

## Globalization and the Liberal International Order: Exploring Mutual Influence and Interaction

Dana Mohammed Danish Aladdin Sajadi 

Department of International Relations and Diplomacy,  
Tishk International University, Kurdistan Region, Iraq

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### Abstract

Globalization and liberal internationalism are two respective concepts that are often connected as globalization largely results from the liberal international order. The liberal international order, which is concurrently the product of globalization, and its continuation is now being challenged by several factors. Historically, the development of international order has mostly been associated with trade across the world, and post-World War II there has been a revision of the approach to stimulate liberalization. Many scholars have debated the decline of the liberal order. Looking ahead, the future of this international order will probably be shaped by the continuous processes of globalization and the reactions to trends of deglobalization. Hence, the paper aims to investigate the current state of globalization and how it affects the liberal international system. Globalization, which once supported liberal ideals, has revealed weaknesses by encouraging trends like protectionism, nationalism, and the rise of alternative groups like BRICS. These changes indicate a move away from the core values of cooperation and openness that have defined liberal order. To explore these dynamics, the study used a qualitative research approach, including a comprehensive literature review, to identify gaps and better understand the evolving challenges. The study emphasizes the urgent need for reforms to make the liberal order more effective in addressing contemporary global challenges.

**Keywords:** Globalization, Liberalism, Liberal International Order, Global Order, United States



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## 1. Introduction

The liberal international order was established based on the core foundation of liberalism such as democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in addition to the economic values, such as free marketization and openness. These values were the essence of promoting an order that could maintain stability and peace and prevent conflicts and disputes among its member states. Particularly to avoid the scenarios of major global wars like the first and second world wars. Therefore, the framework was built through international institutions that emphasize multilateralism and boost collaboration between the states by reducing tariff barriers, and multilateral agreements and expanding trade to keep them engaged in a mutually profitable relationship and reduce tensions that might lead to conflict. Especially after the end of the Cold War, the role of globalization became very prominent. After the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the United States emerged as the world's dominant power, positioning itself as the sole influential actor on the global stage. It leveraged its influence to shape the international system according to its interests, utilizing institutions like the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. By maximizing its soft power and engaging in strategic military interventions, the U.S. played a crucial role in consolidating and promoting this dominance (Istomin, 2020). This approach highlighted how the liberal economic system intertwined with the distribution of power internationally. Economically, this was evident in the widespread expansion of production and distribution of goods and services globally.

Many countries served as hubs or markets, while multinational corporations expanded their operations worldwide. The increases in global trade and investment sailed to many countries on a ship of globalization which made the world more connected and allowed to share development and prosperity among the states. However, Today's global politics are experiencing both an increase and a decrease in worldwide interconnectedness. On one hand, ongoing advancements in digital technology are enabling quicker and larger transfers of data. certain diseases, as we have seen with COVID-19, can rapidly evolve from local outbreaks to global pandemics in just a matter of months. Similarly, Climate change is starting to have noticeable effects worldwide, even in far-flung places like Antarctica. On the other hand, the liberal order become less trusted. The forces of globalization that once fueled liberal ideals are now being countered by conflicting trends like protectionism, racism, nativism, and isolationism. This shift has given rise to quasi-governmental bodies, global terrorism, heightened tensions, and growing debates about alternative forms of global governance. These changes represent a significant departure from the traditional principles of liberalism, which in turn undermines the fundamental connection between liberalism and globalization. Many scholars argue that globalization has strengthened the liberal international order by promoting interdependence and international

economic trade. In contrast, others opine that globalization has led to disruptions and inequities, which are the major obstacles to the liberal international order.

Moreover, the formation of BRICS, comprised of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa poses a significant challenge. These countries have established their own institutions and follow economic and political paths that differ from the liberal system. As a result, many states are drawn away from the liberal order to align with the BRICS bloc (Kumar et al., 2023). The effects of globalization on the liberal international order vary and, correspondingly, those with greater powers are advantaged and to some extent, they can preserve and maintain their economic growth while weaker or less powerful states face extreme threats and multiple crises. Although certain states have gained an advantage from the increase in trade and economic opportunities, other states have shown a decline in jobs, social problems, and rising inequality (Xiao, 2024). This is even more widespread and more states in fact have raised questions about the effectiveness and legitimacy of the present liberal international system.

