

For UPSC CSE & State PCS Exams



A Complete Guide on International Relations for UPSC CSE and other State Services Exams

Study IQ Education Pvt. Ltd.

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Preface

Dear Aspirants,

In the ever-evolving realm of international relations, understanding the dynamics of global politics and their implications is not just an academic pursuit but a necessity for those aspiring to serve in civil services. "International Relations" for UPSC CSE and other State Services Examinations is designed to be a comprehensive guide, tailored to meet the specific needs of aspirants.

The landscape of international relations is intricate and multifaceted, encompassing a range of issues from diplomacy, global conflicts, and trade agreements, to the impact of globalization and the rise of new powers on the world stage. This book aims to demystify these complex concepts, presenting them in a format that is both accessible and engaging for UPSC candidates.

Major Features of the Book:

- 1. Comprehensive Coverage: The content aligns seamlessly with the UPSC syllabus, ensuring that all relevant topics under international relations are thoroughly covered. This includes historical contexts, current affairs, and future trends.
- **2. Structured Approach:** Each chapter is structured to facilitate easy understanding and retention. Key points are highlighted, and represented in tabular form wherever possible for easy retention.
- **3.** Case Studies and Examples: To bridge theory and practice, the book includes numerous case studies and real-world examples, aiding aspirants in grasping the practical application of theoretical concepts.
- **4. UPSC-oriented Analysis:** Special emphasis is placed on topics frequently addressed in UPSC exams. PYQs help in understanding the nature of guestions asked with respect to particular topic.
- **5. Updated and Relevant:** Keeping pace with the dynamic nature of international relations, the book includes the latest developments and their implications on global politics.

This book is not just an academic resource; it's a guide to understanding the complexities of international relations through the lens of India's role in the global arena. It is an essential tool for anyone aiming to crack the UPSC CSE or other state services examinations, providing insights that go beyond the traditional curriculum and encouraging a deeper appreciation of the world we live in.

We wish you an enlightening and successful journey ahead.

Team StudyIQ

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SECTION - 01 INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1

Introduction to International Relations

"Peace cannot be kept by force; it can only be achieved by understanding." -Albert Einstein

Preview

Studying international relations is more important than ever in the complicated and interrelated world of today. Nations themselves are involved in a constant dance of diplomacy, competitiveness, and collaboration on the international arena, just as our lives are increasingly influenced by events and choices made outside of our national borders. We must establish our field before beginning to study international relations. What people, things, and procedures are important? States (countries) and their interactions can be a more specific definition. This clearly defines and confines the subject matter and primary concerns of the discipline by placing nations as the primary players and focusing on how states interact with 'others' through foreign policy, diplomacy, and conflict.

The majority of IR researchers currently disagree with this definition, which would leave out a lot of topics and fields where fresh perspectives have come through new research goals and methodologies. The global human condition is studied in international relations. This broadly inclusive definition highlights the importance of international relations, the only social science that takes into account all peoples. The distinction between international relations and other social and human sciences, such as politics, sociology, economics, history, law, and geography, is blurred, though.

An alternative globalization paradigm has gained popularity since the 1980s. This viewpoint holds that the interconnection and interdependence of the world have altered international relations in recent decades. Instead of a jumble of states or "units," the world is seen as "one world" in this perspective.

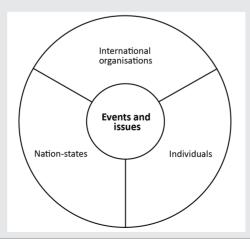
It is essential to take into account the many theoretical frameworks, which provide different viewpoints on how the world is perceived, in order to fully understand international relations. According to numerous viewpoints, the field of international relations is undergoing constant and swiftly accelerating upheaval. It is clear that some aspects of international relations, however, nevertheless have an enduring nature.

1.1 EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: STATECRAFT AND EXTERNAL RELATION

The conventional understanding of international politics has traditionally focused on the nations and territory. The concept of **conflict and cooperation (Conquest vs Coexistence)** between political entities based on territory has been observed throughout history. The basic unit in the study of international relations, i.e. the **states**, and their origins discloses the nature of how they interact (trade and economy) and react (war and diplomacy) to the changing requirements and time.

International Relations

The phrase 'international relations' is used to describe relations between nation-states, organisations, and individuals at the global level. Traditionally, International Relations has understood the system at its most basic level as a dynamic between three key actors: (1) nation-states, (2) international organizations, and (3) individuals. These key actors react to, are subject to, and sometimes shape, the events and issues that drive international relations.



