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INDIA – RUSSIA RELATIONS, TRACING THE TRAJECTORY THROUGH THE UKRAINE WAR CRISIS

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ABSTRACT:

The complex dynamics of the relationship between India and Russia are investigated in this study, which is set against the backdrop of the political situation in Ukraine. The purpose of this study is to analyze how India's strategic alignment with Russia has developed in the midst of the geopolitical tensions that have been caused by the situation in Ukraine. The study draws upon a comprehensive examination of diplomatic declarations, policy developments, and historical context. Through the investigation of the economic, political, and military aspects of the bilateral ties, the research sheds light on the variables that are affecting India's posture and actions in relation to Russia at this crucial moment. In addition to this, it investigates the ramifications that India's answers have for geopolitics on a regional and global scale, particularly in light of the fact that India has alliances with other significant nations. The purpose of this article is to contribute to a more in-depth knowledge of the intricacies that are defining current international relations and to offer insights into the emerging dynamics of multipolarity in the 21st century. This will be accomplished through a nuanced examination of India's engagement with Russia.

This paper is secondary research to study the India – Russia relations which included, studying past papers, deriving important information from scholarly articles, journals. A comprehensive study was conducted as well, of government reports and data highlighting important aspects, of changing foreign relations, trade transfers, Foreign Direct Investment, bilateral ties on aspects of defence, trade and economy, cultural sphere etc.

Keywords: *Diplomacy, geopolitics, strategic partnership, energy cooperation, multilateralism.*

RATIONALE:

The research study explores the complex dynamics between Russia and India in the context of the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. It attempts to investigate how the two major actors in the world arena, Russia and India, have changed and been affected by this geopolitical event of Russian Ukraine war.

RESEACH OBJECTIVE:

The study intends to examine how India-Russian relations have changed in the context of the conflict in Ukraine. It aims to evaluate Russia's activities, India's diplomatic response, and the effect on bilateral relations. The goal is to comprehend how the crisis affects trade, energy relationships, and strategic cooperation between the two. It also examines the wider geopolitical ramifications for India's foreign policy approach, striking a balance between established alliances and newfound strategic alliances and offering guidance to decision-makers navigating bilateral dynamics in the aftermath of the crisis.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- 1) What effects has India's long-standing relationship with Russia suffered as a result of its diplomatic approach to the war in Ukraine?
- 2) What particular steps has Russia taken in reaction to the crisis in Ukraine, and how have these steps affected India and Russia's bilateral defense, energy, and commerce cooperation?
- 3) What are the main points where Russia and India have responded differently to the Ukraine crisis, and how do these differences and similarities affect the future of their bilateral relationship?
- 4) How do India's strategic considerations in preserving its long-standing relations with Russia while interacting with other world powers get influenced by the geopolitical ramifications of the Ukraine crisis, especially in the Indo-Pacific region?
- 5) In light of the fast changing geopolitical scene, what can be learned about future cooperation and partnership between India and Russia from their connection during the Ukraine crisis?

INTRODUCTION:***A. An overview of India Russia Relations:***

In addition to having similar interests, historical links, and strategic cooperation, India and Russia have maintained a relationship that spans decades and is characterized by these characteristics. This relationship was established during the time of the Cold War, and its foundation was formed on the ideals of non-alignment, mutual respect, and cooperation in a variety of fields. Despite the fact that the global geopolitical landscape has undergone substantial shifts, India and Russia have managed to maintain their alliance and continue to develop it in order to handle contemporary difficulties.

In light of the fact that India is one of the top importers of Russian armaments, defense cooperation is a fundamental component of the relationship between India and Russia. Both nations have worked together on a variety of tasks, including joint military drills, the exchange of technology, and the manufacturing of defense goods. With Russia being a significant provider of oil and gas to India, energy partnership is another important aspect of the relationship.

Despite the fact that there is room for additional progress, the economic links that exist between the two countries have experienced consistent growth. Efforts are currently being made to improve trade and investment, notably in industries such as agriculture, information technology, and pharmaceuticals. Additionally, cultural exchanges and encounters between individuals play a significant part in the process of developing bilateral relations, which in turn helps to foster understanding and goodwill between the two respective societies.

