Foreign Affairs Documentation Bulletin January 2022

AFGHANISTAN

- POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT

1. U.S. withdraws from Afghanistan as the Taliban take control. American Journal of International Law, 115(04), 2021: 745-753.

Nearly twenty years after the U.S. military began operations against the Taliban in Afghanistan, President Joseph R. Biden reported on August 31, 2021, that the last U.S. combat troops had departed the country. Biden announced on April 14, 2021, that the United States would withdraw combat troops from Afghanistan before the twenty-year anniversary of September 11, 2001, and NATO member states decided to depart the country simultaneously. The withdrawal followed an early 2020 deal between the Taliban and the Trump administration, which conditioned the pullout on Taliban agreement not to harbor terrorists that target the United States and its allies. Over the course of a week and a half in mid-August, the Taliban captured most of Afghanistan's provincial capitals, entering Kabul on August 15. The Afghan government collapsed, and President Ashraf Ghani fled the country. Through the end of August, the United States and other countries conducted a major airlift operation to evacuate their nationals and Afghans considered at risk of Taliban reprisals, though many were left behind amid risks of renewed civil war and humanitarian crisis.

**Afghanistan - Political and government; United States - Foreign relations - Afghanistan.

Control No: 45096

AFRICAN UNION

2. Yuna Han and Sophie T Rosenberg

Claiming equality: the African Union's contestation of the anti-impunity norm. International Studies Review, 23(3), 2021: 726–751.

By examining the African Union (AU)'s contestation of the International Criminal Court (ICC)'s cases against former or sitting Heads of State (HoS), this article analyzes how the AU's contestation of the anti-impunity norm varies in its normative significance, despite its unified focus on the issue of sovereign immunity. It presents a novel conceptualization of the norm, showing how it is comprised of three principles of equality: individual legal equality under international criminal law; sovereign state equality under international law; and equality of accountability in international criminal justice. Applying this analytical framework to the cases against Al Bashir, Kenyatta, and Gbagbo, the article argues that the norm inherently entails negotiation between divergent claims of equality. Highlighting how the balance between the equality principles results in different normative significance of sovereign immunity, the article shows how contestation of the anti-impunity norm should be seen as contestation among different meanings of the norm itself.

**African Union; International Criminal Court.

Control No: 45063

ASEAN

3. Luis Cabrera and Caitlin Byrn

Comparing organisational and alternative regional citizenships: the case of 'Entrepreneurial regional citizenship' in ASEAN. Australian Journal of International Affairs, 75(05), 2021: 507-526. Researchers have increasingly investigated emerging regional citizenships outside the European Union, including in Southeast Asia, South America and West Africa. Their accounts have, however, largely focused on efforts by regional organisations to promote a regional identity and enhance mobility. This article applies a broader comparative framework disaggregating regional citizenship into six constitutive elements. The approach enables a more comprehensive analysis of the nature

and shape of emerging organisational citizenship regimes, the identification of potentially significant alternatives, and more systematic comparisons of both across global regions. It is applied first in identifying a duties-centric, top-down and developmental conception of citizenship implicit in recent communications to 'ASEAN citizens' by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. That conception is compared to alternatives, including one implicit in Amitav Acharya's model of participatory regionalism, and one drawn from field work among regionally networked, digitally focused social entrepreneurs within ASEAN states. The latter indicate a conception which is duties centric but also foregrounds entrepreneurs' potential for agency and leadership in regional development. We close with a discussion of different practical challenges, related to different elements of citizenship, each conception faces, and the potential for alternatives such as entrepreneurial regional citizenship to influence emergent organisational regimes.

**ASEAN; Social entrepreneurship; Comparative regionalism.

Control No: 45074

AUSTRALIA

- FOREIGN POLICY

4. Ioanne Wallis

Contradictions in Australia's pacific Islands discourse. Australian Journal of International Affairs, 75(05), 2021: 487-506.

The Australian government demonstrates strategic anxiety about the 'crowded and complex' geopolitics of the Pacific Islands region. This reflects its broader concerns about geostrategic competition in the 'Indo-Pacific', and its perception that Pacific states are 'small' and 'weak' and therefore vulnerable to influence from potentially hostile powers. Simultaneously, the government has vowed to 'step-up' its engagement with its 'Pacific family', emphasising that its relationships with Pacific states will be characterised by respect for, and listening to them, as equals. But while the government has articulated its intention to improve its relationships with Pacific states, puzzlingly, it adopts policies that undermine this goal. This article analyses how and why this occurs. It outlines what this analysis demonstrates about how leaders and officials perceive the Pacific, what assumptions and habits inform those beliefs, and as the 'step-up' moves from announcement to implementation, how they are translated into behaviour via government policy. It concludes by arguing that Australian leaders and officials should seek consistency in their discourse about, and policies toward, the Pacific, guided by the discourse of the 'Blue Pacific'.

**Australia - Foreign policy; Geopolitics of the Pacific Islands region.

Control No: 45073

CHINA

- DIPLOMACY

5. Tianyang Liu and Yao Song

Beyond the hinterland: exploring the international actorness of China's Yunnan province. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 2021, 21(03): 335–370.

The scholarly literature on paradiplomacy has tended to focus overly on subnational governments in federal systems rather than those in unitary and centralized countries. However, it is important to note that some subnational governments in these countries have been increasingly proactive in international relations (IR). This study explores the paradiplomatic activities of Yunnan, a province in the south of China which, since the early 1990s, has actively engaged in cross-border cooperation. Combining the concept of paradiplomacy with the theory of actorness, this study first argues that Yunnan has been incentivized to conduct paradiplomacy through the decision of Beijing to open China's borders; the inefficiency of the central government in managing border-related issues; and the interprovincial competition over economic and diplomatic clouts in the Mekong subregion. Second, this study argues that Yunnan's new external affairs powers have been consolidated by a host of new opportunities stemming from the external environment. Third, it argues that Yunnan's new external affairs powers have enabled it to leverage two broad instruments (infrastructure development and economic statecraft) to make neighboring countries more dependent on cooperation with it. And finally, it is argued that Yunnan's role as an IR player has been acknowledged both by neighboring countries and by Beijing.

**China - Diplomacy; Para diplomacy; International relations.

CHINA

- ECONOMY

6. Fenghua Pan, Fangzhu Zhang and Fulong Wu

State-led financialization in China: the case of the government-guided investment fund. China Quarterly, 247, 2021: 749 - 772.

