



The Engelsberg Seminar 2005



Empire and the Future World Order

June 16th to 18th 2005
at Avesta Manor, Sweden

A SEMINAR ARRANGED BY
AXEL AND MARGARET AX:SON JOHNSON FOUNDATION

Empire and the Future World Order

Empire got itself a bad name during the past century but recently more and more voices are making themselves heard in the international debate, speaking up for the notion of empire as a “benign form of order”. For instance, the British historian Niall Ferguson argues in his book *Colossus* for the notion of an American – yet reluctant - empire in the making.

We now know that the fall of communism did not, as many had expected, lead to a new world order. History did not come to an end, but seems to have taken a leap into a new era, whose contours are yet to be revealed.

The Engelsberg Seminar 2005 invites participants to discuss the subject of empire and world order from both historical and present perspectives. Is for instance the United States an empire? If it is, are its population and elite prepared to shoulder such a burden? Can an empire play a positive role in creating a stable, liberal and democratic order? What characteristics must an empire have to be successful in the long term? Or are imperial ambitions in fact essentially destabilising? If so, what are the alternatives to empire when it comes to creating a stable world order?

Are there other power centres in the world, such as the European Union and China, which can and want to challenge the US in this role or build supporting empires? What role will these giants play on the global stage? Historical analogies can provide us with a guide and valuable advice for the future, but only if used cautiously. What can be learnt from the history and development

of the Roman, Ottoman, Spanish, Habsburg and British empires based on the concept of empire as a benevolent form of order?

Which bodies can promote international order that creates stability and encourages development towards democracy and respect for human rights? The United Nations was intended to be such an organisation, but as its 60th anniversary approaches, it is difficult to feel unbridled enthusiasm. Its victories have been many, but its failures hard to endure; even the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, a couple of years ago asserted that the entire UN system was in need of radical reform to regain its legitimacy. However, what can the UN accomplish without the approval and collaboration of powerful nations?

The only remaining superpower or *hyper-puissance*, the USA, through its unique position, plays a central role in the world order, but as developments in Iraq show, it is more difficult to win the peace than to win the war. What is the state of the USA's resolve and its ability to find allies? Europe appears the self-evident partner in such an alliance. Historical and political ties are strong – but perhaps they are dissolving. Europe has frequently distanced itself from US foreign policy, but what alternatives could the European Union offer?

And last but not least; the often stated fact that globalisation is bringing the world closer does not of necessity lead to greater affinity: it may just as well give greater awareness of differences and in its turn lead to new conflicts.

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Thursday June 16th

1.30 p.m. *REGISTRATION*

2.30 p.m. **Opening** **Viveca Ax:son Johnson, Chairman**
Axel and Margaret Ax:son Johnson Foundation
Kurt Almqvist, President
Axel and Margaret Ax:son Johnson Foundation

Historical World Orders

2.40 p.m. **Introduction** **Niklas Ekdal, moderator**

2.45 p.m. **Hugh Thomas** *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*

3.10 p.m. **Richard Pipes** *The Russian Imperialism – Past and Present*

3.35 p.m. **Nathan Shachar** *The Portuguese Empire*

4.00 p.m. *COFFEE BREAK*

4.30 p.m. **Orhan Pamuk** *The Loss of the Ottoman Empire*

4.55 p.m. **Jan Morris** *Late Beauties of the British Empire*

5.20 p.m. **Panel Discussion** **Hugh Thomas, Richard Pipes,**
Nathan Shachar, Orhan Pamuk
Moderated by Niklas Ekdal

6.20 p.m. *DRINKS and MUSIC*

7.00 p.m. *DINNER*

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Friday June 17th

World Order Today

9.15 a.m.	Introduction	Christine Ockrent , <i>moderator</i>
9.20 a.m.	Charles Maier	<i>Order and Disorder – A Survey of European Systems of States in the 20th Century</i>
9.45 a.m.	György Schöpflin	<i>Austria-Hungary – Empire and Democracy won't Combine</i>
10.10 a.m.	Tøger Seidenfaden	<i>Empire by Attraction – The EU Adventure</i>
10.35 a.m.	<i>COFFEE BREAK</i>	
11.05 a.m.	Peter Bender	<i>Are the Americans the Romans of Today?</i>
11.30 a.m.	Philip Bobbitt	<i>Future Demands on Nation States – Reflections on Security</i>
11.55 a.m.	Panel Discussion	Charles Maier, György Schöpflin, Tøger Seidenfaden, Philip Bobbitt <i>Moderated by Christine Ockrent</i>
1.00 p.m.	<i>LUNCH</i>	

Challenges to Democracy and Order

2.45 p.m.	William Kirby	<i>When Did China Become “China”?</i>
3.10 p.m.	Ross Terrill	<i>Chinese Imperialism</i>
3.35 p.m.	<i>COFFEE BREAK</i>	
4.05 p.m.	David Rieff	<i>The United Nations and the Crisis of the World System</i>
4.30 p.m.	Shashi Tharoor	<i>UN and the Future World Order</i>
4.55 p.m.	Panel Discussion	William Kirby, Ross Terrill, David Rieff, Shashi Tharoor <i>Moderated by Christine Ockrent</i>
6.00 p.m.	<i>DRINKS</i>	
6.45 p.m.	<i>DINNER</i>	

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Saturday June 18th

Future World Order

9.30 a.m.	Introduction	Edward Lucas , <i>moderator</i>
9.35 a.m.	David Coleman	<i>Future Demographic Trends</i>
10.00 a.m.	Robert Cooper	<i>The European Empire</i>
10.25 a.m.	<i>COFFEE BREAK</i>	
10.55 a.m.	Deepak Lal	<i>The British Empire – Maintaining a Liberal Global Order</i>
11.20 a.m.	Ian Buruma	<i>Democracy and Culture</i>
11.45 a.m.	Panel Discussion	David Coleman, Robert Cooper, Deepak Lal, Ian Buruma <i>Moderated by Edward Lucas</i>
12.45 p.m.	Closing remarks	Kurt Almqvist
12.50 p.m.	<i>LUNCH</i>	
2.50 p.m.	<i>DEPARTURES</i>	

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Lecturers and Moderators

Dr. Peter Bender
Writer and journalist

Professor Philip Bobbitt
University of Texas

Professor Ian Buruma
Bard College

Professor David Coleman
Oxford University

Mr. Robert Cooper
Director-General for External and Politico-Military
Affairs at the Council of the European Union

Mr. Niklas Ekdal
Political Editor-in-Chief, Dagens Nyheter

Professor William Kirby
Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences
Harvard University

Professor Deepak Lal
University of California

Mr. Edward Lucas
Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

Professor Charles Maier
Center for European Studies
Harvard University

Ms. Jan Morris
Author

Ms. Christine Ockrent
Author and journalist

Mr. Orhan Pamuk
Author

Professor Richard Pipes
Harvard University

Mr. David Rieff
Writer and journalist

Professor György Schöpflin
Member of European parliament

Mr. Tøger Seidenfaden
Editor-in-Chief, Politiken

Mr. Nathan Shachar
Author and Journalist, Dagens Nyheter

Dr. Ross Terrill
Fairbank Center for East Asian Research
Harvard University

Mr. Shashi Tharoor
Under-Secretary-General for Communications and
Public Information, United Nations

Lord Hugh Thomas
Writer and Historian

Organization

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Reference Group

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Kay Glans, Magazine Axess
Marty Peretz, The New Republic
Tøger Seidenfaden, Politiken
Isabella Thomas, The Club of Three



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