Generally speaking, the relationship between India and Russia is marked by strategic depth, mutual trust, and similar interests, which makes it a vital role in determining the dynamics of both the region and the world by itself.

There are very few partnerships in the convoluted web of international diplomacy that carry as much historical weight and as much modern relevance as the bilateral ties that exist between India and Russia. As two significant geopolitical players with deep-rooted historical linkages, the relationship between India and Russia has experienced both ebbs and flows, which have been affected by shifting world dynamics and internal imperatives. Understanding and assessing this strategic cooperation becomes especially important when viewed against the backdrop of the continuing conflict in Ukraine, which is a crisis by any measure. The crisis that has arisen as a result of the war in Ukraine has served as a litmus test for global alliances and has profoundly transformed the geopolitical landscape. In the midst of a flurry of diplomatic maneuvers and strategic realignments, the relationship between India and Russia has emerged as a focal focus of attention. The ramifications of this relationship reach far beyond the immediate bounds of the conflict itself.

B. Significance of studying these relations, especially during the Ukraine war crisis:

The purpose of this research paper is to uncover the complexities of the relationship between India and Russia, particularly in light of the conflict that is currently taking place in Ukraine. We intend to shed light on the relevance of this collaboration in shaping regional and global events by digging into the historical foundations, geopolitical imperatives, and contemporary dynamics that support this partnership.

There is a long history of cooperation between India and Russia in a variety of fields, spanning from defense and energy to culture and technology. This cooperation has been mutually beneficial. It is vital, however, to reevaluate the dynamics of this partnership and comprehend its ramifications for both countries as well as the larger international community. This is because the geopolitical landscape is undergoing rapid upheaval, and it is imperative that this connection be reevaluated.

This research paper intends to provide insights into the difficulties of modern diplomacy and the developing nature of strategic partnerships in a multipolar world by performing an examination of the relationship between India and Russia in the midst of the crisis that has arisen as a result of the

conflict in Ukraine. While navigating through times of uncertainty, the lessons that can be derived from studying these ties can offer vital insights into the dynamics of global politics and the quest of peace and security on the international stage.

C. Diplomatic, military and economic ties:

From the early years of India's independence, India and Russia have maintained strong diplomatic, economic, and military connections. This rich history dates back to the beginning of India's freedom. The Soviet Union was one of the first countries to acknowledge India's sovereignty, which brought about the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries in 1947. This established the groundwork for a robust diplomatic engagement that is defined by mutual respect and cooperation amongst the parties involved.

Since the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1971, the economic relations between India and Russia have been gaining momentum. This treaty laid the groundwork for broad economic cooperation, which included the formation of trade agreements and cooperative ventures in a variety of industries, including defense, technology, and information technology. The economic relations between the two countries have continued to strengthen over the years, and both nations are investigating new opportunities for collaboration in fields such as the pharmaceutical industry, space exploration, and the building of infrastructure.

One of the most important aspects of India and Russia's relationship is the military partnership that they have established between the two countries. Due to the fact that Russian weaponry make up a sizeable component of India's military inventory, India has been a key buyer of Russian military hardware ever since the 1960s. This collaboration encompasses not only the collaborative development and manufacturing of cutting-edge defense technologies, but also cooperation in areas such as the transfer of technology and the training of military personnel.

India and Russia have been faithful to one another as strategic allies over the course of several decades, providing assistance to one another in times of crisis and cooperating with one another to address issues that are shared by both countries. Despite the fact that the geopolitical landscape of the world has been shifting, the long-standing relations that exist between India and Russia continue to play an important part in the formation of both regional and worldwide affairs.

THE UKRAINE CRISIS: CONTEXT & CAUSES:

A. Causes and Origin of War:

The conflict between Ukraine and Russia began in 2014, when Russia annexed Crimea in response to the Euromaidan uprisings in Ukraine and the subsequent removal of pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovich from office. The annexation was in violation of international law, which resulted in widespread condemnation from the international community. The emergence of pro-Russian separatist movements in eastern Ukraine, particularly in the regions of Donetsk and