State-centric model of international relations

The Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta marked an early example of international conflict. **Thucydides**, a historian of the time, documented the war's causes, highlighting the role of power, security, and fear as driving forces. His writings are considered foundational for the study of international relations.

All political thinkers from Plato to the Middle Ages (till the 16th century) focused on the end of the state and saw state power as a means to a moral end. **Machiavelli** took a different approach. According to Machiavelli, states should behave and form decisions with public interest as the first priority in mind, and as such should act in a manner, which will benefit the state. In his conception of international relations, the aspect of nationalism within a country is of fundamental importance to maintaining the defense and survival capabilities of the state.

However, the term "international relations" was not introduced until Jeremy Bentham, a British philosopher and legal reformer, used it in his work Principles of Morals and Legislation. Bentham indicated a notable transition during the late eighteenth century, wherein politically defined units based on territory began to exhibit a more distinct national identity. Consequently, the interactions between these units started to manifest as genuinely "international." Nevertheless, despite the prevalence of nation-states or the pursuit of nation-state status in contemporary times, it is the attainment of statehood rather than nationhood that empowers them to effectively engage in global affairs. Therefore, it is more accurate to refer to 'international' politics as 'inter-state' politics.

The state-centric nature of the conventional approach to international relations and the portrayal of the international system as a state system are interconnected and contributed to the understanding of this phenomenon. The genesis of this perspective on international politics is commonly attributed to the **Peace of Westphalia (1648)**, a pivotal event that solidified sovereignty as the defining characteristic. State sovereignty, thus, became the primary organizing principle of international politics. Sovereignty came hand in hand with the principle of non-intervention of a foreign power in another state. Nevertheless, non-intervention has always been a point of tension – especially when relations between states break down.

Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), led by Napoleon Bonaparte in Europe raised questions about the balance of power and the need for a stable international order. The **Congress of Vienna** in 1815 sought to establish a new European balance of power, contributing to the theory of equilibrium in international relations.

State

A political association that enjoys sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders.

The aftermath of World War I (1914-1918) saw the **Treaty of Versailles** impose harsh conditions on Germany and other Central Powers. This treaty and the League of Nations, which aimed to prevent future conflicts, influenced the development of diplomacy and international organizations as tools of foreign policy.

Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War:

Greek historian Thucydides (c. 460–406 BCE) had a passion for philosophy. The History of the Peloponnesian War, a masterpiece by Thucydides, describes the conflict between Sparta and Athens for dominance of the Hellenic world in 431-404 BCE, which culminated in the destruction of Athens, the birthplace of democracy. The **dynamics of power politics** and the relative power of the competing city-states were used to explain this conflict. As a result, he created the initial sustained realist justification for international conflict and, arguably, advanced the **first international relations theory.** His pessimistic view of human nature influenced Hobbes. Thucydides demonstrated in the Melian Dialogue how power politics is indifferent to moral argument, a lesson that is sometimes taken to be an absolute truth.



However, the first challenge is how do we define a state. According to the **Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States** in 1933, a state is required to possess **four essential attributes** in order to be recognized as such. These attributes include:

- (i) a clearly demarcated territory,
- (ii) a stable and permanent population,
- (iii) a functioning government, and
- (iv) the ability to engage in diplomatic relations with other states.

The Westphalian State System:

The start of contemporary global politics is typically attributed to the Peace of Westphalia (1648). The Thirty Years War (1618–48), which involved the Holy Roman Empire and various adversaries, including the Danes, the Dutch, and, most importantly, France and Sweden, consisted of a series of declared and undeclared wars throughout central Europe. The Thirty Years' War was finally put to an end by a series of treaties known as the Peace Treaties. These treaties contributed to the transformation of a medieval Europe with conflicting authorities, loyalties, and identities into a modern state system, despite the fact that the change took place over a much longer period of time. The two guiding principles of the 'Westphalian system' were as follows:

- 1. All other institutions and groups, both spiritual and temporal, are therefore subordinate to the state, which enjoys sovereign jurisdiction in the sense that they have independent control over what occurs within their territory;
- 2. The recognition of each state's sovereign independence (implying that all states are equal in law) shapes relations between and among states.

