

# **Foreign Affairs Documentation Bulletin**

**April – June 2021**

## **AFGHANISTAN**

### **1. Charles J. Sullivan**

White flags: on the return of the Afghan Taliban and the fate of Afghanistan. *Asian Affairs*, 52(02), 2021: 273-287.

The Afghan Taliban appear to be on the verge of reconstituting the so-called Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan proto-state that was toppled in late 2001 by U.S., coalition and indigenous forces. A series of factors indicate that the Afghan government could implode from within or be swiftly overthrown by the Afghan Taliban unless the United States continuously reinforces Kabul with ample political-military aid. In addition, any future U.S.-led military reengagement would likely amount to a replay of the events of late 2001 or worse, thereby prolonging the war. Lastly, there is little reason to expect that the Afghan Taliban leadership will temper its ideological aspirations, sever ties with designated terrorist groups, or moderate its governing style in return for international recognition or under threat of punitive repercussions. As such, how the United States manages its anticipated withdrawal in the coming months will have major ramifications, and America should prepare for the possibility of an historical recurrence of the collapse of the Afghan government reminiscent of the downfall of the Soviet-sponsored Communist regime in 1992.

\*\*Afghanistan ; Soviet-Afghan War.

**Control No : 44842**

## **AFGHANISTAN**

### **- CIVIL WAR**

### **2. Annekatrin Deglow and Ralph Sundberg**

To blame or to support? large-scale insurgent attacks on civilians and public trust in state institutions. *International Studies Quarterly*, 65(2), 2021: 435-447.

While there is a substantial body of literature on the consequences of terror attacks on public attitudes toward state institutions in Western democracies, little is known about the impact that such events have in the context of armed conflict. We address this gap by exploring the attitudinal effects of a 2012 Taliban attack on civilians in Kabul City, Afghanistan. We test two competing hypotheses: the “rally-effect” hypothesis according to which individuals increase their trust in incumbent institutions in the aftermath of violent attacks and the “accountability” hypothesis according to which individuals punish state institutions for their inability to provide security by withdrawing trust. Leveraging a quasi-experiment that compares individuals interviewed before the attack to individuals interviewed thereafter, we find that the attack—in line with the rally-effect hypothesis—increased trust in several state institutions among residents of Kabul City.

\*\*Afghanistan - Civil war ; International relations and terrorism.

**Control No : 44858**

## AFRICA

### 3. Maxim Bolt

Homeownership, legal administration, and the uncertainties of inheritance in South Africa's townships: apartheid's legal shadows. *African Affairs : The Journal of the Royal African Society*, 120(479), 2021: 219-241.

Expanded homeownership in Johannesburg's townships offered the prospect of post-apartheid formal inclusion. Yet allocation of title to former rental homes has been characterized by a profound lack of normative consensus regarding ownership or inheritance. In bitter disputes over houses, appeals to law jostle and interweave with claims in a customary register. In much regional scholarship, normative pluralism provides a point of departure for understanding disagreement of this kind. This article proposes an alternative perspective by examining how dissensus is mediated and given shape by a legal-administrative process. Law becomes inchoate in layers of bureaucratic encounter, while contested claims to custom are sharpened at the interface with bureaucracy. In South Africa, taking administration as a starting point reveals the long shadows of apartheid in concrete experiences of the law, in extra-legal understandings, and in the very terms of contestation among kin. Illuminating the little-explored topic of urban property inheritance, the perspective has broader implications for understanding inequality. Inclusion through homeownership is a form of 'adverse incorporation' marked by official opacity, diffidence regarding the law, stratifying administrative dualism, and uncertainty about the parameters of ownership and inheritance.

\*\*Africa ; South Africa - Home ownership.

**Control No : 44820**

## AFRICA

### - CIVIL WAR

### 4. Elizabeth J Menninga and Alyssa K Prorok

Battles and bargains: escalation, commitment, and negotiations in civil war. *International Studies Quarterly*, 65(2), 2021: 406-422.

Why do some civil war peace processes stall, while others build momentum? This paper examines how combatant behavior surrounding previous negotiations influences future talks during civil war. We argue disputants learn about the severity of the commitment problem based on whether their opponent escalates or de-escalates violence immediately after negotiations. While de-escalation reveals the opponent is willing and able to negotiate in good faith, escalation reveals the commitment problem to be severe. Post-negotiation escalation is perceived as a sign of bad faith or dissent within the opponent's ranks over the decision to negotiate. We hypothesize, therefore, that escalation after prior negotiations reduces the likelihood of subsequent talks relative to de-escalation. As a consequence, reviving a peace process after post-negotiation escalation may require external pressure to bring the disputants back to the table. We expect third-party involvement to mitigate the negative effect of prior escalation by providing incentives to revive talks or alleviating fears of defection. We test our expectations on monthly data on civil conflicts in Africa, finding post-negotiation escalation decreases the probability of subsequent negotiations,

conditioned by third-party involvement. These findings are robust to a variety of operationalization and model specification choices.

\*\*Africa - Civil war.

**Control No : 44857**

## **AFRICAN UNION**

### 5. Obinna F Ifediora

Formulative strategy: why the African Union-led international mediation in South Sudan failed to prevent atrocity crimes. *International Studies Perspectives*, 22(3), 2021: 301-320. The puzzle of the African Union mediation is that it enjoys regional effectiveness in leading peace processes and yet often fails to prevent atrocity crimes. While existing studies focus on the lack of capacity to explain failures, I draw on atrocity mediation literature that emphasizes coercive strategies for ripening to explore widely significant factors associated with the AU mediation. I adopt the “framework of mediator behavior” in international mediation studies to analyze AU policies on conflict responses and the mediation in South Sudan. My approach is consistent with the content analysis of qualitative data. I find that the significant factor in the AU mediation is the “patient” policy, like “strategic patience.” The policy reflects formulative strategy of conflict mediation that describes the mediator who controls the process but shifts control of substantive decision-making to the parties. Formulative strategy is technically non-coercive, so the AU embraces it to respect sovereignty. The paradox is that formulative strategy is the AU legitimacy source—which anchors effectiveness—and failure. The AU mediation failed because of strategic choice, not the lack of capabilities. This study contributes to a broader understanding of the AU mediation and challenges mediator behavior assumptions.

\*\*African Union ; International mediation.

**Control No : 44837**

## **ARAB WORLD**

### 6. Maria Josua

What drives diffusion? anti-terrorism legislation in the Arab Middle East and North Africa. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 6(3): 049.

Since 9/11 most Arab states in the Middle East and North Africa have introduced anti-terror laws. Are they part of the global-diffusion processes that have spread anti-terrorism legislation worldwide? This paper studies the drivers of anti-terrorism legislation in these Arab states, contributing to the emerging research on authoritarian diffusion. The analysis demonstrates that regional and domestic explanations, rather than diffusion from the international level, are key. This is evident from the chronological order in which anti-terror legislation has appeared, the regionally inspired definitions of terrorism, and the immediate drivers behind such laws. The past few decades have seen two temporal clusters of new anti-terrorism legislation in the Arab world. In the first decade of the new millennium, mainly domestic terror attacks drove the adoption of anti-terror laws. Meanwhile, regional efforts to comply with international counterterrorism efforts after the 9/11 attacks played a subordinate role. In a second wave following the Arab uprisings of 2011, anti-terror legislation was driven increasingly by authoritarian governments’ desire to penalize dissent, as they sought to inhibit the spread of protests on the regional level. A systematic overview

of the terrorism definitions contained in the new laws offers evidence for policy convergence. Instead of adhering to internationally recognized understandings of terrorism, the definitions in Arab legislation follow regional examples. The vague definitions of terrorism featured in the new laws allow for repressive measures being taken against challengers of authoritarian rule.