China is witnessing a growing trend towards financialization by the state. Drawing on the concept of state-led financialization, this study is the first to explore how the government-guided investment fund (GGIF) has evolved and spread throughout the country. The promotion policies and practices of the central government have laid the key foundation for the development of GGIFs, while local governments have quickly adopted this new financial tool, resulting in its widespread take up. State-owned enterprises are heavily involved in the operation of GGIFs, indicating that this market-oriented tool has largely failed to attract capital from the private sector. This study shows that state-led financialization in China has strengthened rather than weakened the influence of the state in the economy, which is not the case in most Western economies. However, the limitations and risks of the GGIF are also related to the dominant role of the state in GGIF operations.

**China - Economy ; Urban development ; State-led financialization.

Control No: 45086

7. Jing Wang

The party must strengthen its leadership in finance!: digital technologies and financial governance in China's fintech development. China Quarterly, 247, 2021: 773 - 792.

This article examines the roles digital technologies have played in propelling the shifts in modes of financial governance which have been led by the Chinese Communist Party and enacted by a wide spectrum of regulative actors. Based on analyses of the laws, policies and regulations surrounding digital financial technologies, or so-called fintechs, as well as in-depth interviews with government officials and fintech business executives, I argue that the proliferation of fintechs challenged the existing regulatory schemes defined by the Central Bank and the State Council. This forced a reconsideration of the Chinese government's hegemonic strategies in governing the rapidly changing financial industries. While digital technologies have been promoted to accomplish the goals set by the Party for financial marketization and modernization, a set of institutions including regulatory, organizational and normative rules have been developed to strengthen the Party's control over the digitization of finance. This contradiction is pivotal to understanding the Party's financial policymaking in the digital age.

**China - Economy; China - Financial governance; China - Digital technologies.

Control No: 45087

8. Nitin Agarwala and Rana Divyank Chaudhary

Made in China 2025: poised for success? India Quarterly, 77(03), 2021: 424-461.

In the last 70 years, due to reforms and policies, China has moved from an agrarian economy to being a manufacturing superpower. However, this has been possible due to technology transfers into China with the core technologies remaining with the West in the name of competitiveness and national security. To achieve true technological independence and self-reliance, China proposed the 'Made in China 2025' policy in 2015 which has since been opposed vehemently by the West. This notwithstanding, China has continued its effort of self-reliance. Hence, it is essential to evaluate if these efforts are bearing the required results. Using qualitative research, the authors look at the factors leading China to adopt 'Made in China 2025' and the opposition faced by it through tariff and non-tariff measures. Various supporting policies of Made in China 2025 (MIC25) and the advancements made have been examined. The article thus aims to address the ethos of initiating MIC25, the difficulties China is facing in realising its dreams due to restrictions by the US and its allies and how China is making an all-out effort to make it a success. The primary question that the article aims to answer is whether the efforts of China towards MIC25 are poised for success and how it will affect the developed nations.

**China - Economy; China - Manufacturing industry.

CHINA

- FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT

9. Weiwen Yin

Domestic arbitral institutions and foreign direct investment. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 21(03), 2021: 401–429.

Existing literature focuses on how domestic and international institutions address investor–state disputes and attract foreign direct investment (FDI). However, contractual disputes between foreign and domestic firms are largely neglected. For foreign investors, dispute resolution mechanisms that can effectively resolve contractual disputes are very important as well. In this article, I examine the effect of institutions that conduct arbitrations for disputes between foreign and domestic firms on FDI inflows. Focusing on the within-country variation of China, I find that provinces with CIETAC (China International Economic and Trade Arbitration Commission) agencies receive a higher level of FDI. These agencies attract FDI because they can credibly signal that local governments are truly willing to treat foreign investors fairly when they have disputes with local firms. In sum, this article highlights an institutional variable that has received little attention in the literature on the politics of FDI.

**China - Foreign Direct Investment ; China International Economic and Trade Arbitration Commission ; CIETAC.

Control No: 45081

CHINA

- FOREIGN POLICY

10. Andrea Ghiselli and Pippa Morgan

A turbulent silk road: China's vulnerable foreign policy in the Middle East and North Africa. China Quarterly, 247, 2021: 641 - 661.

The nexus between China's human and economic presence abroad and its security policy is increasingly important. Within this nexus, this study statistically explores whether and to what extent Chinese contractors reduce the number of Chinese nationals they send to work in North Africa, the Middle East and the Horn of Africa when the security situation in host states worsens. We find no significant evidence that either warnings from Chinese embassies and consulates to leave host countries or expert perceptions of host stability influence the number of Chinese workers. Worker numbers appear to decrease significantly only in the aftermath of large-scale violent events. These findings suggest that Chinese companies are relatively acceptant of security risks and uncertainties, despite the decade-long regulatory efforts of the Chinese government to make them more security-conscious overseas and, thus, to reduce pressure to use diplomatically and economically expensive military means for their protection.

**China - Foreign policy; Middle East and North Africa; Chinese overseas interests.

Control No: 45084

11. Johannes Plagemann, Sreeradha Datta and Sinan Chu

The paradox of competing connectivity strategies in Asia. Third World Quarterly, 42(10), 2021: 2265-2281.

Competing connectivity strategies are a core component of geopolitics in the twenty-first century – from China's Belt and Road Initiative to Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy. To demonstrate the multifaceted consequences of the new multiplicity of connectivity strategies, we propose a conceptual distinction between two forms of competition among connectivity projects: the commonly addressed horizontal competition between central state-driven connectivity strategies and the less explored vertical competition between existing or potential connectivity schemes below and above the level of the nation state. We contend that although typically targeting differing forms of connectivity, strategies across levels of governance are not necessarily complementary. To the contrary, the geopolitical nature of relatively new and nation-state-driven strategies can also severely undermine sustainable intra-state connectivity. By way of illustration, we examine competing connectivity investments in the Bay of Bengal, a subregion of South Asia between the two Asian rivals India and China. Driven at least partly by horizontal competition, centrally devised and executed connectivity strategies oftentimes crowd out pre-existing connectivity based on

subnational initiatives or transnational societal linkages. To fully assess contemporary connectivity investments in Asia, future scholarship should take account of the challenges and complications along both dimensions of competing connectivity strategies.

**China - Foreign policy; Indo-Pacific Strategy; China - Belt and Road Initiative; India - Foreign policy.

Control No: 45100

CHINA

- MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS

12. Matthew D Stephen

China's new multilateral institutions: a framework and research agenda. International Studies Review, 2021, 23(03): 807–834.