Thus, while state-centric theories recognized the formal, legal equality of states as sovereign entities, they also recognized that some states are more powerful than others and may intervene in the affairs of weak ones.

The state-centric approach to international politics, however, is getting harder to maintain. This has occurred in part due to the fact that states can no longer be viewed as the only important players on the global stage. A variety of other non-state organizations, such as transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations, and others, have started to have an impact. This gave rise to a new approach to international relations, often described as the **mixed actor model**, where in, while not ignoring the role of states and national governments, international politics is shaped by a much broader range of interests and groups.

Although it is generally acknowledged that states and national governments are just one type of actor on the global stage among many others, they could still be considered the most significant actors. No TNC or NGO, for example, can compete with the state's coercive power, including its capacity to maintain order within its borders and engage in military conflict with other states.

Complex Interdependence and Proliferation of nation-states in international relations

The devastating consequences of World War II led to the creation of the United Nations in 1945. The UN aimed to promote diplomacy, cooperation, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, giving rise to theories emphasizing **international institutions** and **collective security**. This demonstrates that while states are individual entities and are guided by individual interests, tasks such as promoting economic growth and prosperity, tackling global warming, halting the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and coping with pandemic diseases are impossible for any state to accomplish on its own, however powerful it might be. States, in these circumstances, are forced to work together, relying on collective efforts and energies.

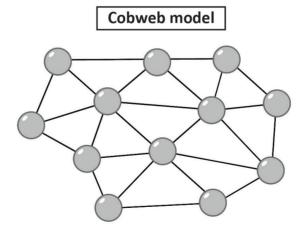


Fig. Cobweb model of International Relations

Such a web of connections has produced the phenomenon known as "complex interdependence," in which states are compelled to cooperate and integrate by factors like increased trade and other economic ties. The "cobweb model" of global politics serves as an example of this.

The process of decolonization is one of the defining characteristics of the post-1945 period. It took place gradually throughout the second half of the 20th century, with empires almost completely dissolving. The newly created United Nations oversaw a system for granting self-determination to former colonized peoples. The only way for those colonized peoples to achieve independence under that system was to establish nation-states along the exact lines that Europeans had done in 1648. As new borders were established all over the world, this process gradually gave us the world map we are familiar with today. This process was not always peaceful, as it had been in Europe, and a variety of internal and external challenges to sovereignty persist to this day on all continents. In that sense, as this process develops over time, our map of the world occasionally gets updated.

The world system started to change after World War II to recognize the legitimacy of the empire and to incorporate concepts of human rights. The United States' rising power, which had come out of the Second World War in a stronger position economically and politically than the other powers, served as a major inspiration for this change. It attempted to use that clout to influence a world order outside of the empire. Given that the United States had successfully resisted British colonialism in the late 1700s as part of its own war for independence, its ideas and expanding power had enough weight to change the system. According to academics, this marks the start of a time known as "pax Americana," which refers to the United States' crucial role in international affairs going forward.

Cold War and its impact on international relations

Beyond the understanding of the Westphalian system and the ever-increasing patterns of historical conflict it led to, the Cold War, which emerged in parallel to decolonization.

The Cold War saw the genesis of the idea that the world is divided into **three zones**. The 'Western' countries—from which the term 'the West' derives—were considered to be in the 'First World'. These nations, which were allies of the US, largely adhered to capitalism as their economic system and (at least aspirationally) liberal democracy as their political system. The Soviet Union and a number of "Eastern" nations that were dominated by communist (or socialist) parties and rejected capitalism as an economic model made up the "Second World." Beyond economics, this conflict between the first and second worlds produced two incompatible international systems, forcing other states to choose between them in order to function. A "Third World" was thus created as a result of some states choosing to withdraw and identifying as "non-aligned." It became a term frequently used to describe economically poorer states because the majority of those states were newly formed and/or developing; it is still occasionally used in this way.

However, while there has been no third world war, large-scale state conflict would evolve to take on different forms—primarily due to the arrival of a new technology, nuclear weapons. After the first use of an atomic bomb by the United States on Japan in August 1945, reports and pictures of the devastation caused by the two bombs that the United States dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima confirmed that the nature of warfare had changed forever.

Underlining the **logic of deterrence**, nuclear weapons were never again used in anger after their initial use by the United States in 1945. Yet, in recognizing the danger of the unmoderated spread of these weapons, a norm of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons became one of the central ideas of our global system.