\*\*Arab World ; Counterterrorism.

**Control No : 44826**

## **CENTRAL AFRICA**

7.

Refugees and patronage: a political history of Uganda's 'progressive' refugee policies. *African Affairs : The Journal of the Royal African Society*, 120(479), 2021: 243-276.

Uganda's self-reliance policy for refugees has been recognized as among the most progressive refugee policies in the world. In contrast to many refugee-hosting countries, it allows refugees the right to work and freedom of movement. It has been widely praised as a model for other countries to emulate. However, there has been little research on the politics that underlie Uganda's approach. Why has Uganda maintained these policies despite hosting more refugees than any country in Africa? Based on archival research and elite interviews, this article provides a political history of Uganda's self-reliance policies from independence to the present. It unveils significant continuity in both the policies and the underlying politics. Refugee policy has been used by Ugandan leaders to strengthen patronage and assert political authority within strategically important refugee-hosting hinterlands. International donors have abetted domestic illiberalism in order to sustain a liberal internationalist success story. The politics of patronage and refugee policy have worked hand-in-hand. Patronage has, in the Ugandan case, been integral to the functioning of the international refugee system. Rather than being an inevitably 'African' phenomenon or the unavoidable legacy of colonialism, patronage politics has been enabled by, and essential to, liberal internationalism.

\*\*Central Africa ; Uganda - Refugees.

**Control No : 44821**

8. Elizabeth Iams Wellman and Beth Elise Whitaker

Diaspora voting in Kenya: a promise denied. *African Affairs : The Journal of the Royal African Society*, 120(479), 2021: 199-217.

Kenya extended voting rights to its estimated 3,000,000 citizens living abroad, thus joining a growing number of countries in Africa and around the world to recognize emigrant voting rights. Yet despite a politically engaged diaspora, intensive government outreach to emigrants, and high-stakes electoral competition, fewer than 3,000 Kenyans were permitted to vote from abroad in the 2013 and 2017 presidential elections. What explains the failure of the Kenyan government to implement diaspora voting on a broader scale? Drawing on original interviews and archival documents, this article analyses the tumultuous battle over the adoption and implementation of external voting in Kenya, focusing especially on legal, logistical, and political challenges. We argue that uncertainty about the number of Kenyan emigrants and their political preferences, paired with a highly competitive electoral climate, meant there was little political will to push for more widespread implementation of diaspora voting. Our analysis of external voting in Kenya has implications for diaspora

participation in other competitive electoral contexts across the continent and beyond.

\*\*Central Africa ; Kenya - Emigration and immigration.

**Control No : 44819**

## **CHINA**

9. Kai He, Huiyun Feng,, Steve Chan and Weixing Hu

Rethinking revisionism in world politics. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(02), 2021: 159-186.

Revisionism is an important concept in international relations discourse, and it is especially prevalent in discussions about relations between China and the United States in the context of a possible power transition. Yet, this concept has until recently not received the systematic research attention that it deserves. We present in this essay different strategies that a revisionist state may pursue. It builds on recent scholarship by other colleagues and is drawn from a larger project of ours to study revisionism historically and develop it conceptually. We argue that military conquest and subversion—or in our terminology, hard revisionism—have become less likely in today's world compared to the past. Instead, different approaches of soft revisionism intended to advance institutional changes should be given more attention. We provide a typology of these soft revisionist strategies and offer examples from recent Chinese and US conduct to illustrate them.

\*\*China ; China - Foreign relation - United States ; United States - Foreign relation - China.

**Control No : 44822**

## **CHINA**

### **- ECONOMIC CONDITIONS**

10. Martin Chorzempa

China, the United States, and central bank digital currencies: how important is it to be first? *China Economic Journal*, 14(01), 2021: 102-115.

Central bank digital currencies (CBDC) have gone from a fringe idea promoted by cryptocurrency bloggers to an idea being seriously explored by 80% of the world's major central banks, including the People's Bank of China and the United States Federal Reserve. This paper gives an overview of the drive at the world's central banks to evaluate CBDCs and examines the reasons behind the world's two leading economies' stark divergence in central bank digital currency development. China committed much earlier to launching a CBDC, doing so in early 2016, and has since taken more concrete steps towards piloting and issuing a CBDC than the Fed, which has yet to commit to ever issuing one.

\*\*China - Economic conditions ; China - Cryptocurrency.

**Control No : 44848**

11. Shiyun Li and Yiping Huang

The genesis, design and implications of China's central bank digital currency. *China Economic Journal*, 14(01), 2021: 67-77.

The People's Bank of China (PBC) was among the first in the world to start exploration of central bank digital currency (CBDC) and will probably be one of the first major central banks releasing its own CBDC. This article intends to explain the construction of the e-CNY and discuss its likely implications. While PBC tried hard to avoid causing disintermediation of commercial banks, it remains to be seen if there will be a shift from commercial banks

savings accounts to the new e-CNY wallets. E-CNY's impacts on existing mobile payment system and the associated collection and analyses of big data in the Fintech sector could be major. In summary, even the modest step of creating e-CNY could significantly transform the financial landscape in China. But this is only the step by PBC in creating its own CBDC.

\*\*China - Economic conditions ; China - Cryptocurrency.

**Control No : 44847**

## **CHINA**

### **- FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS**

12. Dylan M H Loh

The 'Chinese Dream' and the 'Belt and Road Initiative': narratives, practices, and sub-state actors. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 21(2), 2021: 167-199.

The 'Chinese Dream' (CD) and the 'Belt Road Initiative' (BRI) are signature programs of President Xi Jinping. Much of the scholarships on these two projects have concerned itself with either domestic propagandistic effects or external foreign policy impact. These concerns have underpinned the literature's focus on material expressions of such projects, be it through infrastructural construction in the case of the BRI or propaganda tools in the example of the CD. Yet, an important but understudied element of these two projects is the narratives that they tell and the impact of these narratives. In that regard, this article complements existing studies of the CD and the BRI by reading the projects as grand narratives. Drawing on international practice theory, I trace an explicit link between narratives and practices to demonstrate how narratives activate, anchor, produces and contest political practices of some sub-state actors in China. That is to say narratives: (i) serve as signposts for sub-state actors' orientations in clarifying what are relevant/irrelevant and appropriate/inappropriate practices; (ii) provide 'background' stock of information where actors draw on to legitimize their practices when they speak of the BRI and CD; and (iii) create conditions for both the creation of new practices and contestation of existing ones. I then argue that four narrative-practice processes are seen in the Chinese example: contestation, sustenance, activation, and production.

\*\*China - Foreign economic relations ; China - Commercial policy.

