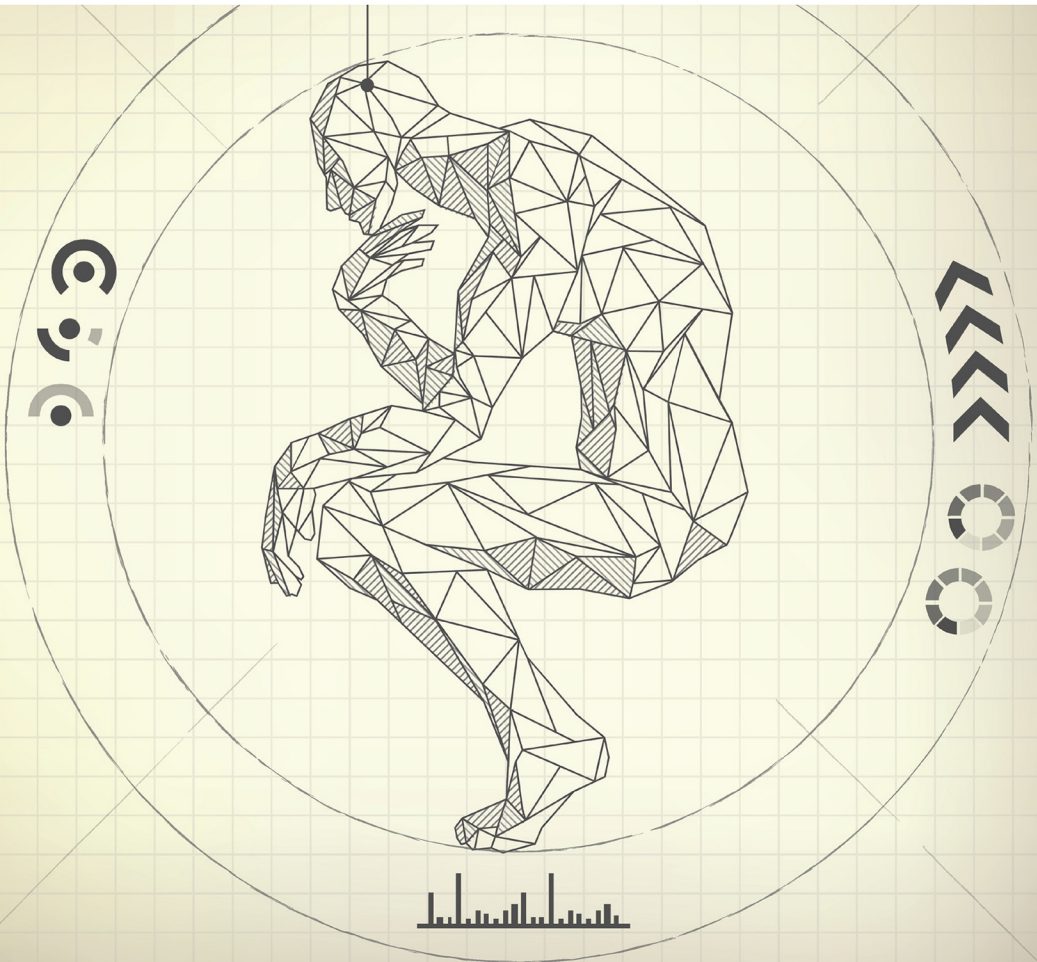


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Politics, Economics, Culture

Edited by Thomas Meyer,
José Luís de Sales Marques, and Mario Telò

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FOREWORD

The Institute of European Studies of Macau (IEEM) has organized a series of conferences on the topic of “multiple modernities and multilateral convergence” inspired by the pioneering work of sociologist Shmuel Eisenstadt and, more generally, has supported multidisciplinary research on multilateral governance. We think that this agenda is of the utmost importance not only for illuminating the dynamics and challenges of international cooperation today but also for laying the foundations of a genuine, sustainable multilateralism, one that takes into account the diversity of background cultures.

The high quality of the academic dialogue generated during the 2016 inaugural session encouraged us to continue promoting a series of annual conferences on the theme of multiple modernities, leading to the decision in 2019 to establish a permanent forum on the subject.

