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History of International Relations and World Politics IRE102 & IREb1002

World Politics after the Cold War.
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Outline

- Post-Cold War world
- New balance of power
- 1990s – an interwar decade
- A bloody decade
- New challenges in international politics – NATO enlargement
- End of history or clash of civilizations?
- Q&A

Post-Cold War world

- Mainly internal conflicts within states
- Rise of organized violence
- Balkans/Africa conflicts – none of them touched upon the US vital interests
- The era has been mostly dominated by the rise of globalization (internet, information, ideas, goods, labor, services, people, money...)
- New balance of power

Old paradigm = combat between regular armies

New paradigm = new security challenges (terrorism), non-state actors

New balance of power

Competition in:

- Military
- Grand-strategy level
- Living standards



1990s – an interwar decade

- Period: November 1989 (Berlin wall down) – 9/11 2001
- The interwar issue is of high importance. Is the master strategic narrative of the 1990s and 2000s primarily to be regarded:
 - 1) as a time-out from great power conflict, pending the return of that cyclical phenomenon;
 - 2) as witnessing the emergence of a new strategic context wherein interstate warfare, particularly of the greater variety, is obsolescent and even obsolete;
 - 3) or as the period when a radically asymmetrical kind of threat, religiously motivated terrorism and insurgency, came to take centre-stage as the leading force in global conflict? There is some merit in each of these perspectives

A unipolar world

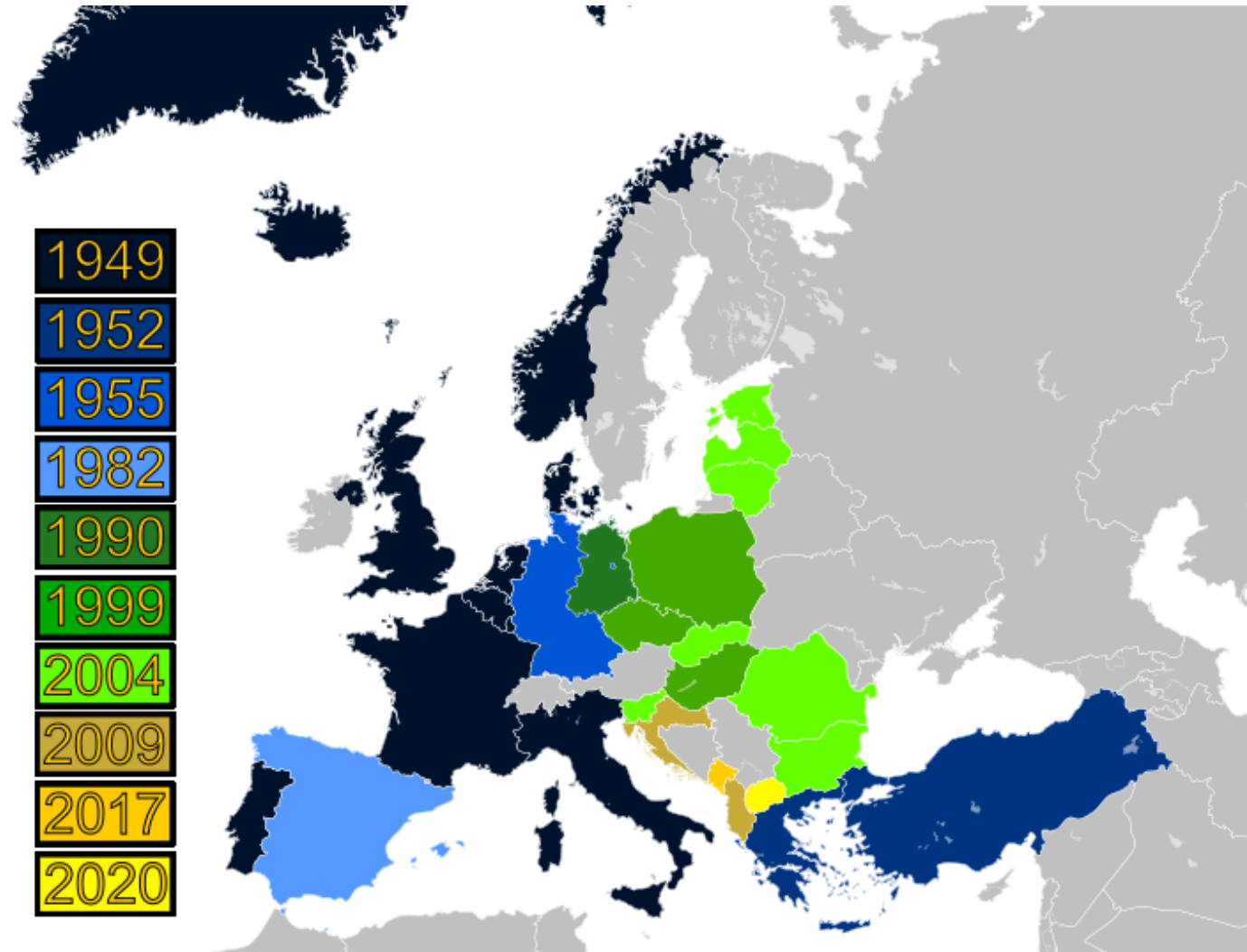
- The US as the victor (superpower survivor) of the Cold War (Soviet demise)
- There was no precedent in the past two centuries for a single state (USA) to be so dominant after a great conflict that it was unchallenged, and indeed unchallengeable, at least in the military–strategic dimension of power
- No grand political strategy in the US nor a strategic leader or visionary