Therefore, the aim of this research paper is to examine the status of the liberal international order the impact of globalization on the system, and how it affects states differently. Similarly, the paper looks to answer and achieve the following questions and goals:

- How has globalization influenced the formation and stability of the liberal international order?
- To assess the extent to which globalization had impacted the dynamics of the liberal international.

## **2. Literature Review**

### ***2.1 Liberalism***

The origins of liberalism go back to John Locke, and he represents the liberal foundation upon which Western societies are based until today. John Locke represents the natural product of the English Revolution. He witnessed the dangers of the revolution that broke out in the fourth era of the seventeenth century, which was followed by the religious dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell, and then the return of monarchy once again. Another was at the hands of Charles II, who was overthrown again in what was known as “The Glorious Revolution” in 1688 (Schwoerer, 1990), which was the revolution that laid the foundations of parliamentary monarchy in England, and which became the political system of Britain to this day, according to which the king reigns but does not rule. Additionally, the concept of liberalism was supported and spearheaded by several western scholars such as Adam Smith, Edmund Burke and David Hume (Dunn, 1941). It was the concept of individual freedom determined by law that influenced liberal

movements on the European continent, and the modern Spanish liberal movement had its advocates in European countries and the United States of America. The term “liberalism” began to spread with the formation of a political party, the “Liberal Party.” Its members embraced the constitutional principles that prevailed in the early nineteenth century, and they sought to apply them in 1810 AD in Spanish political life (Winter, 2000). The use of this term soon became widespread in Europe, and it meant at that time, supporters of the parliamentary doctrine, and advocates of freedom of thought, freedom of trade, and freedom of private property. The description of the liberal state was given to the political organization based on the principles of liberalism, and its philosophy was based on the belief in the possibility of achieving global prosperity as a result of unleashing and liberating natural forces and liberating them from restrictions and regulation as an expression of confidence in the individual's ability to achieve his happiness and the happiness of his community at the same time.

Thus, the concept of ownership gained significant importance among intellectuals, particularly because Europe was still transitioning from feudalism. This led to a strong emphasis on the sanctity of private property. John Locke, for instance, argued that this right was inherent even before society or government existed. Hence, it is no wonder that he prioritized "Life, Liberty, and Property" as fundamental rights (Hurtubise, 1952). Hence When we look back at how liberalism developed in Europe, we see it rooted in two main areas of thought: the idea of political freedom, which gave rise to the concept of the "free market," and from these ideas, Western liberalism began to take shape, growing over time as a result of European social, political, and economic interactions (Hashimoto, 2022). Liberalism is understood and interpreted in various and often conflicting ways across different academic discussions. It is seen as both a pioneering force and a defining aspect of modernity, as well as a detailed ethical political philosophy and a dominant method of governance. It's viewed as the ideological backbone of unchecked capitalism while also being seen as a key tool for regulating it (Bell, 2014). Even self-proclaimed liberals have taken diverse stances, advocating for both expansive welfare states and their dismantlement, endorsing imperial missions of civilization and vehemently opposing them, supporting social justice and rejecting it outright, advocating for both the reinforcement and transcendence of sovereign states and endorsing both global wealth redistribution and the maintenance of radical inequalities. This multiplicity of interpretations has led to liberalism being described as an "all-purpose word," underscoring its status as the overarching framework of Western political discourse.

Furthermore, moral philosophers and political economists argued that both the economy and society could experience improvements, and people's material well-being could increase if institutions were restructured based on the guidance offered by

enlightened reform ideas. By focusing on three key principles of liberalism, we explore its commitment not only to safeguarding individual wealth but also to fostering the prosperity of nations through the establishment of new societal norms and values. Secondly, liberalism champions the belief in the ability to achieve greater public happiness and societal progress. And thirdly, it advocates for the moral benefits of organizing collective life around commercial principles (Cardoso, 2015). By highlighting these common threads across various approaches, liberalism ultimately evolves into a universalist agenda, promoting universal rights. Originating in Europe and later spreading to the United States, there was a concerted effort to disseminate these ideals globally.