**Control No : 44840**

## **CHINA**

### **- GOVERNMENT TRANSPARENCY**

13. Steven J. Balla and Zhoudan Xie

Online consultation and the institutionalization of transparency and participation in Chinese policymaking. *China Quarterly*, 246, 2021: 473-496.

This article examines the institutionalization of online consultation, a prominent instrument of governance reform in contemporary China in which government organizations make public draft laws and regulations and solicit input from interested parties prior to finalizing decisions. The article specifically analyses the extent to which online consultation is a durable governance reform that enhances transparency and participation in policymaking. The analysis focuses on the Ministry of Commerce (MOC) and Guangzhou Municipal Government (GMG), leading organizations in the implementation of online consultation. Through the analysis of original datasets consisting of hundreds of policies proposed by the MOC and GMG and thousands of comments submitted in response to these drafts, the article demonstrates that online consultation has institutionalized government transparency but

has not consistently enhanced public participation. Although online consultation has the potential to transform policymaking, the evidence suggests that strong confidence in this possibility is not warranted.

\*\*China - Government transparency ; China - Public participation.

**Control No : 44859**

## **CHINA**

### **- TERRORISM - PREVENTION**

#### 14. Chi Zhang

Community engagement under the mass line for counterterrorism in China. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44(10), 2021: 799-817.

The mass line principle offers an alternative approach to mobilize citizens to participate in governance. The key tenets of the mass line principle resemble that of the regime of community engagement, aiming at encouraging democratic participation, improving the trust between the rule and the ruled, and improving the ability of the government to gather intelligence. In the context of China's counterterrorism strategy, the mass line involves the encouraging citizens' participation in the People's War on Terror, incentivizing individuals to provide tip-offs, and engaging patriotic believers, opinion leaders, grass-roots propagandists, and cultural workers to persuade and educate the masses to adopt "correct" views. In addition, the government seeks to publicize the voice of Uyghurs from within the community. However, such efforts only served as evidence for intolerance for diversity and an invitation for further suspicion and criticism. This article demonstrates the trust dilemma the state faces—in order to improve democratic participation, the efforts to engage a community and gather intelligence often result in eroding the trust. This article also highlights the importance of differentiating harmony and political conformity. Diversity per se is not the source of conflict, but it is often targeted by the state as it is desperately seeking to demonstrate efficacy in the face of terrorism.

\*\*China - Terrorism - Prevention.

**Control No : 44823**

## **EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC**

#### 15. Joanne Wallis and Anna Powles

Burden-sharing: the US, Australia and New Zealand alliances in the Pacific islands. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(4), 2021: 1045-1065.

One of President Joseph Biden's foreign policy priorities is to 'renew' and 'strengthen' the United States' alliances, as they were perceived to have been 'undermined' during the Trump administration, which regularly expressed concern that allies were free-riding on the United States' military capability. Yet the broad range of threats states face in the contemporary context suggests that security assistance from allies no longer only—or even primarily—comes in the form of military capability. We consider whether there is a need to rethink understandings of how alliance relationships are managed, particularly how the goals—or strategic burdens—of alliances are understood, how allies contribute to those burdens, and how influence is exercised within alliances. We do this by analysing how the United States–Australia and Australia–New Zealand alliances operate in the Pacific islands. Our focus on the Pacific islands reflects the United States' perception that the region plays a 'critical' role in helping to 'preserve a free and open Indo-Pacific region'. We conclude that

these understandings need to be rethought, particularly in the Pacific islands, where meeting non-traditional security challenges such as economic, social and environmental issues, is important to advancing the United States, Australia and New Zealand's shared strategic goal of remaining the region's primary security partners and ensuring that no power hostile to their interests establishes a strategic foothold.

\*\*East Asia and Pacific ; International relations.

**Control No : 44832**

#### 16. Youngjune Chung

Allusion, reasoning and luring in Chinese psychological warfare. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(4), 2021: 1007-1023.

China's global proliferation of psychological warfare, operating in small signatures and low visibility, reflects a cultural continuity of ancient strategic thought and martial philosophy. Contemporary analysis explains how China's attempts to coerce and persuade its target entities work through systematic deception and perception management to achieve its authoritarian objectives. However, there are gaps in the understanding of these operations as distinct from conventional statecraft, and in the configuration and mechanism of actions constituting bottom-up change toward subduing the enemy without fighting. To guide the analysis of China's psychological warfare in an organized manner, an explanatory framework of three cultural drivers—allusion (anshi), reasoning (douzhi) and luring (yinyou)—and six tactics—induction (youdao), coercion (xiepo), sentiment (qinggan), hoax (xirao), persuasion (ganhua) and disguise (qiaozhuang)—were devised. It is argued that the deeply rooted ideational and materially embodied dynamics continue to exploit western social vulnerabilities and the open nature of democratic institutions by introducing policy confusion, assimilation and division. However, failing to recognise these as normative social practices will result in misguided counter-measures aimed at transforming the communist system into a capitalist democracy, triggering domestic social unrest, or discrediting the CCP leadership in the eyes of the world and the Chinese people.

\*\*East Asia and Pacific.

**Control No : 44831**

## EURASIA

#### 17. Alexander Libman and Andrei Yakovlev

A centralist approach to regional development: the case of the Russian Ministry for the Development of the Far East. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 73(06), 2021: 1125-1148.

Since 2012, with a view to strengthen the development of strategically important regions, Russia has established several federal agencies responsible for these territories. The essay investigates one of these agencies: the Ministry for the Development of the Far East (Ministerstvo Rossiiskoi Federatsii po razvitiyu Dal'nego Vostoka). We identify two main trade-offs associated with the governance approach used in Russia—between federal power and local knowledge, and between bureaucratic expertise and novel ideas—and examine how the ministry has dealt with these trade-offs and their consequences for the ministry's performance.

\*\*Eurasia ; Soviet Union - History.

**Control No : 44850**



18. Marina Khmelnitskaya and Emmirosa Ihalainen

Urban governance in Russia: the case of Moscow territorial development and housing renovation. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 73(06), 2021: 1149-1175.

This essay considers how the tensions inherent to authoritarian politics structure urban governance in the city of Moscow. The focus here is on urban development policy and the housing renovation programme introduced in 2017. The essay demonstrates a flexible governance arrangement that responds to the interests and ideas of the country's leadership and involves city-level bureaucratic decision-making, the accommodation of economic interests and expert opinion, and consultations with the public. Such consultations have recently become more significant because of intensive protests paired with the city administration's belief in participatory urban governance.

\*\*Eurasia ; Former Soviet republics.

**Control No : 44851**

19. Vladimir Gel'man and Margarita Zavadskaya

Exploring varieties of governance in Russia: in search of theoretical frameworks. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 73(06), 2021: 971-988.

