The Coming of a New Era of International Relations and Its Theoretical Implications

Su Changhe, Professor
School of International Relations and Public Affairs
Fudan University, Shanghai, China 2017-11-29

A World in Contradiction

- * multilateralism, VS unilateralism
- Open world economic system VS.protectionism
- Common security VS reinforcement of military alliances
- Civilizations dialogue VS clashes of civilizations
- Community of shared future for the mankind VS America First
- Maybe we enter into 21st century but some people's ways of thinking are still live in the

10ct contury

1. Globalization and Its Discontent globalization paradigm and its consequences:

The winner and the loser, the development gap between 20% and 80% has not been eventually overcome over the last centuries. To some extent, the inequality gap around the world has been institutionalized by the existing development paradigm.

Challenge: Any sustainable globalization paradigm must address the vertical and generational gap problem, and be more effective in improving more countries and people's development conditions.

Normative implication:

The decline of new liberal order norms: Market fundamentalism, mini-government, Washington Consensus

The question is not whether the government or market is more important, but how to play its effective role in respective areas.

2. Two-level Politics Dilemma

Global problems resolution and domestic resist or reject.

Global cooperative agreements are more and more rejected by domestic politics,

the agreements are discounted when implemented in domestic area

The agreements are the victims of the mutual veto domestic politics, such as in the so-called democratic political system. I prefer to call it as confrontational political system rather than democracy.

Normative implications:

The democratic peace/cooperative theory has been challenged again by the two-level politics dilemma, it shows the conflict of domestic politics and international cooperative agreements has been obstacles to good global governance.

More and more people began to rethink what's the best or second best state governance system which will be of benefit for domestic and international governance?

3. Double failure of check and balance in domestic and international area

Balance of power has been seen to be as effective mechanism to reach stability in domestic and international politics, but what we experience is multi-polarization trend in industrialized countries give rise to mutual veto consequence, while in international area, cooperative consensuses are difficult to be reached due to failure of check and balance among stake-holder states.

Normative implications:

Divide and rule principle Vs. United and rule principle.

make efforts to create a united and rule for the world, not a divide and rule for the world.

4. Development knowledge

Is there only one development paradigm for the world?

the mainstream thinking is there is only one effective development paradigm for world. This thinking dominate the way of exporting this universal paradigm to the other countries, such as political intervention, economic sanctions, cultural universalism.

Normative implication:

many paradigms are better than only one paradigm for a multi and plural world, it creates more choices and possibilities for the world.

5. Media and communication problem Medias needs more self regulation when they report the other or the outside world. Demonization or mutual demonization is still negative factors in cultivating friendly people-topeople situations. I don't think criticize/demonize represents freedom, on the contrary, it is the opposition side of the freedom.

Normative implication

What's the suitable cultural exchange norms in a more plural and connectivity world?

6.Uncertainties from the U.S. and Europe? We must face some uncertainties from the U.S. and Europe which could be affecting for the world.

Polarization and confrontation of domestic politics, exit of multilateral institutions, the future of the EU, Trump's uncertainty polices, and all of them would be affecting the world.

Normative implication

If more uncertainties will be emerged from the U.S and Europe, does it mean the soft power what Nye has insisted will be bound to be washed away?

7. Uncertainty from the developing and emerging world

Differentiation is the basic feature occurred in the developing world, disorder Middle East, Africa's industrialization, India's uncertainty industrialization, China's deepening reforms, Russia's relations with western European partners, South America's change from delink to relink strategy, ASEAN unification.

Normative Implication:

The success of industrialization in any developing world would mean a rise of more development models in the world.

The world demands for new development knowledge.

8. Reform of international institutions Scrap them and start all over again? Make incremental reforms: double-track systems of current international institutions, the reforms of the old international institutions and the establishment of the new ones(such as AIIB), both of them are coexistence.

Normative implication:

The double-track system is a political wisdom which make sure any reform could be in a stable rather than shock situation.

9.International order

Sovereignty system and global governance The great achievement since the world war two is the fixed of sovereignty system, but the exclusive of the sovereignty system and the inclusive of global governance is to some extent in a conflict situation. Each state could be against global agreements in the name of sovereignty.

Normative implication:

The development of sovereignty is not to deny sovereignty, but to make a new coordinate system between domestic sovereignty and responsible and restricted international behavior.

- 10.China's Role
- China 's factor in international order, 1949, 1978, and Xi's Era 2012.
- 1) Globalization VS. connectivity
- 2) Universal values VS. Common Values
- 3) Global governance based on multimodels domestic governance

- 4) divide and rule Vs. United and rule in regional policy.
- 5)Incremental reform model rather than shock treatment model in terms of international institutions.
- 6) Education of international relations among peoples around the world through persistent cultural exchange.
- Shared future of community for mankind