## ***2.2 The Liberal International Order***

The liberal international order emerged after the Second Global war in 1945 it was established on the principles of liberalism to create a global framework that maintains and promotes peace and stability and most importantly to avoid conflicts between states that might lead to a major war, especially the world had experienced two global wars that led to the death of millions of people, destroyed economies and disrupted international order. Therefore, The United States and its allies constructed a system that relied on international organizations like the United Nations, the Bretton Woods Institutions, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and more recently, the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Auth, 2009). Notably, liberal principles were advanced through the specialized agencies of the United Nations. These agencies aimed to promote global peace and security, and crucially, create a platform for development. This effort was bolstered by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, which ensured human rights across economic, social, and cultural domains. As a result of the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1989, the international system underwent a shift from being bipolar to unipolar the dominant power of which favored the United States.

This progress only sped up the process of spreading liberal political and economic values that cemented the liberal order to keep as the main international framework. The developed Western countries were adamant that they could create a society where principles like equality, freedom, market integration, and free trade were brought to light. The aim was to build a world that is more secure, stable, and safe in the lines and values of liberalism, which corresponds to the leading philosophies and moral codes of liberal ideals. In the last seventy years, liberalism has established itself to be the most dominant political ideology in the modern world, under circumstances of great resilience. Whereas other ideologies such as fascism, Nazism or communism have risen and fallen, Liberalism has continued to be the one and only ideology that has succeeded in rebalancing global politics. This in its narrative power has played a role in the continuity of the liberal international order benefiting from peace and stability. Advocates have also

contended that liberalism has significantly diminished poverty (Ikenberry, 2018). Following the events of 1989, Liberalism solidified its position as the leading political ideology in Western industrialized nations and extended its influence globally. The Washington Consensus furthered the spread of neoliberal policies, establishing liberal ideology as the primary global order. This was supported by the rise of globalization, as evidenced in influential works like "The Liberal Tradition in America" by Hartz (1991), and "Democracy as a Universal Value" by Sen (1999), which reinforced the justification for this order. While some argue that US global hegemony did not signify the "end of history" as proposed by Fukuyama (1989), others like Ikenberry (2018) suggest that it paved the way for significant advancements on a global scale. Over the past two decades since the Cold War, globalization has emerged as one of these pivotal advancements, remaining a central theme across various aspects of society.

### **2.3 Globalization**

Globalization is a complex concept with various definitions and interpretations, making it difficult to pin down one specific definition. Scholars have yet to reach a consensus on what it exactly means. Therefore, we are not trying to provide another big, overarching definition of globalization here. Instead, our aim is more modest: we are setting out a basic framework for studying these phenomena. Many descriptions of globalization highlight interconnectedness as a central feature. Actors, whether individuals or organizations, are increasingly linked, and socio-economic activities that were once limited to specific geographic boundaries, like the nation-state, now span larger areas and overlap with one another more extensively. Although the degree of global integration varies significantly among different areas within a country, among states, and across international regions, the influence of this interconnectedness is noticeable in some form nearly everywhere in the world today (Held et al., 2000). Furthermore, other scholars define it as "The unstoppable merging of markets, nations, and technologies to an unprecedented extent has empowered individuals, businesses, and countries to connect with the world more extensively, rapidly, profoundly, and affordably than ever before" (Russett & Starr, 1981). Globalization can also signify a significant shift towards relying on private expertise and market-driven systems, reducing government involvement in economic matters. Additionally, it involves moving away from centralized planning systems (Yang et al., 2022). This interconnectedness is versatile, consider how various aspects and areas are interconnected. Take economic globalization, for instance. Though just one aspect of globalization, it involves the integration of national economies into the global economy through trade, foreign investment, capital flows, migration, and technology exchange (Bhagwati, 2004).

According to Theodore Levitt, globalization is shifting the economy towards a new model where products are standardized worldwide instead of being customized.