In particular, why is contemporary Russia governed so much worse than one would expect, judging by its degree of socio-economic development? In comparative perspective, Russia is an example of a high-capacity authoritarian state, which exhibits the major features of bad governance, such as lack and/or perversion of the rule of law, rent-seeking, corruption, poor quality of state regulation, widespread public funds abuse, and overall ineffectiveness of government (Gel'man 2017, p. 498). These features have been demonstrated in numerous recent assessments of Russia vis-à-vis other countries, conducted by various agencies. For example, Russia ranked as 137th out of 180 countries in the 2019 Corruption Perception Index.<sup>1</sup> In 2020, the composite evaluation of the rule of law index by the World Justice Project ranked Russia as 94th out of 128 countries.<sup>2</sup> In the period 1996–2015, the average indicator of corruption control in Russia, according to the World Bank, was –0.86 on a scale from –2.5 (lowest possible grade) to +2.5 (highest possible grade).<sup>3</sup> This is why the overall picture of patterns of governance in Russia remains rather gloomy even vis-à-vis some of its post-Soviet neighbours (Zaostrovtssev 2017) and the BRICS countries (Taylor 2018, pp. 159–60). However, one should go beyond these statistics and address two more basic questions: what are the sources and mechanisms of governance in Russia? Is bad governance doomed to persist endlessly, or can the quality of governance be improved over time by certain policies?

\*\*Eurasia ; Former Soviet republics.

**Control No : 44849**

## **FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS**

20. Caterina Carta and Elisa Narminio

The human factor: accounting for texts and contexts in the analysis of foreign policy and international relations. *International Studies Perspectives*, 22(3), 2021: 340-360.

Acknowledging the role of discourses as the entry door to social reality, the article highlights the value that discourse analysis (DA) can add to the cognate fields of foreign policy analysis

(FPA) and international relations (IR). It argues that DA offers researchers an analytical platform to focus in parallel on the interaction between levels of analysis traditionally considered as separate (domestic/international, agent/structure, text/context). The first section of the article discusses the framing, generative, performative, and coordinative functions of discourse and highlights how DA helps disciplinary cross-fertilization. The second section reviews the way in which various perspectives on DA have approached the cognate fields of FPA and IR and makes the case for moving across theoretical and disciplinary boundaries. The third section critically reviews the methods of analysis that allow scrutinizing the connections between texts and context and the performative power of a word.

\*\*Foreign policy analysis ; International relations.

**Control No : 44838**

## **INDIAN OCEAN**

### 21. Amit Ranjan

The Maldives' geopolitical dilemma: India-China rivalry, and entry of the USA. *Asian Affairs*, 52(02), 2021: 375-395.

This article discusses the complicated and developing rivalry between India, China, and the US in the Maldives. It gives a detailed account of the relationships between each of these powers and the Maldives as a small state over recent years, particularly in the economic and military spheres, and in particular looks at the domestic impact of the country's relationship with these large external powers as it attempts to steer the most advantageous course between them.

\*\*Indian Ocean ; Military relations.

**Control No : 44845**

## **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### 22. Aila Spathopoulou, Kirsi Pauliina Kallio and Jouni Hakli

Outsourcing hotspot governance within the EU: cultural mediators as humanitarian-border workers in Greece. *International Political Sociology*, 15(3), 2021: 359-377.

Responding to the self-declared Mediterranean migration crisis in 2015, the European Commission launched a Hotspot Approach to speed up the handling of incoming migrants in the frontline states of Greece and Italy. A key element in this operation is the identification of those eligible for asylum, which requires effective communication across cultural and linguistic difference between the asylum system and the migrants, facilitated by officially designated "cultural mediators." We assess the hotspot governance as a form of outsourcing border control within the EU territory. Beyond sorting out and separating migrants into the categories of deservingness and undeservingness, we propose that the hotspot mechanism represents "governing by communication," with cultural mediators as key players in this humanitarian-bordering strategy. A focus on how cultural mediators provide the precarious human labor for this governance, offers, we argue, a productive inroad into the ways in which the hotspot economies of deterrence, containment, and care sustain inequalities embedded in race, socioeconomic status, and citizenship.

\*\*International relations ; Southeast Europe - Political sociology.

**Control No : 44853**

23. Helge Schwiertz

Political subjectivation and the In/Visible politics of migrant youth organizing in Germany and the United States. *International Political Sociology*, 15(3), 2021: 397-414.

In countries of the Global North, migrant youth with a precarious legal status are not commonly seen as political subjects, but as subjects of politics. Against this background, this paper reflects on how migrant youth nevertheless manage to organize themselves and intervene in the dominant society, thereby emerging as unforeseen political subjects. Discussing acts of citizenship and autonomy of migration approaches, I argue for the use of a multifaceted concept of collective political subjectivation. Doing so sheds light on how migrant struggles exceed categorization as protest, moments of rupture, or imperceptible subversion. While drawing on Jacques Rancière's concept of political subjectivation, I go beyond his rather narrow focus by highlighting aspects of democracy, transgression, and in/visibility, as well as creative modes of identity-making, which could be further developed in the literature on political subjectivities and migrant struggles. This theoretical reflection builds on two qualitative case studies on migrant youth organizing in Germany and the United States that show the relevance of visible as well as relatively invisible politics. In both cases, I analyze two events that provide insight into this complex notion of political subjectivation: Coming Out of the Shadows in the United States and the counter-conferences in Germany.

\*\*International relations ; Germany - Sociology.

**Control No : 44855**

24. Ilan Zvi Baron and Galia Press-Barnathan

Foodways and foodwashing: Israeli cookbooks and the politics of culinary zionism. *International Political Sociology*, 15(3), 2021: 338-358.

The paper explores the political narratives produced in English-language Israeli cookbooks. We examine an understudied, yet central component of everyday international relations, everyday nationalism, and identity contestations as practiced through gastronomy, and highlight the dilemma between the different political uses of popular culture in the context of conflict resolution and resistance. Our argument identifies different narratives represented in what we term Culinary Zionism. One narrative is explicitly political, discusses Israeli cuisine as a foodway, and contributes to creating a space of, and a path for, coexistence and recognition of the Other. A second narrative is found in tourist-orientated cookbooks that offer a supposedly apolitical story of culinary tours in Israel. We problematize the political and normative implications of these narratives by exploring the potential role of these books to open space for dialogue and to increase the familiarity and interest of foreign audiences of Israel and the conflict. We contrast this possibility with their potential to what we term foodwashing, namely the process of using food to symbolically wash over violence and injustices (the violence of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict in this case).

\*\*International relations ; Israel - Political sociology.

**Control No : 44852**

25. Kendrick Kuo

Military Innovation and technological determinism: British and US ways of carrier warfare, 1919–1945. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 6(3): 046.

Major theories of military innovation suggest that military organizations will converge on the proper employment of new weapons if they are responsive to strategic threats and overcome cultural, bureaucratic, and material constraints. Using a comparison of British and US interwar carrier programs, I show how these standard intuitions about military innovation wrongly assume that there is a predetermined performance trajectory embedded in new technology. The Royal Navy employed carrier technology differently from its American counterpart, not because of cultural biases, bureaucratic parochialism, or resource scarcity, but because the British possessed in-theater military bases and faced the threat of land-based enemy aircraft in the North Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Far East. British carrier warfare, which the field of military innovation studies roundly criticizes as non-innovative and ineffective, was in fact a creative solution for Britain's geostrategic challenges that proved effective for the first couple of years of World War II. Since carrier warfare is a canonical case for military innovation studies, revising our understanding of Britain's interwar carrier program has significant implications for the way scholars conceptualize military innovation and its relationship to wartime military performance.

\*\*International relations ; Military effectiveness.