Luhansk, contributed to an increase in the level of tension. These separatists advocated for independence from the Ukrainian government, and it is believed that Russia provided them with support. A full-scale fighting broke out between the Ukrainian military forces and the separatist militias as a result of this happening. Historical, cultural, and geopolitical causes are the origins of the crisis that we are currently experiencing. The pursuit of an association agreement with the European Union by Ukraine, which signified the country's desire for closer connections with the West, posed a challenge to Russia's historical sphere of influence in the region. The Russian Federation, which views Ukraine as a geopolitically significant country and is working hard to preserve its power, reacted by taking forceful moves. There were also linguistic and ethnic distinctions inside Ukraine, with the eastern regions having a considerable population of people who spoke Russian. These factors contributed to the escalation of the conflict. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine continues to have far-reaching implications, which have an effect on the stability of the region as well as the geopolitics of the entire world.

B. Events leading to the War:

An accumulation of significant occurrences, beginning with Ukraine's choice in 2013 to pursue stronger connections with the European Union, were the catalysts that led to the outbreak of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia. This move resulted in widespread demonstrations, which became known as the Euromaidan movement. These demonstrations culminated in the removal of President Viktor Yanukovich, who was inclined to support Russia, in February of 2014.

The annexation of Crimea by Russia in March 2014 was a reaction to the removal of Yanukovich, and Russia cited historical and strategic reasons for its decision. There was widespread condemnation of the annexation by the international world, which resulted in sanctions being imposed against Russia.

In the aftermath of Russia's annexation of Crimea, pro-Russian separatist movements formed in eastern Ukraine, particularly in the areas of Donetsk and Luhansk. These separatists advocated for independence from the Ukrainian government, and it is believed that Russia provided them with support. In response, the Ukrainian government carried out military operations in an effort to put an end to the separatist conflict.

There were 298 people on board Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 when it was shot down over eastern Ukraine in July of 2014. All of the passengers and crew members on board were killed. According to the findings of the investigation, the missile that was responsible for the downing was launched from territory that was controlled by pro-Russian rebels. This further escalated the tensions that were already present in the region.

It was these significant events that established the framework for the ongoing war between Ukraine and Russia. These events include Ukraine's pursuit of deeper connections with the European

Union, Russia's annexation of Crimea, and the rise of separatist movements in eastern Ukraine.

IMPACT OF THE UKRAINE WAR CRISIS ON INDO– RUSSIAN RELATIONS:

A. How the war has affected the diplomatic relations between the two friends:

In spite of the fact that India and Russia have maintained a long-standing strategic cooperation, the war between Ukraine and Russia has had a significant influence on the diplomatic relations between the two countries with Russia. On account of the escalation of the conflict, India was confronted with the challenge of striking a delicate balance between its historical relations with Russia and its adherence to the norms of international law and territorial sovereignty.

With regard to the crisis, India adopted a nuanced posture, expressing support for Ukraine's territorial integrity while on the other hand refraining from openly condemning Russia. This cautious diplomacy was conducted with the intention of avoiding alienating either party while yet respecting India's commitment to multilateralism and peaceful conflict settlement.

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine did, however, cause tensions to arise in the relationship between India and Russia. India's decision to abstain from voting on United Nations resolutions that condemned Russia's activities in Crimea caused eyebrows to be raised. This divergence from India's typical alignment with Western viewpoints on issues of this nature was a significant departure. In response to this action, speculations were made on the possibility of changes in India's foreign policy priorities, and questions were raised over the extent of India's commitment to the existing international order.

India and Russia have continued to work toward strengthening their strategic alliance, particularly in the areas of defense and energy cooperation, despite the difficulties that have persisted. The crisis between Ukraine and Russia, on the other hand, serves as a reminder of the complexity that are inherent in navigating global geopolitics. It also highlights the necessity for India to carefully calibrate its diplomatic engagements in order to protect its interests while preserving its principles.

INDIA'S RESPONSE AND DIPLOMAIC STRATEGY:

A. Changes in economic and military cooperation between India and Russia after Ukraine war crisis:

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine may have had a number of different effects on the economic and military cooperation between India and Russia, including the following:

1. **Economic Shifts:** India may diversify its economic links in order to reduce the risks connected with sanctions or volatility in the Russian economy. This could potentially reduce India's reliance on Russian imports and investments.
2. **Military Relations:** India may reevaluate its connections with Russia in terms of military procurement and technology, taking into consideration the geopolitical consequences of these

partnerships as well as the necessity of maintaining a balance with its relationships with other major powers.