These products are typically affordable, technologically advanced, dependable, and practical. Levitt's discussion on homogenization suggests that globalization leads to standardization not only in products but also in lifestyles, fashion, and consumer culture, resulting in a sense of universal similarity (Levitt, 1983). Moreover, the hyper-globalists contend that globalization has led to a surge in interconnectivity due to the erasure of borders (Taylor, 1994) (Ohmae, 1995). Supporters engage in insightful discussions about the intricate transformations brought about by globalization (Bhagwati, 2004) (Norberg, 2003). According to Ohmae (1995), globalization and the dissolution of borders make it easier for financial flows and business dealings. As interconnectivity deepens, the significance of the state diminishes. Additionally, Rosamond (1999) suggested that the term "globalization" gained prominence in the mid to late 1980s. It's a loosely defined concept that can encompass various factors, including changes in communication and interaction, transportation, market integration, and finance. In 2000, the IMF characterized globalization as the growing interconnection of economies worldwide, especially through trade and financial activities (IMF, 2000).

Another discourse about globalization often highlights ideas like "the global village," communication, information sharing, and networks (Lash & Urry, 2002). However, Globalization extends beyond economics. In the field of medicine, it involves the worldwide transmission of microbes, including harmful viruses like influenza, yellow fever, AIDS, and COVID-19. Social theorists also highlight how globalization reshapes our perceptions of geographical and socio-political spaces and communities, they argue that globalization separates political communities from territorial borders, making the idea of global citizenship feasible (Delanty, 2010) (Schattle, 2005). Several movements have been given a further impetus through globalization, which rapidly conveys information through digital media and has thus mobilized global solidarity, serving as an amplifier of voices that otherwise would be marginalized. In the case of the Arab Spring, for example, social media helped it spill over beyond national borders and sparked similar movements in different parts of the region and elsewhere. Similarly, Black Lives Matter has galvanized international conversations on racial justice, driving protests and policy debate in scores of other nations. Similarly, the Free Palestine movement demonstrates how globalization, with its growing interconnectedness, amplifies awareness of human rights violations. This widespread connectivity makes it impossible to ignore these issues, demanding immediate action to prevent further atrocities.

#### ***2.4 Globalization and the Liberal International Order***

The emergence of the liberal international system following World War II occurred alongside the rise of globalization. While globalization has roots tracing back to the Industrial Revolution, obstacles like the first and Second World Wars hindered its progress. However, after World War II, globalization gained momentum. Free trade, a

cornerstone of the liberal international order, has facilitated economic globalization, particularly among Western allies. By the 1990s, globalization and a new globalized mindset had become prevalent in both developed and developing societies. Over the three decades of globalization, we have witnessed the emergence of new forms of social identity, including the surge in social media usage, online platforms, changing consumption habits, and expanded social networks. Information dissemination and communication advancements have played crucial roles in globalization, allowing data to be accessed and shared in real-time. Furthermore, the trend of globalization is supported by two fundamental beliefs. The first fundamental belief is that free trade in goods and services benefits everyone involved. It is believed that the market has a significant positive impact. There has been extensive scholarly discussion on how to effectively regulate the global market (Ruggie, 2017). The second belief is that economic interdependence fosters peace among nations. As countries become more economically connected, the costs of going to war rise significantly. Therefore, the idea, initially proposed by Montesquieu, is that engaging in warfare becomes increasingly incompatible with rational decision-making (Montesquieu, 2021).

These two beliefs contributed to an unparalleled level of economic globalization, particularly in the realms of finance and trade (Lane & Milesi-Ferretti, 2008). Another aspect that the liberal international order has claimed to accomplish, regardless of a state's location on the planet, is democratization. In democratic systems, there's an anticipation that both internal and external checks will limit the misuse of power. This is seen as crucial for how democratic countries interact with each other (Höffe, 2024). According to the 'democratic peace thesis,' democratic nations are less likely to engage in conflicts with each other. This is because they share similar values and prioritize cooperation and mutual benefits (Maoz & Russett, 2006). In developing democracies, what is known as the 'third wave' of democracy, as described by Huntington in 1991, has led to the replacement of authoritarian one-party systems with more competitive multi-party democracies. This shift has exposed developing societies to a broader array of social options provided by liberal democracy (Huntington, 1991). As the liberal international order progressed, democracy increasingly became seen as the most legitimate form of governance. For instance, the 1970 UN Friendly Relations Declaration, affirms the inherent right of every state to be able to choose its political, economic, social, and cultures systems (Lang, 2003).

