with those with whom we share the most and whom we fear the least
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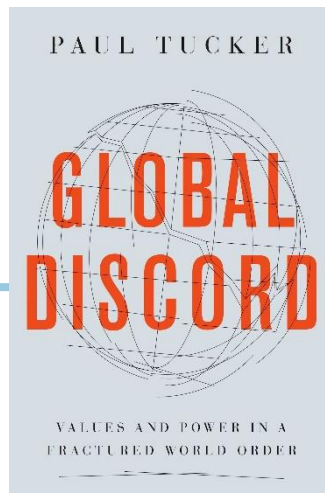
An International Relations (IR) perspective

- > “Global Discord” concerned with
 1. Endurance of international institutions
 2. Role of interests (incentives) and values in international politics
 3. US-China rivalry and future of the international order

 - > Central themes in IR scholarship

 - > Focus on
 1. Institutional change
 2. Liberalism and values
 3. Interplay of power and values
 4. Future scenarios for US-China rivalry
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1. International institutions: Endurance



- > **Institutions by design or evolution**
 - Design driven by coordinated states' interests & capabilities
 - Evolution driven by spontaneous preferences
 - Not binary, can go hand in hand

 - > **Optimistic assumption about institutional change**
 - Power: **'high politics'** require **conscious state consent**
 - Path-dependency:
 - **sticky institutions** constrain conscious redesign
 - IIs do not emerge in a vacuum, but in an **institutionalized space** that cannot be ignored
 - Context: The most carefully designed institution will be **always incomplete** under new circumstances
 - Examples: UNSC, WTO DSB

 - > **Difficulty of institutional change underappreciated**
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1. International institutions: Change

> **Constitutionalization**

- Highly contested but unintended political process generates a non-unified global institutional framework
- By-product of international treaty making, generating less than efficient rules within specific issue domains

> **Constitutional entrapment**

- States do not realize the inadvertent and long-term effects of the rules they design
 - Short-term steps are intended even if longer-term path is not
 - Contributing to institutional inflexibility and inefficiencies
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Constitutionalizing World Politics

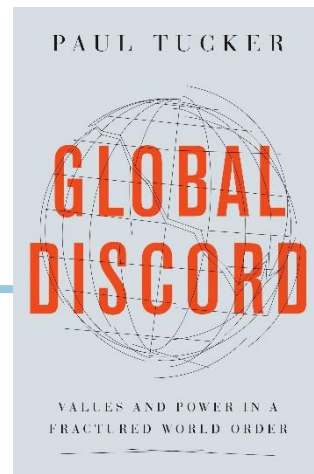
The Logic of Democratic Power and
the Unintended Consequences of
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2. Bringing (what) values back in

- > “*Western-style constitutionalist values without relying on a program of global constitutionalism being incorporated into general international law*” (Global Discord, p.346)
 - > **What values legitimize a liberal democracy? An international order?**
 - Formal procedures
 - Public justification and debate
 - > Not sufficient: It cannot be just procedural values, otherwise it does not go beyond what would be acceptable to illiberal states
 - > **How do these values operate? What do these values add? What is it that democracies share? How will autocracies react?**
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2. How democratic values promote international cooperation

Why are democracies more willing to cooperate than autocracies?

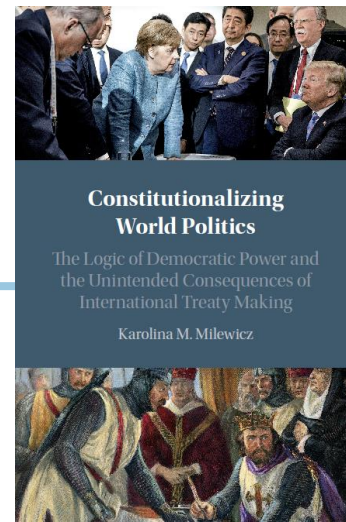
- Rule of law
- Basic rights
- Self-determination

→ *Compatibility between domestic and international rules*

Why are democracies more willing to cooperate over time? Why are they essential for maintaining international order & institutions?