Nuclear deterrence:

It is defined as the restrictive use of nuclear weapons based on the assumption that a country will avoid starting a nuclear war in order to protect its own security.

The Cold War became a conflict over territory, much like earlier wars, despite the added ideological dimension of communism versus capitalism. Both sides engaged in 'proxy wars' in which they fought to either support or oppose individuals within states who sought to (or appeared to) move between the First and Second Worlds, rather than engaging in direct combat. The most well-known examples of this happened in Asia, with several million people dying in both Vietnam (1955–75) and Korea (1950–3).

Proxy war:

A war in which a state attempts to increase its power or influence without taking part in the action, as by providing arms or finance to one of the participants

Globalisation and its impact on international relations

The fate and fortunes of entire countries, communities, and households around the world are intertwined in today's global economy by intricate webs of international trade, finance, and production networks. As the 2008 global financial crisis (GFC) demonstrated such disastrous effects, the world economy is so integrated that no national economy can protect

itself from the functioning of international markets. Only through concerted action by the world's major economies at the 2009 G20 summit was a global crash prevented, leading to the ironic headline: "(Communist) China and (Socialist) India comes to the "rescue of global capitalism" at the time.

Analyzing globalization

Globalization is a process characterized by:

- The stretching of social, political, and economic activities across national borders to the point where events, choices, and actions in one part of the world have the potential to have an impact both directly and indirectly on people, communities, and nations in other parts of the world. For instance, the civil war and strife in Syria and Yemen have displaced millions of people, who have sought refuge in neighboring countries and as far away as Europe.
- The expansion of interconnection, or its intensity, in practically every aspect of modern life, from the economic to the ecological, from Google's worldwide reach to the spread of dangerous germs like the SARS virus.
- The quickening of global flows and processes as the speed with which information, goods, news, capital, and technology move around the globe. For instance, within minutes after the start of trade during "Red October" in 2018, financial markets saw a coordinated fall.
- The merging of the local and the global to the point where it is impossible to tell the difference between the two. For instance, lowering carbon emissions in Glasgow or Mumbai can lessen the effects of climate change on the Samoan and Kiribatian people.

The notion of globalization directs attention towards the various processes, linkages, structures, and networks that extend beyond national boundaries and across continents. Contemporary human affairs exhibit a departure from being solely organized within local or national boundaries, as they are progressively structured on transnational, regional, and global levels.

Globalization is commonly linked to the phenomenon of **deterritorialization**, wherein social, political, or economic activities are structured on a global or transnational scale, resulting in their detachment or disconnection from specific localities or regions. For instance, there exists a higher correlation between property prices in the most expensive neighborhoods of major global cities worldwide, as compared to the correlation between these prices and those in their respective national real estate markets.

The process of globalization has attributed increasing significance to various Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs), which have played a crucial role in this context. Prior to the era of globalization, nation-states were actively seeking to advance their own national interests. The individuals exhibited a greater preoccupation with their personal safety rather than prioritizing global security. In the present era, the challenges and complexities confronting states have transcended national boundaries, necessitating a shift from individual state-centric approaches towards collective action through intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). This shift is driven by the recognition that states are increasingly unable to safeguard their citizens and effectively address issues in isolation. Through their participation in this collective entity, states relinquish a portion of their sovereignty to an institution that is governed by the collective will and decisions of its member-states. The concept of shared sovereignty, which had not previously been observed, occasionally entails that states are obligated to adhere to the majority decision and consequently experience its impact, even if it may not align with the original preferences of the individual state.

Shared Sovereignty:

It implies the co-existence and interdependence of two entities for mutual benefit and larger shared interest with the hope of promoting conducive socio-political environment for peace and good governance.

However, sometimes they have to sacrifice their national interests in order to reach international rather than national aims. This can be demonstrated by the example of the UN Security Council, where the member-states wanting the resolution to be passed are dependent on the five permanent members.

It is not only IGOs with individual states as members that increase the dependence of states on one another. Transborder connections between different regions from different countries have had a similar impact on states over the course of globalization. Examples of such organizations include the Assembly of European Regions or the European Union's Committee of the Regions which have existed since the 1970s and have since been influencing the respective countries of their member regions. In this way, states have also become more interdependent, not specifically by their own actions, but due to their constituent regions forming part of such regional organizations.

