

# THE PAINFUL BIRTH OF THE NEW GLOBAL ORDER

April 2025 No: 56



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The global order has undergone three major transformations since World War II. The first is the Yalta Order, which emerged after the Conference held at the Livadia Palace in Yalta from February 4, 1945 to February 11, 1945. At this conference, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin discussed issues such as the exchange of Polish lands, the partition of Germany, and the USSR's declaration of war on the Japanese Empire. Apart from this, the foundations of a new world order were laid with secret sessions. The geostrategic balance between the global powers of the post-World War II era was formed by this consensus determined in Yalta.

**According to this agreement, the European continent was occupied by the USA and the USSR, and the two global powers rebuilt Europe physically, militarily, economically and politically. In addition, the US has established organizations that will institutionalize its military, political and economic leadership in its field of hegemony on a global scale.**

**The second is the unipolar period that emerged with the official dissolution of the USSR on December 26, 1991. This period, which lasted about ten years,** was celebrated as the victory of the West. In January 1992, about a month after the official dissolution of the Soviet Union, US President George H. W. Bush sparked this enthusiasm in his State of the Union address: ***“By the grace of God, America won the Cold War.”*** These words reflect the approach of not only the United States but also the Western world in general about the cold war and the USSR. With this sense of victory, NATO began to expand into countries that formed a buffer zone around Russia during the Soviet era.

Thirdly, it is the period we are in when we feel the symptoms of a painful birth in every aspect. All aspects of this new multipolar order will emerge as a result of the reconciliation of the United States, which is preparing to give up its global claim because it no longer carries global leadership, and Russia and China, which demand a new global order, and share the world according to their spheres of influence.

In this article, we will examine why US power is declining, why Russia and China, which claim their rightful place in the global order, want to sit down at the table with the US for global sharing, the situation in Europe, and the future of globalization.

#### Why America Is Abandoning Its Global Ambition?

In fact, the end of the American era had come long before. However, a series of developments, images of the exit from Kabul after the collapse of the US-backed government, failures during the pandemic and the storming of the Capitol have made this clear to the eyes of the world.

One reason for this decline is that the United States has overestimated the effectiveness of military power in order to bring about fundamental political change in the unipolar era. But the deeper causes of American decline are local rather than international. The US has long been politically and socially divided, with a stagnant economy and no longer able to carry any more of its military might.

In many ways, the situation of America today is similar to that of the British Empire, which began to decline in the interwar period, and even worse. America's federal debt, on the other hand, will reach about 110% of GDP this year. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that it could exceed 200% by 2050.

America is rapidly and psychologically divided and polarized on almost every issue. Polarization, coupled with a growing distorted income distribution, homelessness and substance abuse crisis, is reflected in the rise in violent crime in many major US cities, and the US is now a country of stark contrasts and a lack of public safety.

Divisions and conflicts pervade all areas of political life. In the face of the strengthening of populist and far-right tendencies in US politics and the growing political division, there is even a debate about whether the US will maintain its integrity.

Political polarization and the weakening of American democracy have taken a huge toll on America's global influence. The US system, which once stood out by promising both prosperity and democracy, is now struggling to deliver on both of its promises.

On the other hand, there are also problems in the field of military power, which forms the basis of the global hegemony of the USA. The US military was the first military force in world history to be globally positioned in the air, land, and seas. But in the face of the change in military technologies over the past decade and the successes of Russia and China in adapting these technologies to their militaries, the United States is dangerously lagging

behind. Developments show that the United States will wage war against technologically advanced opponents in extremely different conditions and will lose a large number of military systems in the war.

In addition to all these problems, competition with China and the pressures brought by technological competition have led the US to reduce its global burden and concentrate on its own problems. The American corporate mind has placed the new Trump administration with the challenge of managing rising social outcry, shrinking the global footprint of the United States, and reconciling with China and Russia. In this context, the new administration will increase its presence in the US continent in the coming period, reduce its presence on a global scale and focus on solving economic and social problems within the country. In order to do so, they are ready to renegotiate the global balance of power with Russia and China.

### The End of European Integration and The Reconstruction of Europe

The prospect of the dissolution of military ties between the US and Europe has further increased the pressure on the EU, which is already struggling with many problems, and this situation has increased the 2. It can go as far as the dissolution of the integration that started under the leadership of the USA after the world war.

In fact, European Integration grew from the beginning without a planned act of creation, without a path to follow, without agreements on which port they were heading towards. When we take a closer look at this process, we see regressions, progresses, crises and integrations.

Three main stages can be put forward for this process: First, a politically loose economic union; then, from 1992, on the basis of Maastricht, first its deepening, then its expansion to include 28 states within two decades following the end of the Cold War, and as a third stage, the fundamental changes that occurred during the existential crises of the 2010s.

The EU has been able to overcome major crises since its inception, but this process shows that there is a problematic model. Chronic problems are constantly ignored and crises are solved with improvised, unsustainable emergency measures that have no general design.