**Control No : 44829**

26. Terrell Carver, Dolores Amat and Paulo Ravecca

The people's paving stones: the material politics of International Human Rights in the *Baldosas por la memoria* of Buenos Aires. *International Political Sociology*, 15(3), 2021: 378-396.

*Baldosas por la memoria* are memorial paving stones handcrafted by loosely networked activists. Produced continuously from 2006 to an informally established protocol, they memorialize the disappeared and others murdered by the state terrorism of the Argentinian dictatorship (1976–1983). As a synecdoche of the down and dirty everyday pavements, they function as a metonym for democratic struggle and popular sovereignty. Aesthetically, they work against the “forgetting” and kitschification to which conventional memorials become subject. Through remediation into books and a DVD documentary, they participate in controversies within the international politics of human rights. Using a material turn within visual analysis, yet distinct from the “new materialism,” this article explains how they function within familiar genres of memorialization but in wholly novel ways. *Baldosas* create ethical complexity and moral ambiguity by troubling collective memory. Thus, we examine their relation to guilt, complicity, trauma, and affect.

\*\*International relations ; Argentina - Political aspects.

**Control No : 44854**

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

### 27. Ariel González Levaggi, and Federico Donelli

Turkey's changing engagement with the global South. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(4), 2021: 1105-1124.

Over the past fifteen years, Turkey has tried to achieve the status of global actor. Enhancing ties with the global South has been one policy to achieve this objective. The article aims to analyse the changing trajectory of Ankara's approach towards a non-traditional orientation of its foreign policy, the southern dimension, by focusing on the determinants of the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) foreign policy in the last decade. The key argument is that the southern orientation of Turkish foreign policy has lost its constructive and developmental direction due to the complex interactions between the regional crisis in Turkey's neighborhood and domestic democratic backsliding, coupled with Erdogan's executive centralization, especially after the failed coup of 2016. As a major finding, the agenda securitization and the increased personalization of Turkey's domestic and international agenda have polluted an attractive foreign policy, even in non-priority regional areas.

\*\*Middle East and North Africa ; International relations.

**Control No : 44834**

### 28. Mustafa Kutlay and Ziya Onis

Turkish foreign policy in a post-western order: strategic autonomy or new forms of dependence? *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(4), 2021: 1085-1104.

Turkish foreign policy has dramatically transformed over the last two decades. In the first decade of the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) rule, the 'logic of interdependence' constituted the driving motive of Turkish foreign policy. In the second decade, however, the 'logic of interdependence' and the soft power-driven 'mediator-integrator' role were gradually replaced with a quest for 'strategic autonomy', accompanied by interventionism, unilateralism and coercive diplomacy. This article explores the causes of this dramatic shift. We argue that 'strategic autonomy', which goes beyond a moderate level of status-seeking compatible with Turkey's material power credentials, has a double connotation in the Turkish context. First, it constitutes a framework for the Turkish ruling elite to align with the non-western great powers and balance the US-led hierarchical order. Second, and more importantly, it serves as a legitimating foreign policy discourse for the government to mobilize its electoral base at home, fragment opposition and accrue popular support. We conclude that the search for autonomy from its western allies and the move towards the Russia-China axis has led to Turkey's isolation and permitted the emergence of new forms of dependence.

\*\*Middle East and North Africa ; International relations.

**Control No : 44833**

## **NORTH EAST INDIA**

### 29. Bhaskar Jyoti Deka

Hydro-politics between India and China: the 'Brahma-hypothesis' and securing the Brahmaputra. *Asian Affairs*, 52(02), 2021: 327-343.

The incipient tensions over the Brahmaputra between India and China has become a considerable threat and cause for concern to the downstream dwellers of India's North East Region (NER), especially Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. It enlarges the term 'Brahma-hypothesis' and considers Chinese 'hydro-hegemony' over the Brahmaputra as a 'national security' threat to India. It also argues that apart from having the occasional Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with China, India should seek to develop with China and other countries a multilateral diplomatic agreement regarding the management of the Brahmaputra River to secure India's vital interests at national and regional levels. This is also necessary to minimise the sense of insecurity continuously growing in the minds of the people of the NER.

\*\*North East India ; North East Region - Rivers.

**Control No : 44844**

## **POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

### 30. Ore Koren and Bumba Mukherjee

Civil dissent and repression: an agency-centric perspective. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 6(3): 051.

Do governments make a strategic choice in deciding what type of security agent to use for repression? Research acknowledges the role of auxiliary groups such as militias in repression, yet surprisingly little attention is given to the state's formal domestic security agents, such as the police. We show that formal security organizations and auxiliary groups enhance the government's ability to repress by acting as strategic complements. As the better-regulated force, formal agents are often employed against violent riots, when regimes worry more about the ability to control the agents and their behavior more than about being visibly linked to the violence. In contrast, auxiliaries are often used to repress nonviolent campaigns, when the government seeks to benefit from agency loss in order not to be associated with the violence, which can be costly in these contexts. We empirically verify these linkages on country-month data for Africa using panel vector-autoregression (pVAR), which accounts for endogeneity, not only between the dependent and independent variables, but also the dependent variables. We complement these statistical results with case-based evidence and descriptive original data from non-African countries.

\*\*Political violence ; Civil unrest.

**Control No : 44828**

## **RACE RELATIONS**

### 31. Pervaiz Khan

South Africa: from apartheid to xenophobia. *Race and Class*, 63(1), 2021: 3-22.

How to explain the violent xenophobic attacks in South Africa in recent years? Two militant South African activists, Leonard Gentle and Noor Nieftagodien, interviewed here, analyse the race/class bases for the anti-foreigner violence in terms of the echoes/reverberations of apartheid and the rise of neoliberalism. They argue that remnants of apartheid have endured through the reproduction of racial and tribal categories, which has contributed to the entrenchment of exclusionary nationalist politics and the fragmentation of black unity. South Africa's specific history of capitalist development, the African National Congress's embraces of neoliberalism, on the one hand, and rainbowism, on the other, have produced the underlying conditions of precarity and desperation that resulted in the normalisation of xenophobia. The unions, too, have failed to recognise the new shape of the 'working class'. Gentle and Nieftagodien outline the need to contend with the broader social conditions, the global economic crisis, neoliberalism and the deep inequalities it engenders in order to counteract the rising tide of xenophobia and build working-class unity.

\*\*Race relations ; South African xenophobia.

**Control No : 44818**

## **RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

### 32. Silvie Janicatova

The ambiguity of hybrid warfare: a qualitative content analysis of the United Kingdom's political-military discourse on Russia's hostile activities. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 42(03), 2021: 312-344.

Hybrid warfare has become a widely used yet ambiguous term to describe Russia's hostile activities. In academic publications and policy documents, there have been a plethora of different definitions and concepts to make sense of hybrid warfare. This article takes a bottom-up approach and analyzes the discourse of political and military representatives in the United Kingdom to explore how they understand hybrid warfare by Russia and what the implications are for defense policy. Using qualitative content analysis with quantitative aspects, the results show not only a range of different terms used to describe Russia's hostile activities, but also that the discussed topics do not reflect one particular definition of hybrid warfare. The analysis further reveals that representatives highlight non-military aspects of hybrid warfare over the military ones and consider the role of defense policy dependent on the nature of a particular hybrid threat.