Globalization is eroding the power and sovereignty of the state

| For | Against |
|---|--|
| The Ineffectiveness of states in the face of global markets. The GFC showed this is especially true for financial markets. Global market disciplines severely constrain national economic policies, as shown by the austerity policies 'forced on' many indebted countries after the GFC. | Responses to the GFC show that state power is not declining. Only massive state intervention prevented a global depression. Bankers contacted their finance ministries or central banks, not the IMF, during the crisis. |
| Unelected global and regional institutions like the EU and WTO are taking over many key areas from states. States are bound by global rules, such as cutting CO2 emissions. This erodes both their sovereignty and their democratic autonomy to manage their own affairs. | States are not ceding power or sovereignty to unelected international bureaucracies. Instead, multilateralism boosts their global political power. Global agencies may require states to trade some of their national autonomy for a better chance of realizing their national interests, but this does not diminish national sovereignty, or the legal right to rule within their own territory. |
| States are increasingly vulnerable to foreign-organized disruption or violence. They may include terrorism, organized crime, or cyberattacks. These vulnerabilities threaten national security and states' ability to protect citizens. | Globalization is part of the solution to states' growing vulnerabilities. Globalization boosts surveillance and intelligence cooperation, and does not undermine national security, despite states' vulnerability to distant threats. |
| States are experiencing an erosion of democracy. Globalization-induced economic inequality undermines democratic institutions and unelected international bureaucracies set the rules. Both reinforce the idea that global capital and international institutions trump democracy. Nationalist populism's revival has heightened such concerns. | States face democracy challenges, not from globalization, but from domestic factors. The conflict between capitalism and democracy is structural, not new. This becomes more visible and elevated by globalization. Global governance reform and democratization would help address these issues and globalization's inequalities. As Scandinavian welfare systems show, globalization does not prevent governments from addressing such issues or inequalities. |
| States' control of borders is central to sovereign statehood, but many states fail to control immigration and prevent illegal migration. The very same infrastructures that facilitate economic globalization enable the mobility of people. | State control of borders (or at the least the capacity to control) has probably never been greater. Amazing technologies and systems monitor and control people's movements today. While globalization has increased people's mobility, national and international controls remain restrictive compared to capital mobility. Illicit migration and people trafficking require multilateral cooperation to solve. |

International relations from the Global South perspective:

The field of international relations, which was shaped by Western institutions and ideas, gave little attention to the Global South other than as a source of Western institutions and ideas. There have been negative consequences from imposing Western ideologies and practices on Southern nations. As an illustration, the IMF routinely imposed mandatory changes in the economic and industrial policies of borrowing countries (known as "conditionality") that forced them to open up their economies to free trade before the loans could be disbursed.

Although the field of international relations as a whole may have been developed in the West, inter-people connections did not start in 1648. Instead, Westphalia, which had a significant impact on how the West viewed international relations, merely signaled the start of the Western world's dominant era. Older civilizations, such as the Sumerian (fourth millennium BCE), Near Eastern (fourteenth century BCE), Chinese (dating to the thirteenth century BCE), Indian (dating to the third millennium BCE), and Islamic (eighth to fourteenth century CE) civilizations, nevertheless, pioneered international systems and world orders that bore both many similarities to and many differences from the Westphalian system.

Alternative international order models that are notably different from the Westphalian order have been developed as a result of specific historical times. The roughly two-thousand-year-old **Chinese tributary system** serves as a significant example of historical relevance. Instead of having an anarchic structure, the system in question had a hierarchical one. China engaged in various surrounding governments' political and economic exchanges—commonly referred to as "diplomatic" relations—actively within this framework. China believed that its own culture was superior at the same time. The ability to conduct business with China was a privilege granted to the tributary republics. The Emperor used to collect 'tribute' from

a number of states in East and Southeast Asia, notably Korea, Thailand (Siam), and Vietnam (Annam), and this practice gave rise to the system's nomenclature. The need that emissaries kowtow in front of the Emperor further highlighted the hierarchical nature of the system.

A non-Western perspective on how we conceptualize and situate elements of the global system demonstrates that it contains a variety of participants. International Relations is hence gradually becoming more in sync with the customs of individuals and nations everywhere. Not only does the expansion occur over space, but it also occurs through time to a longer past that includes prehistoric civilizations. The spread of global governance and the growth of non-Western organizations and initiatives are further indications that it has allowed the locations of international relations to slowly migrate outside of their traditional homes in the West.