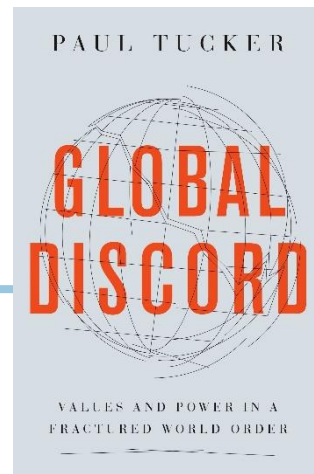
- Self-reinforcing mechanism
- Growing network of like-minded states
- Outside pressures

→ *Compatibility between like-minded states*



3. Interplay of power and values: Incentives-values compatibility

- > “[...] *incentive-compatible schemes might be incompatible with our values, which show up eventually in legitimacy problems. For International System to be incentives-values compatible, [...], we need our leaders and officials to take our values with them to international tables*” (Global Discord, p.464)
- > **But is it not what states do? Aren't they going to the international tables with the list of values resembling those at home?**



3. Interplay of power and values: Logic of democratic power

- > Democracy/Values: Democratic states are more willing to cooperate than autocracies.
- > Power/Incentives: Powerful states are more able to cooperate than weak states.



Constitutionalizing World Politics

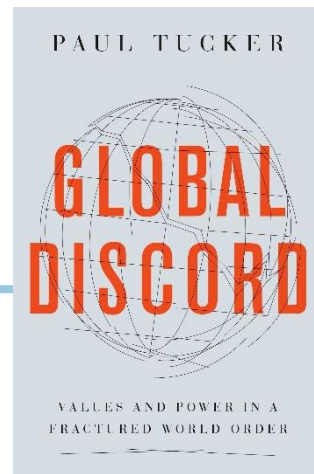
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		Power / Incentives (ability)	
		<i>weak</i>	<i>powerful</i>
Democracy/ Values (willingness)	<i>autocratic</i>	very low <i>autocratic followers</i> (e.g. Venezuela)	low <i>autocratic opposition</i> (e.g. Russia, China)
	<i>democratic</i>	moderate <i>democratic supporters</i> (e.g. Uruguay)	high <i>democratic powers</i> (e.g. Canada, US)

4. US-China rivalry: Scenarios



Scenarios 1-3: stages of escalation

1. Lingering status quo: US leadership constrained by rising powers
2. Superpower struggle: prolonged strategic, ideological, and commercial competition, but peaceful coexistence
3. New cold war: semi-autarkic blocs with bloc-based protectionism & marginalized IOs

Scenario 4: The true alternative, but how to get there? Aren't we already there?

4. Reshaped world order: multipolar top table in a world of checks and balances and reformed IOs with new *de facto* rising powers
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4. Reassessing the scenarios

Re scenarios 1-3:

- > **Power transition theory: high risk of escalation**
 - Explains how orders break down into war or rivalry (cold-war style)
 - Risk of war is highest if the rising state reaches power parity and is dissatisfied with status quo order (Organski 1968)

- > **Role of values**
 - Lack of shared common values (or “shared culture and civilization”) can surge dissatisfaction and accelerate tensions

Re scenario 4:

- > **Institutional stickiness**
 - All attempts to reform the UNSC to date failed
 - Who wants to give up power?
 - Do we need a major international crisis for change to happen?
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Concluding remarks

- > Brings values back in
 - > Draws on and combines knowledge from different disciplines
 - > Confirms social scientific observations
 - > Lays out aspirational policy recommendation with a view on the practice of international politics

 - > Criticism to encourage discussion
 - > Fill in alternative views
 - > Think through the mechanisms
 - > Pin down definitions
 - What do we mean by legitimation of values?
 - How do power and values work together?
 - How does institutional change happen?
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