\*\*Russian Federation ; Hybrid warfare.

**Control No : 44835**

## SAHEL

### 33. Troels Burchall Henningsen

The crafting of alliance cohesion among insurgents: The case of al-Qaeda affiliated groups in the Sahel region. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 42(03), 2021: 371-390.

In spite of several international interventions to contain and degrade militant groups in the Sahel region, al-Qaeda affiliated groups have managed to retain their alliance and even spread and intensify their use of violence. This article explains the cohesion of the insurgency alliance as the outcome of a number of sound strategic decisions. By applying a framework of irregular strategy, the article examines the processes of early adaption to pre-existing social networks and the subsequent shaping through political, violent, and communicative lines of effort. Although the primary purpose of the strategy was not alliance cohesion, the result is that al-Qaeda related networks cooperate across ethnic and social cleavages, despite the many setbacks and dilemmas that local politics generate. The article adds an agency-oriented perspective to the growing literature on insurgency fragmentation and cohesion, which are major factors in the outcome of civil wars.

\*\*Sahel ; Social networks.

**Control No : 44836**

## TERRORISM

### 34. Michael A Rubin and Richard K Morgan

Terrorism and the varieties of civil liberties. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 6(3): 032. How do government protections, and violations, of its citizens' civil liberties influence the country's exposure to terrorism? Existing research remains divided. We contribute clarity to these debates by examining the distinct effects of specific types of civil liberties: physical integrity (e.g., freedom from extra-judicial torture and killing), political liberties (e.g., freedom of expression and assembly), and private liberties (e.g., freedom of thought and religion and property rights). We distinguish these civil liberties dimensions from the role of institutions for political selection (e.g., elections) and horizontal accountability (e.g., checks and balances, executive constraints). We argue physical integrity rights decrease terrorism, by reducing grievances against and increasing trust in the state, while political liberties increase terrorism, by both incentivizing violence among those with extremist goals and protecting their ability to organize. Empirically, we measure a country's exposure to terrorism using the Global Terrorism Database. We isolate the effects of government actions on these civil liberties dimensions from each other, and from the effects of the state's political institutions, by leveraging the Varieties of Democracy data. Our sample covers 177 states from 1970 to 2018. We find evidence consistent with our hypotheses regarding the effects of the distinct component dimensions of civil liberties.

\*\*Terrorism ; Political violence.

**Control No : 44827**



## **TURKEY**

### **- REFUGEES**

#### 35. Sefa Secen

Explaining the politics of security: Syrian refugees in Turkey and Lebanon. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 6(3): 039.

Under what conditions do governments view and respond to the arrival of refugees primarily as a security threat? Comparatively analyzing the securitization of Syrian refugees in two host countries, Turkey and Lebanon, this paper proposes a domestic political context-based theory and typology of securitization. Based on a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the media data including mainstream national Turkish and Lebanese newspaper articles, this research first differentiates between different levels of securitization and finds that moderate securitization in Lebanon during the early years of the refugee crisis (2013–2014) coincided with an open border policy, inaction, legal ambiguity, and benign neglect. From 2015, a marked increase of securitization in Lebanon coincided with controlled borders, restrictive policies, and heightened tension. Securitization of Syrian refugees has followed a somewhat different trajectory in Turkey, where the state switched from non-recognition (2013–2014) to recognition (2014–2016) and then from recognition to integration (2016–present), while a decrease in securitization mapped onto this policy trajectory despite the opposition's and the public's increasing discontentment with the presence of refugees. Then, this paper argues that the low level of securitization in Turkey is an outcome of the incumbent party's Islamist political ideology that motivates transnational religious solidarity, whereas the high level of securitization in Lebanon is a consequence of elite divisions and the country's unique historical experiences with Palestinian refugees that engender competing security perspectives and agendas on Syrian refugees. Overall, this study demonstrates how contextual or domestic factors are key to explaining government attitudes toward refugee groups and contributes to our understanding of the sources and processes of securitization.

\*\*Turkey - Refugees ; Lebanon - Refugees.

**Control No : 44825**

## **UNITED ARAB EMIRATES**

#### 36. Matthew Hedges

Small state security engagement in Post-Arab spring MENA: the case of the United Arab Emirates. *Asian Affairs*, 52(02), 2021: 412-425.

This article analyses the UAE's security-led foreign policy engagement within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). I have interpreted the UAE's foreign policy strategy as one that employs Joel Migdal's State in Society model, whereby informal networks and communities are primarily utilised for the implementation of foreign policy engagement. In this paper I discuss the justification for this hypothesis, and then illustrate my argument through case studies of the UAE's engagement with Libya, Yemen, and Somalia.

\*\*United Arab Emirates ; Foreign policy.

**Control No : 44846**

## **UNITED STATE**

### **- COUNTERINSURGENCY**

37. Barbara Elias

Local minorities in counterinsurgency: U.S. approaches to Baghdad and Saigon regarding marginalized populations. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44(10), 2021: 818-834.

In counterinsurgencies, minority groups such as the Sunnis in Iraq are important elements of the “population,” the social–political terrain where population-centric counterinsurgency is battled. Yet there has been little systematic analysis of minority groups in unconventional warfare and no investigation of the ways intervening forces, like the United States, have approached in-country allies in an effort to get host nations to address the strategic importance of minorities. Examining new data on alliance politics between the United States and local partners in Vietnam and Iraq, I find that while existing scholarship would suggest that in-country allies will resist U.S. pressure to engage with minority groups, local allies are surprisingly likely to comply, at least in part, in order to avoid U.S. unilateral engagement with local minorities and to influence the policies adopted. This process slowly undermines U.S. counterinsurgency efforts, speaking to the complexities of population-centric approaches and working through local proxies.

\*\*United State - Counterinsurgency.

**Control No : 44824**

## **UNITED STATE**

### **- FOREIGN POLICY**

38. Andrey Tomashevskiy

Economic statecraft by other means: the use and abuse of anti-bribery prosecution. *International Studies Quarterly*, 65(2), 2021: 387-400.

The Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) is frequently used by the US law enforcement authorities to prosecute both US and foreign firms for bribery in foreign host countries. Evidence increasingly shows that anti-bribery enforcement is associated with a reduction in foreign investment inflows to host countries associated with enforcement actions. The determinants of enforcement actions remain understudied, however. I argue that enforcement actions are often political in nature, operating as de-facto sanctions against targeted countries. FCPA prosecutions can thus be viewed as a tool of economic statecraft, designed to reduce foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows to targeted states and enforce US foreign policy objectives. Using data on FCPA enforcement actions along with data on UN voting patterns, alliances, and US foreign aid, I find that FCPA enforcement actions are more likely to target firms that bribe in host countries with foreign policy preferences that diverge from the United States. This paper is among the first to empirically study the determinants of anti-bribery enforcement and to explicitly consider the political nature of FCPA prosecutions. These findings have broad implication for political economy research on foreign investment, economic statecraft, and corruption.

\*\*United State - Foreign policy ; International economic relations.

**Control No : 44856**

39. David M McCourt

Hegemonic field effects in world politics: the United States and the Schuman Plan of 1950. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 6(3): 035.