As China has risen to the status of a global power, it has taken the lead in fostering several new multilateral institutional initiatives. Some of these are formal intergovernmental organizations; others are informal clubs, forums, or platforms. Collectively, these acts of institutional creation suggest that China is no longer content to "join" the existing global order but is constructing its own multilateral infrastructure. What do such institutions mean for global governance? This article provides a framework for studying such multilateral institutions and sketches an emerging research agenda. First, it provides a systematic empirical overview of China's participation in the creation of multilateral institutions between 1990 and 2017. Second, it develops analytical categories for describing types of new institutions based on their relationships with incumbent institutions. Central to this typology is (1) whether new multilateral institutions' governance functions are additive or rivalrous to those of existing ones, and (2) whether they promote congruent or distinct social purposes. Based on these characteristics, new multilateral institutions may be complementary, divergent, substitutive, or competing. Third, it considers the implications of China's multilateral institution-building for global governance in the context of an international power shift.

**China - Multilateral institutions; Global governance.

Control No: 45064

CHINA

- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

13. Jiayuan Li, Xing Ni and Rui Wang

Blame avoidance in China's cadre responsibility system. China Quarterly, 247, 2021: 681 - 702. This article contends that prior research on the behaviour of Chinese local cadres pays limited attention to their motivation for avoiding blame. Using qualitative data from three field studies conducted in Guangdong province, the study focuses on blame avoidance in the cadre responsibility system, which is recognized as an important instrument for state capacity building. Our analysis uncovers three major discursive strategies used by grassroots cadres to manage blame either before or after it is apportioned: de-legitimating performance standards, re-attributing blame and transferring blame risk. We find that local cadres have a role as blame makers in shifting blame and accusations. This finding challenges the conventional view, which typically sees local officials as blame takers. The article concludes by elaborating on the wider implications of this finding and proposing avenues for future research.

**China - Politics and government; China - Cadre responsibility system.

Control No: 45085

CHINA

- SOUTH CHINA SEA

14. Munmun Majumdar

Beijing raising the ante in the Natunas: the next flash Point in the South China Sea? India Quarterly, 77(03), 2021: 462-478.

China's nine-dash line or U-shape line claim in the South China Sea overlaps with Indonesia's 200 nautical miles exclusive economic zone (EEZ). There have been several instances where Jakarta and China have entered into skirmishes involving fishing vessels in the Natuna area. The latest encroachment by China into Indonesian Natuna EEZ witnessed a departure of China's justification for such action when it argued that it has sovereignty over the Nansha (Spratly) Islands and also sovereign rights over relevant waters near the Nansha Islands. Jakarta rejected both the arguments

and insisted that under United Nations Convention for the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) China does not have legal basis to claim either traditional fishing grounds or parts of the Natuna waters and invoked the 2016 UN Arbitral Tribunal's ruling to back its position. This article examines Indonesia's response vis-à-vis China and argues that with the rise of nationalism over ownership of the Natunas it is likely to progress into an area of potential conflict between Indonesia and China.

**China - South China Sea; Indonesia; Natuna; UNCLOS.

Control No: 45105

CHINA

-PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR

15. Matthew McCartney

The prospects of the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): the importance of understanding western China. Contemporary South Asia, 2021, 29(03): 358-375.

The China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) announced in 2015, is a \$60 billion package of Chinese-led investment in roads, railways, energy, and industry. It is part of China's new Eurasia-wide Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The likely impact of CPEC is controversial. Some scholars argue that CPEC will generate prosperity, regional equality and rapid economic growth in Pakistan. Other scholars argue, however, that CPEC will lead to debt and to the economic and political subordination of Pakistan to China. The existing discussion of CPEC has a near exclusive inward-looking focus on Pakistan. Some scholars, mainly from outside of Pakistan, have looked in more detail at China, but principally from an international relations perspective. Missing from all of this discussion is how economic change in China, particularly in western China, will influence the likely economic outcome of the CPEC. This paper makes an effort to begin to fill this gap.

**China-Pakistan Economic Corridor; Economic growth; CPEC.

Control No: 45078

CLIMATE CHANGE

16. Saurabh Thakur

From Kyoto to Paris and beyond: the emerging politics of climate change. India Quarterly, 77(03), 2021: 366-383.

Anthropogenic climate change has emerged as the most disruptive socio-political issue in the last few decades. The Kyoto Protocol's failure to curb the rising greenhouse gases emissions pushed the UNFCCC-led negotiations towards a more flexible, non-binding agreement at the Paris COP21 meeting in 2015. The Paris Agreement's hybrid approach to climate change governance, where flexible measures like the nationally determined commitments are balanced against the ambition of limiting the global temperature within the two-degree range, ensured the emergence of an increasingly complex and multi-stakeholder climate change regime. The article outlines the roadmap of the transition from the top-down approach of Kyoto Protocol to the legally non-binding, bottom-up approaches adopted for the post-Paris phase. The article outlines the post-Paris developments in international climate politics, which hold long-term geopolitical and geoeconomic implications. The article focuses on the fundamental shifts and balances within the UNFCCC architecture and examines the four fundamental features of this transition—the interpretation of differentiation and common but differentiated responsibilities, the evolving role of emerging economies in the negotiations, the rising profile of non-party stakeholders in shaping the climate action strategies and the emergence of climate justice movements as an alternate site of climate action.

**Climate change; Paris Agreement; Global environmental politics; UNFCCC.

Control No: 45102

COVID-19

17. Ausma Bernot, Alexander Trauth-Goik and Susan Trevaskes

Handling COVID-19 with big data in China: increasing 'governance capacity' or 'function creep'? Australian Journal of International Affairs, 2021, 75(05): 480-486.

Building a national system of social governance (guojia zhili tixi), which is the long-running governance dream of Xi Jinping, has triggered the creation of China's 'smart state' using the tools of new information technologies to advance governance capacity (zhili nengli). These systems were

already deployed nationally when the COVID-19 pandemic hit China, but were connected at a lesser capacity, targeting specific domains of security, industry or government administration. In response to the crisis, multiple technologies have been merged, exceeding the scope of their originally intended functions. This is known as function creep, when surveillant technologies remain functional past achievement of their intended purpose, or surveillant assemblages, where multiple surveillant technologies are combined. As more countries turn to digitalisation to increase public security and intensify social and market governance, the expansion of surveillant functions in China and their now-palpable effects on people's lives raises new and pressing questions for scholars and decision-makers alike.

**Covid-19; Epidemiological; Coronavirus.

Control No: 45072

18. Eric Helleiner

The return of national self-sufficiency? excavating autarkic thought in a de-globalizing era. International Studies Review, 2021, 23(3): 933–957.