A bloody decade

- 1990s – the bloodiest decade of the 20th cent. (with regard to warfare)
- Russia struggled with the loss of republics of the former USSR > irregular army in **Chechnya** (a would-be secessionist region), Russia did not accept their independence in 1991 and launched two campaigns to subdue the region (1994-6:failure, 1999-present: inconclusive)
- **Somalia** (1993) – the US humanitarian intervention to enforce order for security in Mogadishu > resulted in failure and the US terminated its participation in this UN mission
- NATO and US operations in Former Yugoslavia – **Kosovo**, **BiH** (late 1990s)
- Crisis management operations: mainly peacekeeping, post-conflict stabilization, humanitarian intervention, peace enforcement

New challenges in international politics – NATO Enlargement

- After the end of the Cold War several large waves of NATO enlargement began – new NATO members joined the Alliance
- The enlargement was a strategic decision in NATO to spread the sphere of influence, get more allies
- The “East enlargement” was negatively perceived by Russia which saw these steps as a security threat



9/11 milestone

- The character of world politics has changed
- After the 9/11 the global war on terror started
- NATO invoked Article 5 of mutual defence for the first time in history (asking other Alliance members for help)
- Shortly after 9/11 NATO launched Operation Eagle Assist (patrol of the US airspace by NATO's AWACS)
- In 2001 Operation Active Endeavour started in Mediterranean Sea (lasted 15 years)



Old/New security challenges

- Fight against terrorism
- Cyber warfare
- Migration
- Conflict in Ukraine
- Increase in military spending



End of history or clash of civilizations?

- At the end of the Cold War, many leading analysts of international politics began in earnest the task of ‘theorizing’ where we were headed. Outstanding among such endeavors, especially in relation to attempts to develop a new and more comprehensive understanding of the future of world affairs, are two well-known works, Francis Fukuyama’s ‘**The End of History?**’ and Samuel Huntington’s ‘**The Clash of Civilizations?**’.
- Taken together, these two views are in a sense mutually contradictory in their prophecy of what was lying ahead in the post-Cold War era > For **Fukuyama**, world politics becomes less anarchic, whereas **Huntington** believes inter-civilizational conflicts would replace the traditional inter-state conflicts, engendering a new and more dangerous type of international anarchy.
- Both Fukuyama and Huntington raise a number of interesting and thought-provoking issues

The End of History

- **Francis Fukuyama's** main thesis was that the collapse of communism affirms 'the unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism'.
- Fukuyama: '[this] is not to say that there will no longer be events to fill the pages of Foreign Affairs' yearly summaries of international relations, for the victory of liberalism has occurred primarily in the realm of ideas or consciousness and is as yet incomplete in the real or material world'
- World is moving toward the ideology of economic and political liberalism.
- Fukuyama sees the linkage between culture and development > thus formed the fundamental premise that there is a one way, direct and positive relationship between the two variables. However, he did not adequately address rival hypotheses that are the reverse of his thesis, such as that whether or not the level of wealth does affect the level of trust in a society, rather than the other way around

The Clash of Civilizations

- **Samuel Huntington** believes that 'Western civilization is a superior form of civilization', and he also prescribes ways as to how this superiority can be preserved vis-a-vis the 'other' civilizations.
- Huntington: 'The fundamental source of conflict in the new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics'.
- Why do civilizations clash? (1) there are fundamental differences between civilizations; (2) as a result of globalization there will be more interaction between them and this will lead to increased civilization consciousness; and (3) therefore they would clash.
- Due to possible lack of historical or logical evidence > one may wonder if the same phenomenon (increased interactions between civilization) does not lead to mutual respect rather than confrontation
- Huntington states: modernization and social change weakens the nation-state as a source of identity

Current trends

- emerging major economic players - India, China
- world without central government
- globalization changed global power arrangements
- new alliances shaping different spheres of our lives all around the world, interdependency
- global threats/ new threats without borders
- increase of non-governmental actors, terror.groups, transnational violent networks

Q & A