This paper casts American influence over the Schuman Plan of May 1950 as a hegemonic field effect, pushing forward recent attempts to develop more dynamic models of hegemonic ordering in world politics. Far from an automatic enactment of US preferences for European unification by French policy-makers, as prevailing macro-level theories imply, the Schuman Plan—French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman's proposal to pool French and German coal and steel—was the product of a “structural homology” that developed between the French and American political fields after 1945. American officials in Paris, empowered by their control of Marshall Aid, fostered an alignment of the French and American political fields, empowering centrist coalitions and technocratic planners in France, who favored pro-capitalist, pro-European integration policies, of which the Schuman Plan was a signature artifact. The paper explores the implications of this historical case for the further development of relational meso-level theories of hegemony.

\*\*United State - Foreign policy ; International relations.

**Control No : 44830**

**UNITED STATES**

**- EPIDEMICS**

40. Mario Del Pero

Comparisons, integration, COVID-19, and the study of the United States in the world. *Diplomatic History*, 45(3), 2021: 480–488.

The announcement of the lockdown conveniently followed a weekend when legions of skiers—buoyed by heavy snowfalls and the warm March weather—had inundated ski resorts, giving a further, unneeded spur to the spread of the virus. In Menton, just four kilometers from the Italian border, people seemed unconcerned. The annual three-week Fête du Citron, the festival of lemon, an event that draws more than 200,000 people to the little town every year, was under way (only the last week was eventually cancelled); lessons in a packed, windowless, and overheated amphitheater continued unabated; and the owner of the hotel where I was staying made a point of vigorously shaking my hand when I arrived. In the many WhatsApp groups and Facebook pages of the Italian academic diaspora—itsself the byproduct of globalization and deep cuts to public education in Italy, as many colleagues know—we all wondered: how could this be possible? How could the rest of Europe, and France overall, sleepwalk while the pandemic was spreading unchecked in Italy, putting hospitals' intensive care units under strain—such as those of Lombardy, Veneto, and Emilia-Romagna, the three most affected regions boasting some of the best hospitals in the world—and killing thousands of people in some of the wealthiest areas and cities of the continent?

\*\*United States - Epidemics ; United States - Foreign relations.

**Control No : 44815**

41. Mary L Dudziak

The numbers: encountering casualties in the era of Covid-19. *Diplomatic History*, 45(3), 2021: 489–497.

The particularity of Cosmas Magaya's life broke through the Covid-19 casualty data that summer, and it shed light on a conceptual problem I was puzzling over before the crisis hit: how, paradoxically, the scale of casualties can obscure the human consequences of catastrophe and war. The more there are, the less we manage to see. We are confronted with casualty numbers on a daily basis: infection rates, hospitalization rates, death rates, often displayed in seven-day-averages. There are statistics on comparative vulnerabilities based on location, race and ethnicity, gender, and especially age.<sup>4</sup> The numbers tell us whether to be terrified or hopeful. They are a technology of public policy; they are a political foil. The numbers are the data my husband and I use in conversations with family members. The warning: be safe, or you could be one of those numbers.

\*\*United States - Epidemics ; United States - Foreign relations.

**Control No : 44816**

**UNITED STATES**

**- FOREIGN RELATIONS**

42. Anne L Foster and Petra Goedde

Introduction: U.S. foreign relations historians writing their way out of COVID-19. *Diplomatic History*, 45(3), 2021: 445–450.

Highly infectious or difficult to treat viruses, such as Ebola or H1N1, did erupt in some countries, such as China and Liberia. Experienced local governments, sometimes with the assistance of other nations or transnational organizations like the Red Cross or World Health Organization, deployed resources (modern medicine, hygiene and protective gear, contact tracing and tracking) quickly, containing each outbreak. Global, uncontrolled pandemics occurred only in the distant past. They are not supposed to happen in the twenty-first century, and they are not supposed to happen to us. Our faith in these measures made 2020 all the more disorienting. The virus spread with devastating and unpredictable, if uneven, speed. And, we were confronted with the reality that our public lives were put on hold, our travels curtailed, our access to archives, university libraries, colleagues, and students transferred to the digital realm. Some of us had close, frightening contacts with the virus or faced heart-wrenching decisions about which options were safe and which were sustainable. As editors of a journal concerned with international relations, we could not help thinking, even in the midst of our own adjustments, about what the rapid spread of the virus across the globe meant. Compared even to the 1918 flu pandemic, the virus, information about it, and the response spread amazingly quickly. Our interconnectedness was laid bare in the most dramatic way. The disease was a global crisis. And even in those early weeks of pulling in, it was equally clear that the solution to the crisis had to be a global effort, regardless of how much nationalist rhetoric circulated in the public sphere or how many borders were closed. Corona nationalism, as one of our contributors termed it, neither reflects the reality of the pandemic nor does it aid the science needed to end it.

\*\*United States - Foreign relations.

**Control No : 44811**

43. Julia F Irwin

Our climatic moment: hazarding a history of the United States and the World. *Diplomatic History*, 45(3), 2021: 421–444.

Academic lectures and scholarly articles do not ordinarily open with an autobiographical reflection. But then, there's not much that feels normal or ordinary lately. Though it's not all that customary, I hope you'll forgive my decision to begin with a brief preface, a personal account of how this Bernath Lecture came to be. Or, to paraphrase Daniel Defoe, an explanatory prologue for this "journal [article] of the plague year. In early December 2019, I received some very happy news: I had been selected to deliver the Bernath Lecture in January 2021. Eleven days later, I left my home in Florida for a two-week trip to Taiwan and Japan, traveling there to celebrate my sister-in-law's wedding, to meet my new extended family, and to enjoy a post-semester holiday. On a series of flights from Tampa to Taipei to Tokyo, I read every previous Bernath Lecture, seeking inspiration and helpful models from the thirty-odd SHAFRites who had held this honor before me. By the time I returned to the United States in late December, I had settled on the topic for my own lecture. I would speak on catastrophes, climate change, and their relevance to us as international historians.

\*\*United States - Foreign relations ; United States - Climate change.

**Control No : 44810**

44. Kyle Burke

American power and pain: endless war, reverse development, and U.S. decline. *Diplomatic History*, 45(3), 2021: 468–479.

Paul Kennedy offered this forecast: "The tests before the United States as it heads toward the twenty-first century are certainly daunting, perhaps especially in the economic sphere; but the nation's resources remain considerable, if they can be properly organized, and if there is a judicious recognition of both the limitations and the opportunities of American power." The pandemic has exacerbated and accelerated the forces that have undercut the foundations of American power over the last half century. The United States has amassed more wealth than any nation in history, and yet cannot muster the will or marshal the resources required to confront the challenges of our age. The United States has roughly 20 percent of the world's virus cases and virus deaths. The United States also houses more than 20 percent of the world's prison population.<sup>3</sup> American military spending takes an even larger slice of the global pie, accounting for 38 percent of all the world's expenditures. It also accounts for more than half of all federal non-discretionary spending, some \$5.985 billion a year. Those statistics are connected. they reveal the main ways Americans have failed to manage their problems at home and abroad since the end of the Cold War. They show a society defined by pain, the pain Americans inflict on each other and upon other people.

\*\*United States - Foreign relations.