As the global crisis triggered by the COVID-19 virus unfolded, The Economist magazine published a cover in May 2020 titled "Goodbye globalization: the dangerous lure of self-sufficiency." The title summed up well the new political interest in the ideology of national economic self-sufficiency in the pandemic context. Unfortunately, contemporary textbooks in the field of international political economy (IPE) say little about this kind of "autarkic" thought. No survey of the history of autarkic thought exists even within specialist IPE literature or in the fields of intellectual history and the history of economic thought. Filling this gap in existing scholarship, this article highlights a rich history of autarkic thought that includes the ideas of famous thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Fichte, Mohandas Gandhi, and John Maynard Keynes. Three core rationales for a high degree of national self-sufficiency have been advanced in the past: (1) insulation from foreign economic influence, (2) insulation from foreign political and/or cultural influence, and (3) the promotion of international peace. At the same time, considerable disagreements have existed among autarkists about some of these rationales and their relative importance, as well as about the precise meaning of national self-sufficiency. These disagreements stemmed not just from differences in their specific goals but also from the different conditions across time and space in which autarkic thought was developed. In addition to improving understanding of the autarkic ideological tradition, this article contributes to emerging scholarship attempting to overcome Western-centrism in IPE scholarship as well as literature exploring the new politics of de-globalization in the current era.

**COVID-19; International political economy; Globalization.

Control No: 45065

19. Yoel Cohen, Bruria Adini and Ahuva Spitz

The haredi media, religious identity, and the COVID 19 crisis. Israel Affairs, 2021, 27(05): 921-935.

When the Covid-19 pandemic hit Israel in March 2020 and the government imposed a number of lockdowns, Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) rabbis instructed their followers to continue attending synagogues and engage in Torah study. As a result, the relative number of COVID-19 infections and fatalities in the Haredi community was higher than that of the Israeli population as a whole. This article examines the role of the mass media during the crisis in Israel's largest Haredi city of Bnei Beraq, via interviews with 405 of the city's residents. It shows that despite rabbinic bans on exposure to the secular media and to the Internet, many Haredim were exposed to them and hence less dependent on the Haredi media.

**Covid-19; Israel - Haredi community; Mass media.

Control No: 45091

EUROPEAN UNION

20. United States joins with Allies, including NATO, to attribute malicious cyber activities to China. American Journal of International Law, 115(04), 2021: 715-721.

In July, the United States, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union (EU), and other allies attributed a variety of malicious cyber activities, including the Microsoft Exchange hack, to China. This joint attribution builds on commitments made in June summits with NATO, the

G7, the EU, and the United Kingdom, and is consistent with the Biden administration's multilateral approach to confronting cybersecurity threats and China more generally. Still, critics question whether the administration's efforts will succeed in altering the behavior of states that pose cybersecurity threats to the United States.

**European Union; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; United States - Foreign relations - China.

Control No : 45094

EUROPEAN UNION

- MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS

21. Anke Schwarzkopf

The EU as a global negotiator? The advancement of the EU's role in multilateral negotiations at the UN General Assembly. International Relations, 35(04), 2021: 574-592.

This paper aims to account for the EU's role in multilateral negotiations at the UNGA by looking at the negotiations on the enhanced observer status. During the negotiation process, the EU experienced significant opposition and had to accept an intermediate setback in form of a postponement of the vote. Despite this, the EU's enhanced observer status was adopted by the UNGA in May 2011 as resolution 65/276. This research contributes to the understanding of the EU as an actor in multilateral negotiations and the interaction between state and non-state actors. I argue that the EU is in the process of establishing itself as an active and recognized actor at the UN and determining its role as a highly integrated regional organization and non-state entity in the state-centric environment of the UNGA. I analyse the negotiation process and the final agreement through the lenses of a bargaining approach and as an alternative, mutual recognition as global justice.

**European Union - Multilateral negotiations; Global justice; United Nations - General assembly.

Control No: 45108

FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT

22. Quintin H Beazer and Daniel J Blake

Risk is relative: heterogeneous responses to institutional risks for foreign investment. International Studies Quarterly, 2021, 65(03): 594–605.

Are economic actors equally sensitive to institutional conditions? While existing research recognizes that institutions can have varying effects on actors' interests, the implicit assumption is that actors are homogeneous in how sensitive they are to their institutional environment. We investigate this assumption in the context of foreign direct investment, arguing that actors from countries with weaker institutions will be less affected by information about host country institutional conditions—both good and bad. We test this argument using survey data from a diverse group of managers-in-training at an international business school. We find that when asked to evaluate a potential foreign investment location, respondents from developing countries are significantly less sensitive to information about the host country's courts than their counterparts from developed economies. In contrast, we find that economic actors from both developed and developing countries respond similarly to information about the stability of economic policies. The findings suggest that sensitivity to the risks and safeguards of certain institutional conditions vary systematically across actors, depending on both the home environment to which economic actors have been exposed and the type of host institution.

**Foreign Direct Investment; International political economy.

Control No: 45067

INDIA

- LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER

23. Johnson Singh Chandam

India's interplay with liberal international order: potentials and constraints. India Quarterly, 2021, 77(03): 329-345.

India's limited partnership with the liberal international order (LIO) of the post-Second World War period had seen a substantial transformation after the end of the Cold War through its economic integration with the world economy. At this critical time of liberal internationalism triggered by the relative decline of American hegemony, rise of the non-Western powers and the tendency of

populism in the West, India's role in the emerging order has been a fundamental imperative. The rationale for its comprehensive partnership with the liberal order rests on four main considerations: the looming threat to the liberal order and India's role; consistency of India's political principles with that of the liberal order; the concern for national interest, identity and global role; and finally, the absence of any viable alternative order. In spite of these promising values and necessities, India's deeper integration has been constrained by three major factors. The first reason relates to the very concept of the LIO, which is slightly Western-oriented. The second reason corresponds to India's core identity and its governing view with regards to the world—of non-alignment, sovereign autonomy, non-interference and civilisational identity. Finally, its maximum assimilation within the liberal order continues to be hindered by 'domestic setbacks'.

**India - Liberal international order; Western-oriented.

Control No: 45101

INDONESIA

- FOREIGN RELATIONS

24. Wendy Andhika Prajuli, Richa Vidya Yustikaningrum and Dayu Nirma Amurwanti

How gender socialization is improving women's representation in Indonesia's foreign affairs: breaking the ceiling. Australian Journal of International Affairs, 2021, 75(05): 527-545.

Gender has become a prominent issue in political science research. However, most research has focused on women in legislative roles, while only some discussed women in powerful executive positions, particularly in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Therefore, this paper aims to fill this gap by investigating the correlation between gender socialization and women's representation in foreign policy, which remains relatively understudied. A case study will be explored to discuss the impact of gender socialization in post-authoritarian Indonesia on women's representation in Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The case of Indonesia is interesting as significant improvements in women's representation has been achieved, and the paper argues that gender socialization has been an important driver of this. However, despite such strides, cultural barriers still hamper women from having effective representation within foreign policy.

