

Giulio Sapelli

# Global Challenges and the Emerging World Order

 Springer

---

# Global Challenges and the Emerging World Order

---

Giulio Sapelli

# Global Challenges and the Emerging World Order



Springer

Giulio Sapelli  
University of Milan and Fondazione Eni  
Enrico Mattei (FEEM)  
Milan  
Italy

Translated from Italian language edition Published by Guerrini e Associati: "Dove va il mondo?"  
© 2014 Translation by Juliet Haydock.  
Footnotes by Barbara Racah.

ISBN 978-3-319-15623-1  
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-15624-8

ISBN 978-3-319-15624-8 (eBook)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015933830

Springer Cham Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London  
© Springer International Publishing Switzerland 2015

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland is part of Springer Science+Business Media  
(www.springer.com)

*Foolery, sir, does walk about the orb like  
the sun, it shines everywhere.*

William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*

---

## Acknowledgments

This perhaps somewhat over-ambitious reflection owes much to a think tank that has grown up in a cultural and spiritual setting that is extremely unusual in Italy: the Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei. It naturally reflects my own thoughts and not those of the Foundation, though without the decision taken by the Foundation Board of Directors to begin work on a new research programme (“Economy and society”), which I led for a few months during its start-up, this book would never have seen the light of day. I am therefore grateful to Paolo Scaroni, President of the Foundation and Giuseppe Sammarco, its Director, who have given me their unflagging trust and encouragement. I would nevertheless certainly not have written these pages had it not been for the decisive encouragement that Joaquín Navarro Valls, who read the first draft of the programme, gave me to expand it into a much longer essay. Luca Farinola was the first to read the work and gave me inestimable advice, as did Daniele Atzori with his great scientific experience, not only in the world of Islam. Filippo Tessari never stopped encouraging me and sharing my view of the programme’s direction.

Some short articles exploring these ideas have already appeared in the columns of “Credito Popolare”, revealing how much these reflections also owe to my friendship with Giuseppe De Lucia Lumeno. I know that Lodovico Festa, friend and unequalled master of social and political analysis will, in his infinite wisdom, beam down benevolently on the development of thoughts that owe so much to our interminable life-long debates.

---

# Contents

<b>The Terrible August of 2013</b> . . . . .	1
<b>Start of the Mediterranean Crisis</b> . . . . .	19
<b>World Economic Crisis</b> . . . . .	21
<b>The Chickens Have Come Home to Roost</b> . . . . .	23
<b>The Old and the New Convergence</b> . . . . .	37
<b>Responding to Strategic Divergences</b> . . . . .	43
<b>The Challenge to Fossil Fuels and the Crushing of Convergent Growth</b> . . . . .	51
<b>The Future Will Be African</b> . . . . .	57
<b>Emerge from the Crisis in Europe: Change Europe</b> . . . . .	69

---

# The Terrible August of 2013

The end of August 2013 will go down in the annals of history as an exceptional period, marking as it did a shift in the relationship between great world powers. For the first time in two centuries, the United Kingdom split from the United States over one of the crucial points of the great cultural downward spiral that has taken place in international relations over the last 20 years. I refer to the 20 years that followed in the wake of the Kissinger era after the fall of the USSR. General evidence of the theoretical and practical change came in the shape of the Balkan wars, which marked the transition from theory to practice of the end of the Westphalian period, when in salient areas of geostrategic interests, each nation was free to choose the political system it wanted, though the choosing was done by a handful of blood-thirsty dictators, and any sacrifices could be ruthlessly made. Only areas of the world deemed irrelevant to the world balance could deploy their not-so-secret Westphalian troops in local and intelligence struggles to maintain the balance of terror: Che Guevara in the Congo and Colonel Taylor in Sierra Leone behaved like the fictional characters in Le Carré's novels.

Then came the unhappy period of humanitarian intervention, the way was paved for this back during the Westphalian period. Arming the Mujahideen and the Taliban against the USSR and, once the USSR was defeated, not worrying about whether the Mujahideen and the Taliban dominated the country or whether the Pakistani secret services (ISI) became the true arbiters of relations between the USA and India: all this could only lay the foundations for long-term instability in extremely sensitive areas of the world balance, which were thus always in danger.



The real moment of change came with the Balkan wars between the Southern Slavs. During the early years of the twentieth century, they lit the fuse for World War I, and 20 years ago, during the break-up of Yugoslavia, they again brought humanity face to face with the terrible problem of genocide. Then, the genocide turned into an intra-ethnic struggle within a geographical entity that was no longer a state that spawned nations whose idea of defining their mutual state boundaries was to massacre one another and wipe one another out. This meant that the nation-building was also a humanitarian action against the genocide, performed by different stakeholders: NATO, the USA, Italy, as an agent of the USA (D'Alema government<sup>1</sup>) without the united Europe showing the slightest flicker of life. The link between the United Kingdom and the USA was forged again from that time around the theory that united west and east Coast followers of Leo Strauss (the Neo-Cons), Blairite theorists of the London School of Economics and followers of the great French international legal and constitutional expert Alfred Dumas. Kissinger became an anachronism, Westphalia, a word to forget and the just war was entrusted as and when deemed necessary to the prevailing balance of power in order to justify the divvying up of the world as well as the struggle against international terrorism.

The link between the UK and USA became necessary in order to maintain a transatlantic relationship between Europe and the USA at a time when Germany and Spain were refusing to shed the blood of their soldiers in Afghanistan and Iraq. France recently attempted a rapprochement with the USA during the wars in North Africa. This is what the Arab Spring uprisings really are: wars between the fault lines created by divisions between Sunnis and Shiites and deep internal rifts in the Sunni world that, due to clumsy US intervention, have consolidated as Gulf and North African wars that refer back to state authorities, namely Iraq and Iran for the Shiites and Saudi Arabia for the Sunnis. Egypt, the Germany of North Africa, has never needed states of reference.

This is clear from the age of the Mamluks during the Ottoman Empire, it is clear from the Napoleonic campaigns that—and this is no coincidence—took place in Egypt and nowhere else and it is clear from the Suez crisis of 1956 at the time of Nasser. The only one person to whom it was not clear was President Obama, who mistook the Muslim Brotherhood, cosmopolitan by definition, just like the former Caliphate, for guardians capable of leading a secular nation like Egypt (Abdel-Malik and his seminal book of the 1960s has a lot to teach us on this subject).

---

<sup>1</sup>Following the collapse of Romano Prodi's government, Massimo D'Alema became Italian premier from 1998 until 2000.