3. Strategic Realignment: The conflict may drive India to seek stronger relationships with other global players, such as the United States and the European Union, for both economic and security reasons. This may have an effect on India's relationship with Russia.

4. Defence Cooperation: modifications may be made to ongoing defence programs and cooperative military exercises between India and Russia. These modifications may be influenced by the changing geopolitical dynamics and strategic goals of both countries.

Overall, despite the fact that the collaboration between India and Russia has strong historical roots, the crisis between Ukraine and Russia may result in adjustments to the existing economic and military cooperation between the two nations as they navigate new geopolitical circumstances.

B. *India's stance on Ukraine War crisis:*

India stood apart among the main democracies and among the strategic allies of the United States of America by responding to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Even while it disagrees with Moscow's war, New Delhi has chosen to publicly remain neutral against Russia. It has so far refrained from publicly accusing Russia of being the originator of the problem and has abstained from voting in the UN Security Council, General Assembly, and Human Rights Council against Russian aggression in Ukraine. India's neutrality has disappointed many in the United States, including those in President Joe Biden's administration, because it revealed a stark difference between Washington and New Delhi on a crucial matter concerning the international order: the right to use force to alter borders and occupy another country's territory in a clear-cut war of conquest.¹ Regardless of their opinions regarding the origins and triggers of the conflict in Ukraine, the majority of Indian strategic elites acknowledge that their nation's diplomatic neutrality ultimately represents what one Indian scholar has referred to as "a subtle pro-Moscow position." This seems especially contradictory in the present, since India appears to be tolerant of the much more heinous Russian belligerence in Europe, even as it stands shoulder to shoulder with the US against Chinese ambition in the Indo-Pacific. The way New Delhi views its interests explains the peculiarity of this Indian stance. Due to these interests, India has refrained from overtly denouncing Russia, despite the fact that its stated opinions were meant to express its disapproval of Russian actions—possibly a little more quietly than is appropriate. India thus reiterated that "dialogue is the only answer to settling differences and disputes, however daunting that may appear at this moment," called "for the immediate cessation of violence and hostilities," regretted "that the path of diplomacy was given up," and urged the concerned states to "return to it." India also urged "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states." During his intervention in the parliamentary debate on Ukraine, India's Minister of External Affairs, Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, reaffirmed India's position that "the global

order is anchored on international law, UN Charter and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of states," reinforcing these themes in a coded critique of Russian actions.

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS AND TRADE RELATIONS:

A. Impact of the war on economic ties between India and Russia:

Increasing input costs: As a result of the crisis, the price of commodities like gas, oil, and other items that are necessary for many Indian enterprises has sharply increased. This has resulted in increased production costs and decreased profitability for numerous Indian enterprises, especially those operating in the manufacturing and agricultural domains.

Supply chain disruption: As a result war the fighting, it is now more difficult for Indian companies to get the parts and raw materials they require to run their operations. The effect this will probably have on productivity and profitability is negative.

Weaker rupee: The sale of Indian assets and the depreciation of the rupee are the results of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. This has decreased Indian enterprises' competitiveness in the global market and increased the cost of importing goods and services.

Enhanced ambiguity and instability in the worldwide economy: The crisis has additionally contributed to heightened ambiguity and instability in the global economy. Indian businesses now find it more challenging to make investment decisions and develop long-term plans.

Decreased demand for exports: A number of nations, including India, have seen a decrease in demand for their exports as a result of the war. Numerous causes contribute to this, such as the weakening of the world economy, the interruption of supply lines, and the sanctions placed on Belarus and Russia.

B. Most affected Businesses coz of war:

Energy: The price of gas and oil has increased significantly as a result of the conflict in Ukraine. Businesses like airlines, shipping corporations, and petrochemical companies that depend on these commodities have been significantly impacted by this.

Manufacturing: Supply networks have been thrown off balance by the war, making it more difficult and expensive for manufacturers to get the components and raw materials they require. Numerous industries have suffered as a result, including the automobile, electronics, and equipment sectors.