**Indonesia - Foreign relations; Indonesia - Foreign policy; Indonesia - Women's representation.

Control No: 45075

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

25. Aleksandra Conevska

International cooperation and natural disasters: evidence from trade agreements. International Studies Quarterly, 65(03), 2021: 606–619.

Environmental shocks in the form of natural disasters are well known for their impact on domestic economies. Less known, however, is their impact on the global economy. The scant existing literature suggests that macro-economic impacts manifest in observed empirical decreases in international trade. The literature, however, does not examine whether the impact of natural disasters on trade varies for trading partners with differing levels of market integration. This paper examines if preferential liberalization serves to protect or buffer against the negative economic consequences of natural disasters. I show that deep preferential liberalization can not only protect countries against the negative macro-economic impact of natural disasters but can actually allow countries to increase exports during natural disaster events that otherwise induce trade decline. These findings suggest that by allowing countries to expand the quantity and the range of exports, preferential trade agreements lead to enhanced resilience against exogenous shocks.

**International cooperation; Global political economy.

Control No: 45068

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

26. Biden administration rescinds sanctions against international criminal court officials. American Journal of International Law, 2021, 115(04): 729-732.

On April 1, 2021, the Biden administration issued an executive order reversing the Trump administration's sanctions on International Criminal Court (ICC) personnel. The administration rescinded the sanctions placed upon the ICC prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, and the head of the Office

of the Prosecutor's Jurisdiction, Complementarity, and Cooperation Division, Phakiso Mochochoko, and removed the officials from the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control List of Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons. The ICC, European Union (EU), and human rights groups welcomed the reversal.

**International Criminal Court; European Union.

Control No: 45095

27. Yurika Ishii

Situation in the Islamic republic of Afghanistan. American Journal of International Law, 115(04), 2021: 688-694.

On March 5, 2020, the Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Court (ICC) decided to authorize the prosecutor to commence a proprio motu investigation into the alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity committed during the Afghanistan War since 2003. This decision is the first case where the requirements for the authorization of an investigation under Article 15(4) of the ICC Rome Statute (Statute) were tested on appeal. The case lays down a marker as to how the ICC sees the division of roles between the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of the Prosecutor. The Appeals Chamber proved willing to give the prosecutor broad discretion at the investigation stage. Without limiting principles, this approach may eventually expand the role of the Court beyond what the Statute permits.

**International Criminal Court; Afghanistan - Political and government.

Control No : 45093

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

28. Elise Rousseau and Stephane J Baele

"Filthy Lapdogs," "Jerks," and "Hitler": making sense of insults in international relations. International Studies Review, 2021, 23(3): 532–555.

This paper offers an original theoretical framework for the study of insults in international relations (IR). Bringing into IR the two main theoretical approaches to aggravating language, slurs and dysphemisms, we conceptualize insults' disruptive impact on international interactions in a way that explains their logic, consequences, and risks. Specifically, we argue that insults constitute both at once tactical tools used by international actors to achieve their interests by disrupting an interaction and modifying the payoffs associated with it and linguistic artifacts constructing and sharpening self-and other identities. The components of our theoretical framework are illustrated with a wide range of empirical cases of international insults.

**International relations; International foreign policy.

Control No: 45061

29. Huimin Cheng et al. et. at.

Communities and brokers: how the transnational advocacy network simultaneously provides social power and exacerbates global inequalities. International Studies Quarterly, 65(03), 2021: 724–738.

Transnational advocacy networks (TANs) are the most common example of networks in international relations. Despite their familiarity, we know little about how advocacy networks of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are structured. Drawing on the cross-disciplinary concepts of emergent communities and distinct brokerage roles, we argue that the network may reinforce power disparities and inequalities at the very same time that it provides social power. TANs are similar to emergent communities of practice, with some organizations acting as various types of brokers within and between communities. Preexisting resources are more likely to lead global North organizations to occupy brokerage roles that provide additional agenda-setting and resource-allocating power. We build a dataset of the 3,903 NGOs connected through 1.3 million ties occurring through meetings and conferences for NGOs put on or coordinated by the United Nations. Using community detection methods, we identify four distinct communities in the overall NGO network, with differences in distributions of brokerage roles across communities. Examining the communities, brokerage role distributions, and preexisting power disparities can help us better understand the divergent findings in previous literature and conceptualize TANs.

**International relations; Transnational advocacy networks.

Control No: 45069

30. Melissa Conley Tyler

Why international relations should be more optimistic. Australian Journal of International Affairs, 75(05), 2021: 473-479.

The field of international relations has been described as a discipline rooted in pessimism. This stems from misunderstanding optimism and from downplaying the negative consequences of pessimism. Insights from the psychological literature on optimism challenge these assumptions. In particular, the optimism-pessimism binary needs to be broken down and optimism seen as a healthy middle state between overconfident risk-taking and debilitating pessimism. There are proven techniques that could be used by those working in international relations to promote an optimistic outlook to help avoid falling into despondency. The field will limit the ability of its scholars, practitioners and students to contribute to solving problems if it ties itself to pessimism.

**International Relations; Positive psychology.

Control No: 45071

31. Steve Wood and Lloyd Cox

Status, imitation, and affective dissonance in international relations. International Relations, 35(04), 2021: 634-656.

This article explores the interplay of status, imitation and affective dissonance in international relations. Some states and nations selectively imitate others to correct perceived status deficits. Over time imitation can diminish ideals of group distinctiveness and independence from models and norm-setters, stimulating a condition we term affective dissonance. This complex of processes underlies some tensions in contemporary world politics. We apply the propositions to case studies of Russia and China whose leaders assert themselves as the principal loci and prescribers of national authenticity.

**International relations; World politics.

Control No: 45109

32. Swati Srivastava

How to hold unjust structures responsible in international relations. International Studies Quarterly, 65(03), 2021: 573–581.

Recent public discourse and political theory center on "structural" approaches of assigning responsibility for injustice in contrast to an "interactional" perspective. The interactional approach corrects discrete harms between agents to return to a just baseline, whereas the structural approach casts a wider net implicating agents in harmful structures for systemic transformation. This theory note advances the understanding of structural responsibility in international relations by defending it against common critiques of underspecification and lack of targeted accountability. We argue that structural arguments are better understood as constituting a framework on the nature of injustice rather than a theory or descriptor of particular harms. We present a "framework, theory, action" heuristic, drawing from constructivism's evolution from a theory (like realism and liberalism) when it first appeared to a framework (like rationalism) more recently. Our framework heuristic makes available a fuller range of conceptual tools to hold unjust structures responsible, including through targeted blame and liability, and discards the need to invent new actions to discharge structural responsibility. Rather than settle on one definition of structural responsibility—what it means, where it is located, and how it is discharged—we direct scholars to the numerous ways structural responsibility may be theorized and enacted.

