

Lecture 3 (讲座 三)

Multipolarity, unipolarity, hegemony

多极, 单极, 霸权

THEORIES, CONCEPTS

理论, 概念

Introduction (介绍)

- ▶ The concepts Unipolarity, Hegemony, Multipolarity and its relations
- ▶ Multipolarity vs Unipolarity
- ▶ Understanding of Hegemony – singular or plural?

Unipolarity 单极: meaning of concept

- ▶ In IR bipolar system was elaborated by Kenneth Waltz.
- ▶ In IR unipolarity is theoretically described by some realists: Robert Gilpin
 - ▶ unipolar hegemony can harm not only to its objects but to itself (Imperial overstretch, fate of USSR)
- ▶ Unipolar moment 1991 – 2001/2014 – ?
 - ▶ Charles Krauthammer 1991 / End of History
- ▶ End of unipolar moment 9/11, Putin's Russia (2007 speech in Munich, 2008 Georgian war, 2014 Crimea, 2015 Syria), rise of China as shy hegemony

Different versions

- ▶ Unipolarity – open and hidden
- ▶ Open (explicit):
 - ▶ Neoconservatism - Project for New American Century
 - ▶ Empire (Niall Campbell Ferguson)
 - ▶ Pentagon vision
 - ▶ Atlanticism (NATO)
- ▶ Hidden (implicit):
 - ▶ globalism
 - ▶ Multilateralism
 - ▶ No Polarity (CFR - Hass)

Strategical unipolarity

- ▶ Atlanticism (Sea Power)
- ▶ Full spectrum domination doctrine
 - ▶ (Hard Power + Soft Power)
- ▶ Center / Periphery structure

Geopolitical vision of strategical unipolarity (atlanticism)



Implicit unipolarity – multilateral version



Ideological unipolarity

- ▶ Universalism of Western values
- ▶ Human rights ideology
 - ▶ Concepts: human vs citizen (civil society vs Nation)
 - ▶ Deconstruction of national States
- ▶ Globalization and globalism
 - ▶ Globalization as technological and economic process
 - ▶ Globalism as ideology of unification of humanity
- ▶ Liberalism in IR
- ▶ Global Government

Part 2. Hegemony 霸权

Hegemony: readings

- ▶ Different meanings of hegemony
- ▶ Strategical dimension Greek word Leading Power
- ▶ Hegemony as unipolarity (Gilpin)
- ▶ Relative hegemony (Mearscheimer)
- ▶ Globalist version (CFR)
- ▶ Neoconservative version
- ▶ Trump version of New Liberal Order

Main question: hegemony or hegemonieS

- ▶ The question is similar to: Civilization (文明) or CivilizationS
- ▶ Hierarchy in Western mind
 - ▶ Civilization (West)
 - ▶ Barbarity (East)
 - ▶ Savagery (South)
- ▶ CivilizationS
 - ▶ West and the Rest are equal
 - ▶ Civilization can be Western and Non-Western
 - ▶ No hierarchy
 - ▶ Deep decolonization (decolonization of minds)

Hegemony by Gramsci

- ▶ Antonio Gramsci: hegemony is Capitalism (economy, politics, ideology)
- ▶ Hegemony and its structure

Politics Culture

Economics

Leninism – autonomy of Politics/ Gramscism – autonomy of Culture

Organic intellectual / Historical pact whether with Capital or with Work

Counter-hegemony: anti-capitalism as System

Caesarism according to Gramsci

- ▶ Hegemony penetrates society full spectrum
- ▶ Caesarism is national administration trying to guard the power resisting liberal-democracy but accepting some aspects of capitalism
- ▶ Caesarism imposes semi-transparent barrier
- ▶ Something goes through – something doesn't
- ▶ Caesarism can be successful but in short/middle term period
- ▶ Caesarism is not Counter-Hegemony

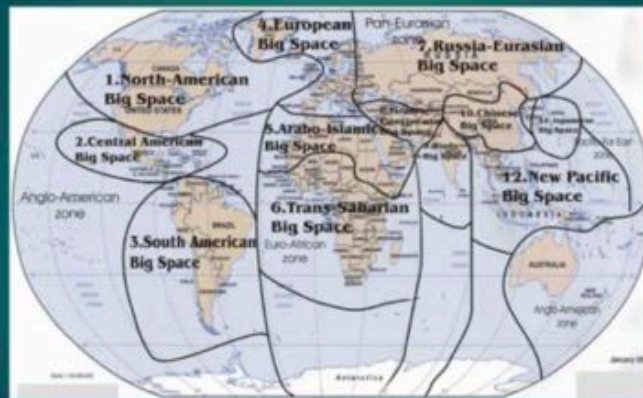
Multipolarity (多极): meaning of concept

- ▶ Multipolarity多极 vs Unipolarity单极
- ▶ Multipolarity多极 vs Globalism 全球化
- ▶ Multipolarity多极 vs Multilateralism 多边主义
- ▶ Multipolarity多极 vs Hegemony 霸权 (In Singular)
 - ▶ Multipolarity多极 vs hegemony 霸权 (as strategical hegemony)
 - ▶ Multipolarity多极 vs hegemony 霸权 (as ideological hegemony)
 - ▶ Multipolarity多极 vs hegemony 霸权 (as Gramscist hegemony)
 - ▶ Multipolarity多极 **is not** Caesarism
- ▶ Multipolarity is Pluriversum