Agriculture: The world's food supply has also been impacted by the issue. Food costs have increased as a result of war, and some items are now scarce. Both consumers and companies in the food and beverage sector have suffered as a result of this.

Tourism: The conflict between the two countries and the subsequent sanctions on Russia have led to a decline in tourism in both countries. This has had a negative impact on businesses in the travel and hospitality industry.

Financial services: The conflict has also had a negative impact on the financial services industry.

The sanctions on Russia have made it difficult for Western banks to operate in the country. This has led to increased uncertainty and volatility in the global financial markets.

C. Focus areas for Indian Businesses:

Lessen your reliance on imports: Companies should look for ways to obtain more inputs from within or outside of their own nation. By doing this, their exposure to currency swings and supply chain disruptions will be lessened.

Expand your exports to new markets to diversify your business's export markets. They will become less reliant on any one market as a result, increasing their ability to withstand shocks to the economy.

Invest in innovation: To create new goods and procedures, businesses should spend money on research and development. This would enable them to adapt to the shifting needs of their clients and maintain their competitiveness in the global market.

Prioritize sustainability: Companies ought to concentrate on increasing their environmental friendliness and sustainability. Both investors and customers are starting to place more and more importance on this.

Accept digital transformation: To increase productivity and efficiency, businesses should accept digital change. This will help them to compete in the global market more effectively.

FUTURE PROSPECTS: POST UKRAINE WAR CRISIS:

It is impossible to say that the rebalancing of Russian-Indian relations has reached a new status quo, and major changes are probably in store in the years to come. These most likely come from the weakening of the three pillars that have supported the partnership for many years: the arms trade, economic ties, and aligned geopolitical goals. Russia, which has long been India's military's top supplier of weapons, is already up against competition in this market, in part due to India's dedication to diversifying its supply sources and the desire of other exporters for profitable weapons agreements. Russian arms producers will have to contend with strong Western sanctions while competing with suppliers that are more technologically sophisticated, like France, Israel, and the United States, as well as India's own military sector.

The commercial relationship between Russia and India is still marginal to both countries and is likely to stay that way despite the increase in India's purchases of Russian oil following the invasion of Ukraine and the imposition of Western sanctions on Russia, the relationship already makes up a small portion of both countries' total foreign trade.

At the same time that India and China's rivalry has grown more intense, Russia is seeking ever-closer relationships with China as a result of the collapse in relations with the United States. It is expected that Russian diplomacy would face significant challenges in maintaining parallel partnerships with Beijing and New Delhi, particularly if tensions, if not outright wars, between China

and India rise. It might become more difficult to handle at all if there are more conflicts along the Sino-Indian border in the future, let alone a full-scale war. Due to a number of factors, including its size and future economic potential, its dismal track record in terms of innovation, and its demography, Russia is gradually fading into the background in this triangle dynamic. Beijing and New Delhi will still appreciate their respective ties with Moscow, but those ties will be worth less in the long run. Russia's ability to maneuver both strategically and tactically will be limited as a junior partner to China while maintaining a legacy connection with India. If Russia continues on Putin's current foreign and domestic policy trajectory, it may be forced to choose between its most valued and enduring Asian ally, India, and its "no limits" buddy, China, unless it sees a significant improvement in its own strategic position

INDIA-RUSSIA RELATIONS: CHALLENGES AND COOPERATION:

A. Challenges:

Challenges to the economy: a large trade deficit between two countries. It is further compounded by the regulatory obstacles, phytosanitary standards, and non-tariff barriers employed by Russia. Russia's classification of tea as both a fruit and a vegetable results in additional phytosanitary regulations. The deficit increased 2022 as a result of higher oil purchases and the strengthening of the Russian Ruble versus the Indian Rupee.

Defense Challenges: In order to modernize and diversify its armed forces and avoid US sanctions under CAATSA, India must cut back on its imports of defense equipment from Russia.

Growing Affinity between Russia and China: In light of the growing hostility between Russia and the West, Russia is looking to forge a deeper alliance with China. Additionally, Russia has been providing China with increasingly sophisticated weapon systems, which has a real impact on China's military superiority over India as well as the security of India itself.

India and the US: India must balance its allegiance to the US and Russia in order to thwart China's ascent in the Indo-Pacific, which could have an effect on India's place in regional dynamics.