**International Relations; Social responsibility.

Control No: 45066

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

33. Peter Trubowitz and Kohei Watanabe

The geopolitical threat index: a text-based computational approach to identifying foreign threats. International Studies Quarterly, 65(03), 2021: 852–865.

Few concepts figure more prominently in the study of international politics than threat. Yet scholars do not agree on how to identify and measure threats or systematically incorporate leaders'

perceptions of threat into their models. In this research note, we introduce a text-based strategy and method for identifying and measuring elite assessments of international threat from publicly available sources. Using semi-supervised machine learning models, we show how text sourced from newspaper articles can be parsed to discern arguments that distinguish threatening from non-threatening states, and to measure and track variation in the intensity of foreign threats over time. To demonstrate proof of concept, we use news summaries from The New York Times from 1861 to 2017 to create a geopolitical threat index (GTI) for the United States. We show that the index successfully matches periods in US history that historians identify as high and low threat and correctly identifies countries that have posed a threat to US security at different points in its history. We compare and contrast GTI with traditional indicators of international threat that rely on measures of material capability and interstate behavior.

**International security; International politics; Geopolitical threat index.

Control No: 45070

IRAQ

- PEACEBUILDING

34. Dylan O'Driscoll

Everyday peace and conflict: (un)privileged interactions in Kirkuk, Iraq. Third World Quarterly, 42(10), 2021: 2227-2246.

Taking as a starting point the conviction that everyday interactions carry the potential to be either conflictual or peaceful, this article examines people's everyday behaviour in the deeply divided city of Kirkuk, Iraq. Using the historic bazaar in Kirkuk city as a site of analysis, and through a research survey of 511 people, it focuses on interactions between Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen. The article draws on Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital and takes an intersectional approach to analyse the everyday interactions in the bazaar to create a better understanding of the role of space and privilege. The results demonstrate that for the most part, at the everyday level people carry out acts of everyday peace rather than conflict. However, when everyday conflict does occur, those with the highest symbolic capital are the most likely actors. Additionally, although gender does influence people's actions, ethnosectarian identity has greater influence in many areas related to everyday peace and conflict. On a practical level, the article argues that such an understanding can connect better to policymaking and peacebuilding as it can point to where and how peacebuilders should focus their attention in order to promote and enhance peace within people's everyday lives.

**Iraq - Peacebuilding; Kirkuk - Peace.

Control No: 45098

ISRAEL

- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

35. Ofra Bengio

Jews, Israel and the Kurds: unravelling the myth. Israel Affairs, 27(05), 2021: 827-851.

This article examines the triangular relationship between Jews, Israel and Kurds with a view to unravelling the myths that revolved around them. It argues that the millenarian relationship between Kurdistan's Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours notwithstanding, the myriad of 'positive' and 'negative' myths surrounding present-day Jewish-Israeli-Kurdish relations have flourished against the backdrop of a dearth of documented history of both Jewish and non-Jewish communities of pre-modern Kurdistan; the asymmetry of relations between a state actor – Israel, and a non-state ethno-national group – the Kurds; and the fact that both groups represent minorities within the larger Muslim milieu whose neighbours have delegitimized their right to national self-determination. **Israel - Politics and government; Referendum for independence; Kurds.

Control No: 45088

ISRAEL DEFENCE FORCES

36. Nehemia Stern

Subverting the strategic corporal: the IDF's contemporary heroic imagination. Israel Affairs, 2021, 27(05): 905-920.

How does the Israel Defence Forces cultivate the image of a 'hero' within its combat ranks? By analysing a series of online educational videos on combat heritage, this article will demonstrate how

the IDF's current heroic imagination is grounded in a subversion of the 'Strategic Corporal' paradigm. Within this paradigm, junior ranking soldiers are seen as increasing the chaos inherent in asymmetrical conflicts. By contrast, this article will argue that a focus on the learned elements of professionalism and training are seen as creating the conditions wherein every man (or woman) can become a 'hero'.

**Israel defence forces; Israel - Asymmetrical warfare.

Control No: 45090

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

37. Shunsuke Obiya

Between 'coercive league' and 'consultative league': a reappraisal of debates surrounding the 'reform' of the league of nations. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 21(03), 2021: 465–492. This article addresses debates surrounding the reform of the League of Nations from the viewpoint of Britain and China. They focused on the pros and cons of collective security because the failure of the League to stop Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Italian invasion of Abyssinia threatened the collapse of the League. There were two contrasting visions in debates, the 'Coercive League' and the 'Consultative League'. The 'Coercive League' was the course to reinforce collective security to prevent further aggression. Conversely, the 'Consultative League' argument was to weaken collective security and induce Germany, Italy, and Japan to cooperate with the League. Deliberations took place in both the Council, in which great powers exerted a strong presence, and the Assembly, in which small powers made their voices heard. Therefore, this article deals with Britain as an example of a great power and China as one of a small power.

**League of Nations; Reform.

Control No: 45083

LEBANON

38. Derya Ozkul and Rita Jarrous

How do refugees navigate the UNHCR's bureaucracy? The role of rumours in accessing humanitarian aid and resettlement. Third World Quarterly, 42(10), 2021: 2247-2264.

In conflict situations, rapid changes can occur in the conditions in both host and home countries. In the context of such uncertainty, how do refugees navigate the bureaucratic apparatus of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to obtain humanitarian aid and resettlement? We carried out fieldwork in 2019 in Lebanon and found the UNHCR's bureaucracy to be a 'black box' for refugees in relation to the provision of information on humanitarian aid and resettlement. In this context of limited information, we found that rumours – widely considered to be uncertain truths – contributed to shaping participants' understanding of the UNHCR's decisions on the provision of aid and resettlement. In this article, we highlight the interpretive aspect of rumours and argue that refugees engage in interpretive labour as a result of the unequal relationship between themselves and the UNHCR's opaque bureaucracy and provision of information. While refugees have to provide the UNHCR with detailed and highly personal information in interviews and household inspections, officers provide refugees with only generic responses, leading refugees to make their own interpretations of the bureaucratic decision-making processes. We conceptualise this interpretive labour as a collective process that contributes to generating rumours among refugee groups.

**Lebanon ; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees ; Humanitarianism.

Control No: 45099

NEPAL

- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

39. Jonathan Goodhand, Oliver Walton and Jayanta Rai & Sujeet Karn

Marginal gains: borderland dynamics, political settlements, and shifting centre-periphery relations in post-war Nepal. Contemporary South Asia, 2021, 29(03): 311-329.