Several UN statutes and other documents since the 1990s have shown a decline in emphasis on that principle. In 2007, the democratization process was pursued vigorously when the African Union adopted the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance. In recent years, the liberal international order has been endorsing initiatives that aim at greater global governance in a variety of fields. These



are among the issues such as poverty, health, environment, migration, science and technology, and human rights. Human rights are often emphasized as a central aspect of the liberal international order, driving efforts towards global governance (Rosenau & Czempiel, 2010). By the 1990s, human rights considerations had gained significant traction even within the realm of international security. New regulations were introduced in international humanitarian law, leading to the establishment of the International Criminal Court to enforce them. The concept of the Responsibility to Protect was incorporated into the World Summit Declaration and subsequently into Security Council resolutions. Moreover, arms control treaties, including bans on landmines, cluster munitions, and nuclear weapons, followed the human-centered principles of international humanitarian law.

### **3. Methodology**

To do a total literature review for a research paper an efficient way, there are several different techniques and methods. The research paper was driven by a qualitative research approach which relied on the use of literature review method as a primary method for data collection and data analysis. The literature review method can be iterative, reflective, and open-ended, with the process should be carried out with rigor and documented with precision (Boote & Beile, 2005). The researcher can achieve deep knowledge on the topic of research by conducting a literature review and an understanding of the present research trends. By integrating diverse data sources, we will have the means to identify the overarching themes, patterns, and deficiencies in the literature on the subject (Wickrama et al., 2023). Due to the flexible and productive nature of the literature review, this method is highly recommended especially in cases where the source data is found in the form of secondary sources. It can help identify a problem by bringing together and analyzing data from a wide spectrum of resources without an intensive data collection phase being needed. Furthermore, reviewing literature means, by reflecting on current theories and results of previous studies, detecting their strong and weak points, and diagnosing methodological flaws. Later, originality and trustworthiness of the sources should also be considered. It ensures we are always concerned with new issues and topics since the results of studies are always interesting. This helps to stimulate an exchange of ideas and an expansion of scientific knowledge (YAVUZ, 2022).

The data collection process involved the identification, selection, and analysis of scholarly articles, books, and credible reports related to the research topic were carried out. The following activities were carried out in a systematic way:

- Database Selection: The academic databases that have been used to access the peer-reviewed literature included Scopus, JSTOR, and Google Scholar.
- Search Strategy: Terms and phrases associated with the subject of the research were searched for (e.g., "global power dynamics," "post-Cold War U.S. dominance", International Liberal Order, Globalization).
- Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria: Those articles were included that have been published in prestigious journals, directly related to the research objectives, and in the English language in addition to some articles in Russian Language. Older works are included only if they were foundational to the topic.

The data analysis was systematic and followed several steps to ensure it had rigor and depth:

Initial Reading and Familiarization: Each source was read carefully to understand the content fully. Additionally, notes were made to capture arguments, evidence and findings.

- Identification of Key themes: the data were arranged and organized allocating the repetitive patterns and themes, these comprised major areas such as the role of the United States in redrawing the international institutions, the role of globalization in projecting liberal economic policies, and shift in power dynamics.
- Comparison and Synthesis: A cross-sectional comparison of the sources was made with a view to identifying areas of convergence and divergence. Comparisons were also made across authors to find out how they treated similar concerns or offered conflicting opinions.
- Critical Evaluation: each source was assessed critically to determine the relevance and usefulness to the research questions. This step was important to make sure that only the relevant and promising materials formed the body of the work.
- Contextual Analysis: The results were discussed in the light of the historical and geopolitical context to understand how US global primacy developed post-cold war, and how it created the ruled based order with the reliance on globalization to accelerate the projection of liberal values and economic policies primarily to

serve the U.S global interests. However, this very dependence on globalization also led to negative consequences based on which many de-globalization phenomena emerged.