**Control No : 44814**

45. Laura A Belmonte

Contagion and catastrophe: reflections on the COVID-19 pandemic. *Diplomatic History*, 45(3), 2021: 451–459.

I spent much of the spring and early summer in what often felt like a remake of the film "Groundhog Day" with an academic twist. I sat in hours of Zoom meetings that all blurred

into a barrage of “We don’t know yet” and “We will have to see” as my university navigated a sudden transition to online teaching, restricted campus access to “essential” faculty and staff, and imposed budgetary restrictions and a hiring freeze. While my institution has so far been fortunate and has been spared some of the worst effects of the pandemic and the economic nosedive it triggered, many of our colleagues were not so lucky. Already on shaky fiscal ground before COVID, dozens of U.S. colleges and universities are reeling from demographic shifts, declining enrollments, public disinvestment in higher education, and government policies that dissuade foreign students from coming to the United States. The pandemic has greatly accelerated the trend line that predicts the collapse of hundreds of U.S. institutions over the next decade. Additionally, layoffs, furloughs, and budget cuts are upending the professional lives of many professors, staff members, and students. The damage exacted will be long-term. Research productivity for many faculty with caregiving responsibilities will be stalled. An academic job market already too reliant on contingent labor will be riven with even more precarity.

\*\*United States - Foreign relations.

**Control No : 44812**

46. Mark Philip Bradley

Understanding the rise of the Global South in pandemic times. *Diplomatic History*, 45(3), 2021: 460–467.

I was up in the air over Indonesia on a flight from Brisbane to Singapore. I had come to the region on a research trip for my new project on the history of the global South. Seven countries, ten cities, fifteen archives and forty or so interviews over three and a half months. That feels like such a long time ago. Like most of you, I am guessing, under the pandemic I have barely left my home since March except to go to the grocery store or for a walk in the neighborhood. The global South has often been seen merely as a descriptor, a handy cartographic imaginary after the passing of the Cold War and Third World, or a marker of persisting inequalities between the North and South. I want to address a more far reaching set of questions about the making of the South and why it matters: How did we move from the era of the Third World to that of the global South? What are the central elements that make up the revolutionary ideas and practices of the South? Why and how has the global South come to shape the world all of us live in today? My research focuses on the big ideas that made up this new Southern landscape and the remarkable set of people who brought them into being to tell the story of the ways in which the global South is remaking the very meanings of the political, the social, and the cultural in our times.

\*\*United States - Foreign relations.

**Control No : 44813**

## UNITED STATES

47. Claudine Kuradusenge-McLeod

Multiple Identities and scholarship: black scholars’ struggles for acceptance and recognition in the United States of America. *International Studies Review*, 23(2), 2021: 346-369.

African and African American scholars in redominantly white institutions. It sheds light on the challenges of underrepresentation, sexism, and racial identity in an area of white fragility: academia. The lack of representation among International Studies scholars in the

United States and Europe has not only had an impact on academia, but has also put heavy pressure on minority scholars, since they are often asked, by their institutions and students, to advise and mentor students who too often feel out of place or misunderstood by the faculty available to them. Therefore, it is imperative that we embrace minority faculty members, whether they are from the United States, Europe, or the Global South. Using narrative analysis, I examine conversations that I had with thirteen Black women who work at prestigious white universities and ten students who took classes with at least one Black, female professor. Although our field has expanded and accepted new members, many minority scholars still see it as a very selective, almost all Western, boys' club.

\*\*United States ; International Studies.

**Control No : 44839**

## **UNITED STATES**

### **- POLITICAL ASPECTS**

#### 48. Shanon Fitzpatrick

The body politics of the United States and the world and covid-19. *Diplomatic History*, 45(3), 2021: 498–509.

a collection that brought together theoretical scholarship on the body with archival research on U.S. international and transnational relations to analyze material and discursive connections between the body, the nation, and the world. One goal of this project was to highlight the embodied experiences, actions, and performances of diverse state and non-state actors who played important roles in shaping and mediating international and transnational relationships. Another was to examine the transnational and transactional dimensions of modern U.S. biopower in a period marked by “massive population flows, brutal wars, economic and media globalization, the ascendancy of consumer cultures, and dramatic reconfigurations of personal and political identities.”<sup>1</sup> Looking back, however, I really wish we had added the topic of disease, which threads throughout multiple essays of the volume, to the above list of contextualizing themes and events. This impulse, of course, is directly related to the experience of living during the contemporary SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, which has been wreaking biological and economic havoc for almost a year. A metaphor long prominent in political discourse, the notion of the “body politic” seems especially worthy of critical exploration right now. And so too does the vast, interdisciplinary scholarship on biopower, which compels us to think critically about how arenas of public health and medicine have interacted with various practices of examining, sorting, and disciplining bodies to shape how states organize themselves, govern populations, and exert power in different arenas.<sup>2</sup> From the professionally and personally isolating perspective of quarantine and shelter-in-place, I am thus grateful for the opportunity to reflect, alongside others, on ways I have been rethinking aspects of my scholarship during these times.

\*\*United States - Political aspects.

**Control No : 44817**

## WESTERN ASIA

### 49. Beston Husen Arif

Pro-government militias in Iraq: a threat to human rights and stability. *Asian Affairs*, 52(02), 2021: 312-326.

Along with Iraqi security forces, pro-government militias, known as Popular Mobilisation Forces (PMF, also “Hashd al-Shaabi” in Arabic), played a significant role in defeating ISIS. Iraq's engagement with these armed groups during the fight against ISIS empowered and legitimised them within the country. Yet, they often committed human rights violations and were involved in violent activities against the United States embassy, personnel, and military bases. However, since 2014, these groups have been acting as pro-government militias and are legally part of the Iraqi security forces. Yet, some of them have declared loyalty to Iran and act as proxy forces for Tehran. This article argues that pro-government militias in post-ISIS Iraq have negative impacts on security and human rights in the country because most of these groups were previously established based on sectarian factors and proximity to Iran. It also argues that while they are largely regarded as having had an essential role in defeating ISIS, their presence in a post-ISIS Iraq will threaten Iraq's stability.

\*\*Western Asia ; Popular Mobilisation Forces.

**Control No : 44843**

## WORLD POLITICS

### 50. Mark Beeson and Andrew Chubb

Australia, China and the maritime ‘rules-based international order’: comparing the South China Sea and Timor Sea disputes. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 21(2), 2021: 233-264.

Despite systemic internal and external differences, Australia and China have shown striking similarities in their pursuit of disputed maritime resource and jurisdictional claims. This high-stakes area of international politics is governed by a codified, globally accepted international legal regime (the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea), making it an important case for examining the relationship between states' foreign policies and the ‘rules-based international order’. In the South China Sea, Beijing is haunted by the legacy of its strong geopolitically driven support for an expansive law of the sea regime in the 1970s. Strategic considerations also drove Australia's belated embrace of international legal processes in the Timor Sea in 2016. Before that, successive Australian governments had been as keen to pursue national maritime interests through bilateral negotiations as their Chinese counterparts. Australia's shift was enabled by pro-Timor domestic public opinion and a confluence of geographic and commercial circumstances not present in the South China Sea.

\*\*World Politics ; South China Sea.

**Control No : 44841**