In post-war transitions, how do centre-periphery relations change, and what is the role of actors at the margins of the state in negotiating these changes? This article explores these questions by examining Nepal's post-war transition following the 2006 Comprehensive Peace Agreement focusing on three borderland districts (Saptari, Bardiya and Dolpa). The article analyses contrasting dynamics

in these districts to highlight changes in centre-periphery relations across several areas including state reform, the economy, and transitional justice. The analysis shows how post-war transitions often generate new forms of contentious politics, and how groups at the margins can push back against emerging political settlements to reshape politics at the centre. The ambiguities and contradictions inherent to these processes are explored, with state restructuring processes susceptible to elite capture, and re-balancing of power between centre and periphery also coinciding with continuing or increased divisions and inequalities within borderland regions.

**Nepal - Politics and government; Nepal - Borderlands; Nepal's post-war transition.

Control No: 45076

NEW MIDDLE EAST

40. Ofira Seliktar

Constructing the Oslo 'peace': an academic-intelligence failure. Israel Affairs, 2021, 27(05): 852-869.

The architects of the Oslo process, at both the academic and intelligence levels, used the faulty 'New Middle East' paradigm to posit that the Palestinians were ripe for peacemaking. They ignored the considerable strength of the Islamists who, controlled by the Iranian regime, were deployed as peace spoilers. More than two decades after the collapse of the 2000 Camp David summit, the role of the Iranians has not been fully understood, leading most observers to assume that the Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad are independent actors.

**New Middle East; Oslo process; Israeli intelligence.

Control No: 45089

NORTH KOREA

41. Dong Sun Lee and Lordanka Alexandrova

North Korean nuclear strategy: envisioning assured retaliation. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 2021, 21(03): 371–400.

What nuclear strategy has North Korea adopted? What factors have driven the development of this nuclear strategy? This article examines the key attributes of Pyongyang's nuclear program to offer possible answers to these questions of scholarly and practical importance. It argues that North Korea has likely adopted an assured retaliation strategy, threatening a nuclear second strike to deter US nuclear attacks. This strategy was chosen due to its superior feasibility and desirability: it requires only a modest cost-effective nuclear arsenal, reduces Pyongyang's security dependence on Beijing, permits politically safe centralized control over the nuclear weapons, and is also relatively economical. This article calls into question the common views that North Korea has employed a catalytic strategy using its nuclear capabilities to induce China's assistance, and that Pyongyang is developing an asymmetric escalation strategy or a brinkmanship strategy, which utilizes nuclear weapons primarily to counter the superior conventional forces of its adversaries.

**North Korea; Nuclear weapons.

Control No: 45080

SOUTH ASIA

- ECONOMIC CORRIDOR

42. Srimal Fernando and Pankaj Jha

Exploring the impacts of economic corridors on South Asian countries. India Quarterly, 77(03), 2021: 404-423.

The growth of economic corridors in developing regions has become instrumental in boosting economic growth and infrastructure. Economic corridors integrate existing road and rail networks to build effective multimodal transportation networks within a particular geographical setting with the aid of quality distribution networks, logistics and infrastructure. This helps in interlinking various markets and production centres of respective countries. This article investigates the influence of economic corridors in promoting sustainable as well as economic development in the South Asian region. The primary data for the article was collected using semi-structured questionnaires for local respondents and interviews that were conducted with key informants across South Asian region. According to the research conducted amongst informed individuals related to

transport corridors and economic hubs in the region, it was found that there is direct correlation between the establishment of economic corridors and sustainable development. The article would examine the implication of economic corridors on their livelihood, in general, and to the select South Asian economies. The findings revealed that the developments of economic corridors are associated with several gains in terms of the creation of employment opportunities, investments and improvement of living standards. This study emphasises the potential of developing economic corridors in the region and contributes to the available literature on the subject matter in South Asia. **South Asia - Economic corridor; Economic development.

Control No: 45103

SRI LANKA

- PEACEBUILDING

43. Ryo Uchida

Where does hybridity originate? Interfacing between local and international actors in Sri Lankan postconflict peacebuilding. Contemporary South Asia, 2021, 29(03): 343-357.

The peace and conflict literature has paid much attention to the hybridity produced by international peacebuilders and local actors. Although the modalities of hybridity have been discussed, few studies related to hybridity have observed the presence of locally led hybrid peacebuilding. To fill this gap in the literature, this paper addresses an emerging form of hybridization that is distinct from the internationally led type by examining the case of Sri Lanka. The paper takes a new direction by investigating the peace practices of local agents, referred to as grama niladharis (GNs), which has caused changes in the behavior of international actors in liberal peacebuilding in Sri Lanka. An anthropological method is applied with in-depth interviews and participatory observation. The paper identifies a critical direction for the discourse by documenting a form of locally led hybridization in which the GN system, with ownership by the local government, incorporates certain liberal peacebuilding concepts. Through this hybridization, local systems appear to reinterpret the liberal peace practices introduced by international peacebuilders in a modified form of peacebuilding and maintain autonomous local operations.

**Sri Lanka - Peacebuilding; Hybridization.

Control No: 45077

TERRORISM

- ISIS FOREIGN FIGHTERS

44. Tyler Evans, Daniel J Milton and Joseph K Young

Choosing to fight, choosing to die: examining how isis foreign fighters select their operational roles. International Studies Review, 23(3), 2021: 509–531.

Understanding why and how individuals participate in militant organizations has been the focus of an increasing amount of scholarship. Traditionally, these studies focus at either the individual or organizational level of explanation. This article advances the discussion on individual participation in militant organizations by combining primary and secondary sources at both levels to explain how the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) attracted individuals into its organization as either suicide bombers or frontline fighters. First, at the individual level, we analyze a primary source dataset of over 4,000 personnel files from foreign fighters who went to Syria to join ISIS between 2013 and 2014. Second, at the organizational level, we examine trends in Islamic State propaganda and messaging to see how the recruitment of individuals into the organization placed them on certain operational paths. Two specific takeaways emerge. First, foreign fighters in 2013–2014 volunteered to become suicide bombers with relatively less frequency than in past iterations of the conflict in Iraq and Syria. Second, fighters from Western countries and fighters from countries undergoing a civil war were especially less likely to volunteer for a suicide role. More broadly, this analytical essay makes a case for the value of looking inside an organization as well as at individuals to get a more complete picture about group-level behavior.

**Terrorism - ISIS foreign fighters; Militant organizations; Iraq and Syria.

UNITED STATES

- FOREIGN POLICY

45. Haro L. Karkour

Illiberal and irrational? Trump and the challenge of liberal modernity in US foreign policy. International Relations, 35(04), 2021: 533-550.