#### **4. Findings**

##### ***4.1 The Current Status of the Liberal International Order***

In recent years the liberal international order faced several challenges and fractions within itself, cracks started being more visible within its values and institutional framework, one of these issues is the failure to steer certain globalizing forces in the intended directions. The rapid economic growth brought by economic globalization was significant, but the failure of the liberal international order to address the issue of wealth distribution more equitably led to the emergence of its critics. In 1990, the total value of goods traded globally was \$3.495 trillion. By 2022, this figure had increased significantly to \$24.9 trillion. From 2009 to 2023, the global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased from \$84.149 trillion to \$104 trillion. (O'Neill, 2023). However, the richest economies account for two-thirds of this figure, and within these countries, wealth distribution remains highly unequal, and the disparity between the wealthy and the poor is widening (Piketty, 2014). It is uncertain if there will be significant efforts to address the unequal distribution of wealth soon.

Moreover, In 2016, two significant events occurred: the Brexit referendum and the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States. These changes in the global order were largely driven by identity issues, as seen in events like the Catalonia independence referendum in 2017 and the 2018 New Caledonia referendum in France. As a result, there was a weakening of political globalization and social cohesion. According to Harvard University professor Joseph Nye, the "America First" slogan evolved to include a racial interpretation that prioritized the interests of white supremacists (Nye, 2017). President Trump's revival of the "America first" slogan presents a conflicting message in a world that's becoming more interconnected through globalization and led by America's liberal order. Furthermore, his return for the 2024 presidency will likely increase the unilateralism approach that he adopted before and lead to more fragmentation within the international multilateralism framework.

##### ***4.2 Influence of Globalization on the Formation and Stability of the Liberal International Order***

Globalization initially served as a key driver of the liberal international order, enabling the projection of liberal values and economic policies. Technological advancements, particularly in digital technology, enhance the lives of people globally. However, it reduces the significance of labor production. Additionally, the growth of

low-paying service industry jobs comes at the expense of traditionally stable employment opportunities.

Economically disadvantaged societies continue to be marginalized from mainstream development. This suggests a necessity for global economic restructuring that goes beyond the principles of neoliberalism and capitalism. Another significant contradiction within liberalism is protectionism, which involves imposing trade barriers like tariffs to support domestic industries. Examples include the US-led trade war against China, the new US trade policies towards Mexico replacing the North American Free Trade Agreement, and Brexit exemplifying a retreat from multilateralism towards more protectionist policies. These actions highlight a shift away from the open economic principles foundational to the liberal order, with globalization now exhibiting signs of reversal. Protectionism signals a shift away from multilateralism and integration, reflecting recent changes in the liberal order. As the global economy undergoes transformations, international trade leans towards a less multilateral approach.

#### ***4.3 The Impact of Globalization on the Dynamics of the Liberal International Order***

The contradictions of globalization have exposed vulnerabilities within the liberal order, particularly in areas like information control and openness. Major supporters of globalization such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and mainland Europe are showing signs of reduced economic openness. Farrell and Finnemore (2013) argue that leaks and surveillance programs have revealed the hypocrisy of the United States, which advocates openness while reacting harshly to disclosures of its behavior. These contradictions are particularly relevant in the context of ongoing conflicts, such as the Russia-Ukraine war and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where efforts to control narratives and block opposing viewpoints undermine the liberal order's foundational principles. This contradiction is particularly relevant as the world faces two major controversial conflicts: the Russia-Ukraine conflict and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Efforts have been made to control the narrative and block opposing viewpoints in these conflicts. As time has passed, the initial promises of the internet like free access to information and interconnectedness once considered vital parts of globalization, have lost their luster. Through leaks, surveillance programs, cyber-attacks, the dissemination of misinformation, and terrorist use of these technologies, we can see a possible scenario where Information and Communication Technology either helps to preserve the globalized liberal order or unravel it. Concerns over privacy, intellectual property, and cybersecurity further complicate the dynamics, emphasizing the precarious balance of globalization's influence on the liberal order.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Over the years, liberal international order developed and consolidated itself after WWII. Despite facing a multitude of challenges, it managed to evolve and expand,