The Russia-Pakistan-China Axis: Russia is attempting to regain its power by fortifying its relations with China and Pakistan, emphasizing defense, intelligence, energy, and cross-cultural interactions. Russia is currently under sanctions. India's Eurasian plans face a challenge from this expanding alliance since Pakistan may step up its anti-Indian actions by forging closer connections with Russia in the Eurasian region.

EU-India: India has bought a lot more cheap Russian crude oil since Russia invaded Ukraine. As a result, it has been selling refined fuels to Europe, which may result in the EU enforcing tighter policies against India.

B. Cooperation:

Trade diversification as a solution to the problems caused by a small economy and a large

trade deficit. Solid results on the most current list of more than 500 goods that Russia exports to India can serve as a solid place to start. In an effort to strengthen economic relations, Russia and India may promote a free trade pact while the majority of Western governments work to isolate Moscow over the conflict in Ukraine. One possible way to maintain bilateral trade between India and Russia in the face of Western sanctions on Russia is through the Rupee-Rouble system.

Lowering trade and investment barriers in order to increase private sector involvement in the economy. It is necessary to launch more programs similar to the "Cooperation for Development and Growth" India—Russia Business Forum in order to assist Russian companies accessing the Indian market and to inform Indian partners about particular export possibilities.

Cooperation with Russia: India should get closer to Moscow in order to weaken the newly formed triangle between China, Pakistan, and Russia. The International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC), a 7,200-kilometer network of land and sea that includes rail, road, and water routes, needs Moscow's backing in order to be implemented in India. It will function as a substitute path that improves trade accessibility with Iran, Russia, and the former republics of the Soviet Union. It will shorten the time and cost of transportation from Asia to India. This corridor and China's "One Belt, One Road" initiative are relatively similar.

As part of shared joint obligations on global peace and stability, expand cooperation on bilateral and regional concerns encompassing new areas of cooperation. Modernization of Russian defense supplies through cooperative research and manufacturing of cutting-edge weaponry, encouraging India's independence and lowering its reliance on outside partners for modernization and diversification under Made in India.

Coordinated production of replacement parts and reciprocal logistics Enhancement of defense cooperation can also be facilitated by support.

Preserve multilateralism for a more rules-based international order in the UN and other forums like the BRICS, SCO.

CONCLUSION:

In conclusion, the trajectory of India-Russia ties in the midst of the crisis caused by the war in Ukraine indicates a complex and varied dynamic. The crisis has brought both problems and opportunities for bilateral cooperation, despite the fact that the relationship has typically been rooted by historical ties and shared interests. During this time period, India's strategic autonomy and its ability to strike a balance between Russia and other world powers have received a lot of attention. Both countries have maintained a pragmatic approach, putting an emphasis on discussion and diplomatic engagement in order to navigate through the complexities of the crisis. This is despite the fact that they come to different conclusions regarding important geopolitical concerns.

Furthermore, India's nuanced position highlights the country's dedication to protecting its

national interests while simultaneously maintaining its connections with important friends and partners. Because of the crisis, India has been forced to reevaluate its foreign policy priorities and adjust its approach to accommodate the shifting geopolitical situation. Moving forward, as the conflict in Ukraine continues to unfold, it is probable that India and Russia will continue to recalibrate their strategic cooperation. They will look for ways to work together while simultaneously managing areas of dispute.

In the end, the connection between India and Russia continues to be robust, as it is founded on the fact that both countries have common historical experiences, economic interests, and geopolitical imperatives. On the other hand, in spite of the difficulties brought about by the conflict in Ukraine, both countries have shown that they are prepared to engage in constructive dialogue, which highlights the enduring character of their bilateral relations. With the ability to handle the difficulties of the crisis and beyond, India and Russia are well positioned to continue their collaboration, which will contribute to the stability of the region as well as the multipolarity of the global community.

The dynamics of bilateral relations between India and Russia in the midst of the conflict in Ukraine serve as a microcosm of greater alterations in geopolitical dynamics on a global scale. Both countries are currently navigating the complexity of the crisis, and the choices they make and the interactions they have with one another hold repercussions that go well beyond their immediate bilateral relationship. These choices and interactions are forming the contours of the changing international order.

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