Following the usual anonymous referee process, Routledge Press, and notably the GEM Series (Globalisation, Europe, Multilateralism), offered to publish two books featuring the best papers presented at the first pair of annual meetings: *Multiple Modernities and Good Governance*, edited by Thomas Meyer and José Luís de Sales Marques, and *Cultures, Nationalism and Populism: New challenges to multilateralism*, edited by Thomas Meyer, José Luís de Sales Marques, and Mario Telò.

The 2017 conference focused on a different set of political challenges: populism, authoritarianism, and nationalism, and the threat they pose to existing national and international orders. It too featured essays prepared by scholars from around the globe, with perspectives drawn from empirical experiences in their own or neighboring states.

This new volume contains a selection of revised papers presented and discussed during the third conference of the series, held at the IEEM in November of 2018, which focused more narrowly on the future of regional, interregional,

and multilateral cooperation in an age of resurgent nationalism and identity politics. In a context where the legacy of hegemonic multilateralism is dwindling because of deficits in both legitimacy and efficiency, the challenge is to deepen the dialectic between the diversity of modernity and modernization processes and the institutionalized, multilayered forms of multilateral cooperation.

We initiated the Macau seminars not only because the world was changing fast, but because we wanted to understand (and help to influence) the direction that change would take. We were especially keen to assess the political consequences that the idea of multiple modernities might have, given how it raised questions about established notions of modernization, good governance, the good society, and the nature of people's individual and collective rights in a global pluralist context.

Why did we focus this book on regionalism and interregionalism? With the US-led liberal order in decline, it seems urgent to examine continuities and discontinuities in the global governance of a diverse planet. We live in a transitional era, the outcome of which is hard to predict. Recent events in the US, Asia, Latin America, and Europe have had a destabilizing impact on world politics, while stopping short of sparking a new Cold War. Far-right and ultra-conservative forces have fared well in several recent national elections, although they clearly were held in check by the EU parliamentary election of May 2019. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the EU continue to prove that resilient, dynamic, and open regional cooperation is still possible. That is why the theoretical agenda surrounding multiple modernities needs to focus on two interrelated questions: first, to what extent (if at all) do multidimensional regional entities canalize feelings of cultural identity; and second, how do such entities interact with one another as they try to establish interregional ties?

Even when they are under pressure from power politics and threatened with disintegration, multipurpose, bottom-up forms of regional cooperation have evolved on every continent as a third level between nation-states and global institutions. Nevertheless, we also can observe the emergence of competitive forms of authoritarian, top-down regionalism, for example those that have been sponsored by Vladimir Putin in the territory of the former Soviet Union, notably the Eurasian Economic Association. In various ways all of the book's contributors ask whether regional cooperation might be able to reverse or slow nationalist disintegration and power politics and whether it can revive multilateralism in new forms. Comparative empirical research is needed to address those questions. This volume contributes to that project by presenting the findings of some outstanding specialists, including experts in regionalist studies, which by now has become an established multidisciplinary field.

The second focus of this anthology is on interregional relations. Regions create their own unique forms of international relations, and those arrangements are relevant for our research agenda for three main reasons. First, to the extent that regions express cultural backgrounds and civilizations, interregional dialogues

play a relevant role in damping down Huntington-style “clashes of civilizations.” Second, the regional dimension is an intermediate cultural and normative level between nationalism and globalism, combining local particularism with abstract cosmopolitanism. Third, the shared aim of our authors is to move beyond an arrogant Euro- or Western-centric universalism while counteracting the drift toward cultural relativism. This last goal may be attained only by means of dialogues in which each participant seeks to understand the deep cultural background behind the values and principles of the others.

Global governance, multilateral cooperation, and interregional dialogue are in a precarious position today. In the context of contradictory signs such as global economic growth coupled with turbulent political disorder, the world is drifting toward greater instability and mutual suspicion. Thus, this volume represents a contribution both to a multidisciplinary research agenda and to the pluralist and collective efforts to explore joint solutions to global challenges. The latter would include, among many others, efforts to halt climate change, promote sustainable development, and ensure international peace and security.