especially after the Cold War, with democratic values and international institutions promoting multilateralism and openness on a global scale. Globalization played a central role in enabling these values to transcend borders by reducing barriers and fostering interconnectedness. Development of transport infrastructure and various technologies promoted mobility, it helped people, goods and ideas flow in different networks and zones easily. Multinational corporations and supranational networks linked by international relations began to dominate, driving the global economy toward a unified market. These networks function within the scope of a supranational power that supersedes the sovereignty of every state. Nationalism is outweighed by the influence of capital on monetary expansion of this global dynamic net, as such, globalization becomes an integral aspect of the liberal international order.

Nevertheless, the storyline defining the current global economic structure experiences a sudden and dramatic shift, altering the trajectory significantly, which significantly reorients the trajectory. Since the end of World War II, the liberal international system rests on the free movement of goods, capital, and finance. Concurrently with this arrangement being made, the present historical situation is no longer suitable for it. The last twenty years have seen the liberal order face serious challenges and contradictions of its very own values and principles which have resulted in cracks in its structure and legality. Another related aspect, the change within the liberal order in turn could be very well seen as a significant decline of social influence, which profoundly impacted the so-called universal community for the "world America made." Now it seems that liberalism is not as in charge as it used to be and is no longer capable of serving the universal interests. Although vital globalizing structures and networks such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank that are still in use will continue to be there, the outlook towards an inclusive order now is bleak. While participation in the existing liberal system may still be widespread, the rise of new nationalism and protectionism suggests a more exclusive direction, limiting opportunities for inclusive and mutually beneficial outcomes. Consequently, the consequences of these changes within the current order remain largely uncertain, with profound uncertainty looming over the potential for inclusive and transformative social change. Moreover, the rise of illiberal powers such as China and Russia trying to build a parallel system with its institutions such as the Shanghai Cooperation and the New Development Bank in addition to the BRICS bloc.

The evolving nature of the liberal order is fraught with uncertainties. Many fundamental aspects of this order now seem more like illusions considering recent developments. Consequently, the widespread acceptance of Western liberal programs worldwide is now being questioned. A significant challenge to globalization emerged towards the end of 2016, primarily driven by shifts in America's international policy

direction and strategic focus. America's longstanding role in maintaining global security and peace through liberalism has become less certain. The rise of protectionism, new nationalism, restricted individual freedom with intense surveillance over the web and social platforms, and finally trade conflicts raise questions about whether a more secure and inclusive order can emerge. Will these resurgent changes promote new forms of integration and globalization? Based on the arguments presented in this article, it seems that the evolving order is becoming less inclusive and undermines the ideals of a globalizing world.

## 5. Recommendations

In this regard, it is necessary to define the possibilities of building a larger system. The following recommendations are advanced to address these challenges:

- **Strengthening of Multilateral Institutions:** Changing global scenarios requires reform in multilateral organizations by giving them more representation and decision-making powers to emerging economies and sub-regions for the actual inclusiveness of global governance structures.
- **Inclusive Globalization:** Globalization needs reorientation toward the interests of all stakeholders, including those from poor societies. Investment in education, infrastructure, and technology transfer would help bridge the gap in underdeveloped regions toward the global North and South.
- **Reaffirm commitment to liberal values:** Democracy, human rights, and the rule of law should be pursued as a counterbalancing force to the axis of authoritarianism and protectionism. That in itself is work that needs to be done within the liberal democracies in order to show the way, importantly, and promote liberal values internationally, promoting actual equality, tolerance for different civilizations, and a real opportunity for all nations and states to participate in the free global market
- **Inclusion through Technology:** Technology should be leveraged as an opportunity for the most disadvantaged groups. This includes guaranteeing equal access to digital infrastructure, protection of privacy rights, and encouraging innovation to meet global challenges such as climate change and public health.

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