Multipolarity (多极) in Geopolitics (地缘政治)

- ▶ Carl Schmitt's concept of Big Space (Grossraum) - 大空间
- ▶ Bringing together Big Space (大空间) and Civilization (文明)
 - ▶ Pole (极) = Big Space + Civilization

Multipolarity (多极) in Geopolitics (地缘政治)



Multipolarity (多极) in Geopolitics (地缘政治) – practical view



Multipolarity多极 vs Multilateralism 多边主义 MORE THAN THREE POLES (4+)



Multipolar school (多极化)

- ▶ Russian school
 - ▶ Theory of Multipolar World 多极世界理论
 - ▶ Eurasianism 欧亚大陆
 - ▶ 4th Political Theory 第四政治理论
- ▶ Chinese school
 - ▶ Zhao Tingyang [赵汀阳] – Tianxia Tixi - 天下体系 - Middle Empire
 - ▶ Yan Xuetong [阎学通] – 王道外交
 - ▶ Zhang Weiwei [张维为] China model [中国模式]
 - ▶ Qin Yaoping [秦亚吉] – I Ching [易经] in IR Theory 关系理论 -- relations
- ▶ European New Right (Alain de Benoist)
- ▶ Latin America school
 - ▶ La Teoría de la Insubordinación Fundante (Marcelo Gullo Omodeo - Argentina)
 - ▶ O Meridionalismo (Andre Martin - Brazil)
 - ▶ Norberto Ceresole - peronismo de izquierda

Theory of Multipolar World 多极世界理论

- ▶ Multipolar approach
 - ▶ challenges Eurocentrism, Modernity, Universalism, Hegemony
 - ▶ Is based on the presumption of multitude of civilization^S and refuse hierarchy of them
 - ▶ Is based on anthropological pluralism and positive evaluation of diversity (new reading of concept of Other)
- ▶ So it is
 - ▶ Anti-Eurocentric (project of reprovincialization of Europe) – Pre-Columbian vision
 - ▶ Anti-Modern (rejects principles of Enlightenment as something universal – Enlightenment optional)
 - ▶ Anti-Universal – Pluriversum of C.Schmitt
 - ▶ Counter-Hegemonic (in strategic and Gramscian sense)

Theory of Multipolar World 多极世界理论

- ▶ Civilization as main Actor
 - ▶ Theory of civilization (civilization is absolute)
- ▶ Relations between civilization^S
 - ▶ realist perspective
 - ▶ Inter-Civilizational chaos
 - ▶ Civilization as Sovereignty
- ▶ Pole (极) = Big Space + Civilization
- ▶ Geopolitics of multipolarity:
 - ▶ Sea Power is unipolarity, hegemony, globalism
 - ▶ Land Power is multipolarity, counter-hegemony, anti-globalism

Civilizations



Eurasianism 欧亚大陆

- ▶ Eurasianism: theory of Russia-Eurasia (Heartland) as
 - ▶ Pole (极) of multipolar world
 - ▶ That means
 - ▶ Russia-Eurasia is Civilization (文明)
 - ▶ Russia-Eurasia is Big Space (大空间)
 - ▶ Russia-Eurasia is one of the hegemonies
 - ▶ Russia-Eurasia is Post-Modern (antiimperialist) Empire
 - ▶ Russia-Eurasia is regional absolute
 - ▶ Russia-Eurasia is multipolar in itself recognizing smaller identities – sub-poles
 - ▶ Russia-Eurasia is ethical Power

4th Political Theory 第四政治理论

- ▶ In Multipolar World Order there is **no** Universal ideology
- ▶ The challenge is deconstruct global pretensions of the West to possess "UNIVERSAL" political ideology
 - ▶ Such ideology is liberalism (1 PT)
- ▶ Critics of liberalism in 4PT is neither communist (2 PT) nor fascist (3 PT)
- ▶ It should be different because of the very fact that 2PT and 3PT are Western, Modern and Universalist. So they are hegemonic constructions
- ▶ 4PT invites to go **beyond** the West, Political Modernity and all 3 political theories. 4PT is political decolonization of minds
- ▶ 4PT is based not on individual, class or nation. Its subject is Dasein (此在) or People (民族)