José Luís de Sales Marques
President, Institute of European Studies of Macau

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The conference was jointly chaired by the President of IEEM, José Sales Marques; Thomas Meyer, visiting Professor at IEEM and former Chair of the Department of Political Science at the Technical University of Dortmund; and Mario Telò, visiting Professor at IEEM, professor of International Relations and emeritus President of the “Institut d Études Européennes” of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, and Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts of Belgium. Prof Qin Yaqing, emeritus President at China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), also offered much-appreciated support to the conference.

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xx Acknowledgments

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States
ACFTA	ASEAN–China Free Trade Agreement
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AFTA	Asian Free Trade Association
AIB	Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank
ALBA	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America
APEC	Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation
APT	ASEAN Plus Three
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEF	Asia–Europe Foundation
ASEM	Asia–Europe Meeting
AU	African Union
BIT	Bilateral Investment Treaty
Brexit	British exit from the EU
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative (China)
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CASCF	China and the Pacific Island Countries and the China–Arab States Cooperation Forum
CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CETA	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (EU and Canada)
CFAU	China Foreign Affairs University
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
COC	Code of Conduct
COP	Conference of Parties

xxii Abbreviations

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPTPP	Comprehensive and Progressive Transpacific Partnership
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
CU	Customs Union
DDA	Doha Development Agenda
DOC	Declaration on the Conduct of the Parties in the South China Sea
EAEU	Eurasian Economic Union
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECLA	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defense Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign direct investment
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Globalization, Europe and Multilateralism
ICC	International Criminal Court
IFI	International financial institutions
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International relations
LAFTA	Latin American Free Trade Association
MC	Ministerial Conference
MENA	Middle East, North Africa, Afghanistan, Pakistan (Greater Middle East)
MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Sur (Southern Common Market)
MNC	Multinational corporation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM	Non-aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OPENAL	Tlatelolco Treaty
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PA	Pacific Alliance
PRC	People's Republic of China
PROSUR	Forum for the Progress and Development of South America

RCEP	Regional Cooperation Economic Partnership
RTA	Regional Trade Agreement
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SACU	South African Customs Union
SADC	South African Development Community
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SNA	Social Network Analysis
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TAFTA	Transatlantic Free Trade Association
TEU	Treaty of the EU
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the EU
TPP	Transpacific Partnership
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
USMCA	United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement
USRB	Union State
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union)
USTR	United States Trade Representative
WTO	World Trade Organization



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INTRODUCTION

Thomas Meyer and Mario Telò

This book presents an analysis of recent global trends in international relations, with special emphasis on the connections between cultural pluralism; political regionalism and interregionalism. New actors and varieties of cultural politics have challenged not only the Western model of modernization (along with its philosophical justifications) but also Western-derived forms of democracy. Among the emergent actors that have offered wide-ranging alternatives to the culture of modernity as represented by the West, three deserve special attention. First, there are various forms of political authoritarianism (seen, for example, in Russia, Turkey, and China) that claim to defend national or regional traditions against the logic of homogenization. Next, there are several variants of religious and political fundamentalism that pursue the politics of identity (e.g., in Iran, Saudi Arabia, and India) and advocate some sort of theocracy. Third, and most recently, neo-populist movements have gained ground even in electoral democracies like the United States, United Kingdom, Hungary, Poland, and Italy. By appealing to nationalist, ethnic, or religious identities as a way to mobilize support at the polls, those movements implicitly have attacked the model of Western modernity as such. All three of these tendencies affect the functioning and development of regional cooperation as well, since each invokes a strongly nationalistic and protectionist anti-multilateralism. During the ongoing upheaval in the global system of international relations, the cultural factor—that is, different worldviews and identities, and the use that political actors make of them—plays a crucial yet highly ambivalent or even contradictory role in politics, ideological debate, and intellectual discourse.

Culture and civilization exist in the modern world only in the plural. Although the great civilizations of the world all have come under the influence of the West, each has tried to develop its own set of generative principles. Of course, those