If we draw up a balance sheet of European integration, after the end of the Cold War, the members of the EU benefited from the prosperity of the EU and its Single Market. However, the EU has fallen short of its goal of becoming “the world’s most competitive and dynamic know-how economy”. Instead, a European monetary union built on deficits stands on the brink of failure. The joint management of borders and migration policy also did not meet the expected criteria. Finally, despite all the reforms, the European Union has not managed to become a global player; instead, it has lost the power that came closest to becoming a global player: the United Kingdom.

For Europe, which cannot become a global military, political and economic power despite the creation of an island of prosperity, the possibility of the US withdrawing from Europe after the end of the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe in 1991 has opened a window of opportunity for the European continent to re-find its own identity.

In order to take advantage of this window of opportunity, the European Union must abandon its political ambitions of a Federal Europe and focus on becoming an area of strong economic cooperation, which is the Union’s initial goal. A Europe that abandons its political goals can re-establish its own economic, military and political balances on the axis of countries such as Germany and France in accordance with its own history, and rearrange its relations with Russia, which seeks its own place in the global order and the future of Europe.

### Russia is Looking For its Place in The Global Order

It is the Western world that watches Gorbachev’s despair and the dissolution of the USSR with a sense of victory, where the vacuum and chaos that emerged as a result of the dissolution of the USSR in the European security architecture and which still cannot be filled, leaves the responsibility alone.

The Western world made good use of Gorbachev’s naivety and utopian approach, accelerated the process of dissolution of the USSR through him, and after the collapse of the USSR, it started to crack down on Russia by ignoring Russia’s complaints and demands against the western security architecture. On 1 May 2004, the EU increased its membership from 15 to 25 in one fell swoop.

This provided Russia, which in any case felt threatened by the “expansion” of the EU and/or NATO, an excuse to annex Crimea and infiltrate eastern Ukraine both militarily and politically. Thus, the Eastern Partnership ignited a war. But if the West had created a viable security architecture for Europe in the 1990s, there might not be a war in Ukraine today.



In this sense, the current crisis between Russia and Ukraine is actually related to the future of the European order produced after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Putin sees the Ukrainian crisis as an act that will undermine the existing order and restore Russia's "rightful" place on the European continent and in the world order. From this point of view, Russia's main goal in the Ukraine crisis is not to invade Ukraine, but to shape Ukraine's political future and to sideline all but Ukrainian players who are acceptable to the Kremlin.

The US has long been confused about how to deal with Russia. This is because their views on Russia's decline have been exaggerated: the impact of this perception of Russia is so widespread that Russia was not on the Biden administration's agenda to begin with. Biden came up with a clear and unambiguous foreign policy priority that has dominated American foreign policy since the Obama era: confronting a rising China. The question of 'how to deal with Russia' came to the fore only when Russian troops gathered on the border with Ukraine in April. But by July, President Joe Biden was back to the point of declaring **that Russia "sits on top of an economy with nuclear weapons and oil wells and nothing more."** As a result of this approach, a strategy has been developed that can be summarized as supporting Ukraine militarily and regressing it with economic and technological embargoes.

In line with this strategy, the EU stopped buying 41 percent of its natural gas, 27 percent of its oil and 47 percent of its solid fossil fuels from Russia. It was to the detriment of European countries, especially Germany, which were deprived of cheap Russian energy. The Kremlin has redirected its trade to China, which is now its number one trading partner. From now

on, macroeconomic indicators in general seem to be stable.

Beyond economic and social indicators, Russia remains a military power to be reckoned with. Moscow's military power and the ability to threaten its neighbors allows it to force the West to the negotiating table.

As a result, Russia is in the position of an ambitious '**Great Power**' that provides room for manoeuvre over Western conformism and emphasizes the supremacy of hard power and wants to rise, but it does not yet have the status of a global power that can threaten and reshape the international order.

Russia derives its '**Great Power**' status from a permanent veto in the UN Security Council, as well as the world's foremost nuclear arsenal and world-class cyber warfare capabilities. These, and its unique geography, have given it a kind of global reach. With this access and its recently rising influence, Russia is considered equal to the USA, the European Union and even China, and no matter how much it insists on its status as a global power, this is not the case at the moment. Russia still lacks high GDPs, top-rated universities, global financial power, and global languages.

In this sense, Russia is a country that is aware of its own strengths and weaknesses. At this stage, Russia's priority is to ensure the withdrawal of the United States from Europe and to regain its place in the European balance of power. Russia now sees the new US administration, which is preparing to withdraw from Europe, as a window of opportunity and is ready to sit down at the negotiating table. Russia is acting together with China, the ambitious power, to strengthen its hand at the table.

### The limits of China's Ambitions

In fact, China has been an ambitious power trying to reshape the world, not only now, but throughout history. But for 40 years, a rising China has been very careful in this process, updating its strategy according to the influence of American power. China's big shift came when it was decided that the EU had been weakened by the impact of the Brexit process and that the global influence of the US was now declining. At this stage, Beijing believes that the influence of the West and the United States in the world has weakened enough and that it is time to act on the "major changes not seen in a century" that many Chinese strategists have long talked about.

Beijing is now aggressively demonstrating all the behaviors that one would expect from a global power playing to the top, such as increasing its military might, developing spheres of influence in Asia and beyond, and controlling critical technologies and resources.