Building on a growing body of literature on the application of Morgenthau's ethics to post-Cold War US foreign policy, this article applies Morgenthau's concept of irrationality to Trump's foreign policy. Based on this application, the article highlights the limit of rationality in Morgenthau's theoretical analysis. Specifically, the article argues, pace neo-realist critiques of 'liberal hegemony', that Trump reveals an empirical puzzle: US foreign policy can be both irrational and illiberal simultaneously in the pursuit of nationalistic universalism. This is the case, the article argues, because nationalistic universalism in Morgenthau's analysis is not rooted in liberalism per se but the dynamics of liberal modernity. The Trump puzzle thus reveals an on-going tension between rationality and liberal modernity in Morgenthau's theoretical analysis: rationality offers an insufficient tool to take upon the challenge of liberal modernity from which Trump's nationalistic universalism stems. This, the article concludes, leaves Morgenthau's concept of interest 'defined in terms of power' open to misappropriation to ends contrary to their original aim: furthering nationalistic universalism, rather than limiting power.

**United States - Foreign policy; Trump's foreign policy; Irrationality.

Control No: 45106

46. Murat Ulgul

Faith abroad: how religion shapes Trump administration's foreign policy. International Relations, 35(04), 2021: 551-573.

Religion has always been an important factor in American foreign policy. From the 'holy wars' against the Indians in the pre-independence period to the 'crusade' against Iraq in 2003, faith and religion have shaped the policies of American administrations in all periods. As Bonnell observed in 1971, 'without a single exception. . . all presidents have publicly avowed their trust in God'. And even if the president was not a religious individual before moving to the White House, Billy Graham noted, they all 'left the presidency with a very deep religious faith'. The same can be applied to Donald Trump whose presidency witnessed important domestic and foreign policy decisions that can be linked to religious motives. This is especially clear when one takes into consideration that around three-fourth of evangelicals and born-again Christians voted for him in the elections and Trump's statement before the House elections that 'nobody's done more for Christians and evangelicals' than him. This study will analyze the religious characteristics of Donald Trump and the members of his foreign policy team, such as Mike Pence and Mike Pompeo, and how their religious identity affected the foreign policy decisions of the Trump administration.

**United States - Foreign policy; Donald Trump; Political decision-making.

Control No: 45107

UNITED STATES

- TRADE RELATIONS - CHINA

47. Gregory Shaffer

Governing the interface of U.S.-China trade relations. American Journal of International Law, 115(04), 2021: 622-670.

The strained U.S.-China trade relationship poses a frontal challenge to the multilateral trading system and has broad repercussions for international law. This Article addresses three dimensions of this relationship: (1) the economic dimension; (2) the geopolitical/national security dimension; and (3) the normative/social policy dimension. The Article advances a middle ground between those seeking to reinforce the World Trade Organization (WTO) system with new rules that limit the state's role in the economy, and those who reject WTO constraints in favor of a power-based system. It proposes pragmatic reforms to govern the interface of the two states' respective systems across these three dimensions to facilitate ongoing exchange while giving each country latitude to protect itself from the externalities of the other's policies. The result would be greater room for bilateral and plurilateral bargaining, but conducted within the umbrella of the multilateral system.

**United States - Trade relations - China; World Trade Organization.

Control No: 45092

WORLD

- PEACEBUILDING

48. Kristin Ljungkvist and Anna Jarstad

Revisiting the local turn in peacebuilding – through the emerging urban approach. Third World Quarterly, 42(10), 2021: 2209-2226.

In this article, we revisit the 'local turn' debate in the peacebuilding literature, and explore its most recent and promising approach to 'the local', focussing on post-war cities and on urban dimensions of peacebuilding. There is still substantive contestation and frustration in the peacebuilding research field with regards to the conceptual fuzziness of 'the local', and with the continual failures of international interventions to actually take into account local perspectives, promote local agency and establish local ownership. In this article, we explore to what extent recent urban approaches to peacebuilding can help alleviate some of the conceptual problems that has persisted in the literature. We reflect on and raise questions about what a focus on cities and urban perspectives is contributing to the study of local peacebuilding more specifically. We suggest three facets of analytical added value: (1) an increased understanding of how the particularities of urban and rural space affects peacebuilding locally and potentially beyond; (2) how cities and urban space are interrelated with traditional territoriality; and (3) the methodological benefits of the city/urban as (local) analytical entry point. We also discuss potential pitfalls and limitations of urban approaches to peacebuilding, and identify prospective pathways for further research.

**World - peacebuilding; Post-war city; Urban peacebuilding.

Control No: 45097

WORLD POLITICS

49. Gerasimos Tsourapas

Global Autocracies: Strategies of Transnational Repression, Legitimation, and Co-Optation in World Politics. International Studies Review, 23(3), 2021: 616–644.

How, when, and why does a state take repressive action against individuals residing outside its territorial jurisdiction? Beyond state-led domestic forms of control over citizens living within their legal borders, autocracies also seek to target those abroad—from African states' sponsoring violence against exiled dissidents to Central Asian republics' extraditions of political émigrés, and from the adoption of spyware software to monitor digital activism across Latin America to enforced disappearances of East Asian expatriates. Despite growing global interconnectedness, the field of international studies currently lacks an adequate comparative framework for analyzing how autocracies adapt to growing cross-border mobility. I argue that the rise of global migration flows has contributed to the emergence of "transnational authoritarianism," as autocracies aim to both maximize material gains from citizens' "exit" and minimize political risks by controlling their "voice" abroad. I demonstrate that governments develop strategies of transnational repression, legitimation, and co-optation that transcend state borders, as well as co-operation with a range of non-state actors. Bringing work on the international politics of migration in conversation with the literature on authoritarianism. I provide illustrative examples drawn from a range of transnational authoritarian practices by the fifty countries categorized as "Not Free" by Freedom House in 2019, covering much of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and South America. I sketch an emerging field of international studies research around the novel means that autocracies employ to exercise power over populations abroad, while shedding light on the evolving nature of global authoritarianism.

**World politics : Global South.

Control No: 45062

50. Lu Ding and Xuefeng Sun

Seeking support beyond alliance? rethinking great power partner politics after the cold war. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 21(03), 2021: 431–464.

Since the end of the Cold War, establishing partnerships has been part and parcel of the grand strategy of great powers. The partners that great powers seek fall under the two categories of security partners and political-economic partners. Statistics show a significant variation in the

proportions of great powers' security partners. The authors argue that such variation is mainly determined by two factors, namely, great powers' strategic threats, and their ways of maintaining national security [self-help or security-dependent (on the United States)]. Specifically, both the security-dependent great powers that are under China's strategic threat and the self-help great powers that are under the US's strategic threat have a higher proportion of security partners than the security-dependent great powers that are not under China's strategic threat and the self-help great powers that are under China's strategic threat. These findings will help to refine the current theories of great power politics.

**World politics; National security; United States; China.