1.2 MODERN APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: A "NEW WORLD ORDER"

Exploring the idea of a "multipolar" world order is important in order to analyze the potential traits of a system that transcends Western-centric viewpoints. In addition to the widely accepted ideas of unipolarity, bipolarity, and multipolarity, a new conceptual framework for understanding the structure of global governance needs to be introduced, drawing on perspectives derived from a nuanced understanding of International Relations in the Global South.

In a global landscape characterized by **multipolarity**, dominant powers would retain control over certain facets of global governance, exemplified by their influence within institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Concurrently, emerging and established powers would engage in cooperative efforts on select matters, as evidenced by their participation in the G20, a platform facilitating dialogue among governments, central bank governors from both developed and emerging nations, and the European Union.

Multipolarity:

A multipolar world is a world where there are multiple centers of power and influence, rather than one dominant superpower or a bipolar rivalry.

Additionally, emerging powers would engage in competitive dynamics with established powers on specific issues, such as the realm of Chinese overseas investment and infrastructure loans (**debt trap diplomacy**), where they contend against projects spearheaded by the World Bank. Furthermore, non-state actors are assigned prominent positions instead of being relegated to peripheral roles. These encompass actors commonly regarded as positive, such as prominent international nongovernmental organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, as well as notable civil society activists like Greta Thunberg and Malala Yousafzai. Conversely, there are actors commonly perceived as negative, such as terrorist groups, drug cartels, and human traffickers.

Debt trap diplomacy:

Debt-trap diplomacy is a concept in international finance used to describe a powerful lending country or institution extending debt to a borrowing nation partially or solely for the lender to increase its political leverage.

The phenomenon of fragmentation or **pluralization of global governance**, which is a significant characteristic of the multiplex world order, is evident through the emergence of various regional and plurilateral governance structures. One prominent example is the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a significant multilateral development bank led by China. Additionally, there is a growing presence of intricate, hybrid, or multi-stakeholder arrangements in domains such as cyberspace and climate protection. However, it is imperative to adopt a global perspective in the examination of International Relations in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon in practical terms.

While a multiplex world order seems likely to emerge and grow, it is by no means guaranteed. Even as **non-state actors** gain in international prominence, states might continue to exercise overwhelming dominance. For example, in the case of new security technologies such as drones and artificial intelligence (AI), innovation by private technology developers has driven their rise in prominence. Yet, massive amounts of funding from states, especially great powers, and their militaries have since been channeled into these new technologies, suggesting that the salient international role of private innovators was temporary.

Non-State Actors:

Non-state actors are organizations and individuals that while not affiliated with, directed by, or funded through any sovereign government, often exercise significant political influence and territorial control. Non-state actors (NSAs) typically include corporations, private financial institutions, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as paramilitary groups, armed guerrilla warfare resistance groups, and terrorist organizations, all of which may employ violence in pursuit of their objectives.

Thus, the evolving world order is characterized by the emergence of multiple ideological and developmental models, which give rise to uncertainty and disorder. The resultant disruptions have exacerbated power dynamics and engendered political polarization and shifts in global power, in addition to concerns pertaining to technology, trade, security, and trust. These factors have given rise to enduring challenges within this nascent global framework. As the global economy gradually recovers from the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the existing Ukraine crisis has further intensified the aforementioned difficulties.

In contemporary times, China seems to draw attention to how much the West is thought to have imposed its supposedly universal values on the world system after World War II, which has helped the U.S. maintain its dominance. In the meantime, the US sees China's desire to create a multipolar order based on different values and rules that are better for non-Western countries as a sign that China is becoming a major world power. These two ideas about the future of the global order seem to make things more divided and set the stage for a "new Cold War," even though both the US and China say they want to avoid it.

1.3 CONCLUSION

To run the global agenda in a world with many sides, there is a need to accept that things are complicated, contradictory, and inconsistent; separate issues so that one difference doesn't overpower other functional relationships; separate global negotiating forums from one another; come up with different ways to work on issues that are very different; and encourage different groups of country officials to take the lead on varied issues.

Leaders and governments will need to use these behaviors and practices to project to the world an inclusive, eclectic, practical, respectful, and responsible strategic vision of convergence toward a **new era in the global order** that can tolerate not only diversity and difference but also complexity, contradiction, and even contrariness as central dynamics that must be managed to reestablish a single international community for all.