But in fact, at the heart of Beijing's aggression is the weakening of the dynamics that underpinned China's rise and the realization that the window of opportunity that has opened is about to close. Over the past decade, the advantages that once helped the country rise have now become the issues that have dragged China down. First of all, China's resources are rapidly depleting. Being in a geography poor in terms of water and energy resources has always been an obstacle throughout its history, and now it is challenging China again.

The Chinese economy is currently experiencing the longest slowdown of the post-Mao era. China's official GDP growth rate fell from 15 percent in 2007 to six

percent in 2019 and around two percent in 2020. But realistic studies show that China's real growth rate may only be half of the number announced by the government. To make matters worse, much of China's GDP growth since 2008 has been due to the government's capital support that fuels the economy. When stimulus spending is subtracted, China's economy is barely growing.

To maintain its pace of growth, China has to invest three times as much capital as it did earlier this century, a much larger increase than expected for any growing economy. However, due to the changing conditions in the region, China, which has to constantly increase its defense spending, cannot finance its growth as easily as before. In addition, the most significant obstacle to China's ability to achieve its ambitious goals is that the world, which previously supported its growth, has now become less conducive to China's ambitions and growth.

Beijing has faced numerous new trade barriers since the 2008 financial crisis. Many of the world's largest economies are moving their telecommunications networks away from Chinese influence. Australia, India, Japan and other countries want to remove China from their supply chains. With its 40-year honeymoon coming to an end, China now faces two trends that marked the end of its rise, slowing growth and a strategic siege.

The US has now abandoned its policy of rapprochement with China and is fully implementing its containment policy. Indeed, Washington has now carried out its largest military expansion in the region. The US is not only massing its own forces in the region, but is also encouraging allies such as India, Korea and Japan to increase

defense spending and increase arms sales and military support to them.

The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, a strategic partnership involving Australia, India, Japan and the United States, has emerged as the focal point of anti-China cooperation among democracies in the Indo-Pacific. The new AUKUS alliance has moved the steel core of the World Wars to the Pacific region.

The ambitious Chinese government believes that the recent instability of the United States, the problems among the Western world, and the vulnerabilities created by the great transformations at the global level have created an opportune time for them, but China is also aware that it is no longer a rising power. It is dealing with many worrying developments, such as slowing growth, dwindling resources, changing population structure, increasing dependence on energy, and strategic siege. It has become much more difficult for China to achieve the goals it has set.

Now there are two ways for the Chinese leadership, to act more aggressively or to take a step back and sit down at the table with the United States, thinking that it is not the right time. If China chooses to change this balance by force, it is inevitable that we will see World War 3. However, it can be predicted that China will find a wide front in such a war and will suffer great destruction. However, the Chinese state mind, which always evaluates the opportunities and risks very well, sees sitting at the table with the United States to redivide the world as a more profitable option under the current conditions.

## The End of Globalization and The New World Order

Our world is going through the most comprehensive period of change and transformation in human history. The cycles of technological, economic, social, political, geopolitical, technological, demographic and environmental changes that trigger this transformation have come together in the same period in a rare way in world history. Right now, the world is in a perfect storm.

This age of transformation will be an age devoid of absolute hegemony. In this new world, defined by a shift towards multipolarity and intense competition for influence, the most likely plausible outcome lies in an in-between solution: the withdrawal of global powers into their spheres of influence by agreement, i.e. Regionalization.

Regionalization was already a growing trend economically. For years, trade was already becoming more intra-regional than inter-regional. In the early 1990s, North America absorbed 35% of East Asia's exports, but today this percentage has dropped to 20%, because the three states that make up North America now trade more among themselves. On the other hand, the share of East Asia's exports to it is growing every year. China's trade with ASEAN has risen to over \$300 billion. In short, deglobalization in the form of greater economic regionalization was already taking place.

Hyper-globalization led by Western powers has lost all political and social capital, and advocating it is no longer politically acceptable. Depending on the consensus of global powers in the coming period, it seems inevitable that the acceleration of

the commercial regionalization process will be accompanied by political regionalization.

### After all;

**Considering the current developments and the internal balances of the USA, China and Russia, it can be predicted that they will prefer to spend their energy for their own needs instead of conflict, and in this direction, they will come together in the near future and divide the world into spheres of influence on a global scale.**

Within this prediction, the future outlook of the world will mean a global equilibrium in which everyone is drawn into their sphere of influence, that is, the USA is active in the Americas, China in the Asia-Pacific region, and Russia in the Eurasian region.

Such a scenario means not only the end of the post-Cold War balances, but also the end of the liberal global order based on Western leadership and supremacy that has been formed in about 200 years and paving the way for a multipolar global balance.

In a global balance scenario in which multipolar and regional balances come to the fore and the US withdraws from Europe and the Middle East by focusing on its own region, very important windows of opportunity can be opened for Türkiye as a regional power. In such a scenario, Türkiye, as an important military, economic power and democratic country, will increase its effectiveness and influence in basins such as the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Middle East and the Mediterranean, and it will be able to take its rightful place in the economic, military and political balances that will be re-formed in Europe.





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