

# **Foreign Affairs Documentation Bulletin**

## **July - August 2021**

### **AFRICAN UNION**

#### 1. 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 ; South Sudan.

**Control No : 44885**

### **AUSTRALIA**

#### **- DEVELOPING STATES**

#### 2. Ethan Beringen

Australia as a middle power: challenging the narrative of developed/developing states in international negotiations surrounding marine genetic resources. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 52(02), 2021: 143-168.

To date, marine genetic resources (MGR) have proven to be the most controversial aspect of the package deal structure of the ongoing negotiations of a legally binding instrument for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity beyond national jurisdiction (BBNJ). This has led to a proliferation of scholarly work characterizing the debate on MGR along developed and developing state lines. By applying middle power international relations theory to the Australian delegation’s conduct in MGR negotiations, this article aims to challenge the developed/developing state narrative. As such, it advocates a more nuanced approach to understanding state motivation in multilateral treaty negotiations pertaining especially to complex issues such as MGR.

\*\*Australia - Developing states ; Marine genetic resources.

**Control No : 44882**

### **BANGLADESH**

#### **- ROHINGYA REFUGEE POLICY**

#### 3. A.S.M. Ali Ashraf

Humanitarianism, national security, and the Rohingya refugee policy of Bangladesh. *Strategic Analysis*, 2021, 45(03): 184-206.

How do humanitarian norms and national security concerns shape a host state refugee policy? This article addresses this question in the context of Bangladesh, the largest host state in the world for Rohingya refugees. It argues that although the norms of humanitarian protection can explain why a host state would open its border to forced migrants and allow relief agencies access to the refugee camps, humanitarianism alone cannot explain the full gamut of a state's refugee policy. Instead, a better and fuller account of the refugee policy would require understanding the national security concerns of the host state, and the process through which such concerns lead to restrictive policies. These competing theoretical explanations are tested in the context of the pre- and post-2017 Rohingya refugee influxes. Findings reveal how altruistic sentiments towards the Rohingya people have historically been overshadowed by denial of refugee status and restricted mobility in camp-based settlements, a recent relocation plan, and the search for repatriation to Myanmar as the most viable solution to the Rohingya refugee crisis.

\*\*Bangladesh - Rohingya refugee policy ; Military policy.

**Control No : 44897**

## **CHINA**

### **- BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE**

#### 4. Yong Deng

How China builds the credibility of the belt and road initiative. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 734-750.

Despite persistent skepticism towards the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), many countries have signed on to the program and even more countries have come to believe in its transformative potential to development finance and the global order. How has the illiberal Chinese government succeeded in convincing the world, particularly the Global South, about its commitment and BRI's future success? Exploring the credibility puzzle, this article argues that the Xi Jinping administration has relied on an all-in strategy tying the BRI to China's national development and foreign policy, promoting the BRI through select international institutions, and launching a series of flagship mega-projects. With mounting sustainability challenges on both economic and geopolitical fronts, however, the BRI now has to scale back its ambitions while China reevaluates its strategic opportunity.

\*\*China - Belt and road initiative ; China - International economic relations.

**Control No : 44872**

## **CHINA**

### **- COUNTER TERRORISM**

#### 5. Chi Zhang

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

**Control No : 44901**

## **CHINA**

### **- EDUCATION AND CULTURE**

#### 6. Yan Xiaojun

Guarding against the threat of a westernising education: a comparative study of Chinese and Saudi cultural security discourses and practices towards overseas study. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2021, 03(131): 803-819.

Cultural security has become a major watchword in the national security discourses of both the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Within this discourse, overseas study has been imagined as a conduit for cultural and ideological subversion threatening the authority of the prevailing regimes. At the same time, overseas study has been actively encouraged by both the Chinese and Saudi states as an important element in their modernization projects. In the past two decades, the Chinese and Saudi overseas student populations have been some of the largest in the world. The article seeks to explore these tensions by examining the conceptualization and practice of cultural security in the PRC and Saudi Arabia through their management of overseas study.

\*\*China - Education and culture ; Saudi cultural security.

**Control No : 44876**

## **CHINA**

### **- EDUCATION REFORMS**

#### 7. Joshua S. McKeown

Wasted talents? China's higher education reforms experienced through Its visiting scholars abroad. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2021, 03(131): 785-802.

China's post-1978 modernization plans include an internationally competitive higher education system. Central to this effort are researchers and professors capable of advancing China's technological capabilities and educating its ambitious, globally-minded youth. National funding for scholars going abroad was designed to infuse the nation with sophisticated knowledge and to improve university quality. Research on 131 Chinese scholars who spent significant time abroad, mostly in the United States, shows little evidence that these funded experiences abroad were used deliberately to improve Chinese universities. Results show that policies supporting scholarly exchange have not produced successful internationalization efforts on Chinese campuses. Scholars in STEM fields and those receiving national funding indicated significantly higher research focus and productivity, however did not indicate putting it to use at their home institutions.

\*\*China - Education reforms ; International education.

**Control No : 44875**

## **CHINA**

### **- FINANCIAL RELATIONS - UNITED STATES**

#### 8. Falin Zhang

Power contention and international insecurity: a Thucydides trap in China-US financial relations? *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 751-768.

The China-US financial contention or confrontation comes to the fore, given the pivotal role of finance in the international system and the current international order transition. Will there be destructive conflicts or a Thucydides Trap in China-US financial relations? By adopting a power analysis framework, the China-US financial contention is observed from four types of international financial power: structural, relational, institutional and ideational. The competition for these powers results in reform divergence of global financial

governance and thus international financial insecurity. The contention and consequent insecurity, however, do not necessarily mean an inevitable 'Thucydides Trap' in China-US financial relations. Elaborated and issue-specific ways of management could alleviate the contention, including shunning RMB-USD strategic confrontation, refraining from a debt weapon and aggressive imbalance adjustment, enhancing the legitimacy of international financial institutions and avoiding a new Cold War.

\*\*China - Financial relations - United States ; United States - Financial relations - China.

**Control No : 44873**

## **CHINA**

### **- FOREIGN RELATIONS**

9. David J. Bulman

Localism in retreat? central-provincial relations in the Xi Jinping Era. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 697-716.

Xi Jinping's anti-corruption drive, personnel reshuffles, and institutional overhauls seem to mark a turning point in Beijing's long-running fight against 'localism' (difangzhuyi). Yet, key questions remain about the scope and effectiveness of efforts to rein in China's subnational officials. Has the Xi administration effectively combated localism by appointing more outsiders to provincial leadership teams? Or have strengthened oversight institutions made subnational officials more responsive to the center regardless of their individual backgrounds? To address these questions, this article distinguishes between different types of localism in contemporary China and the varying personnel 'risk factors' underlying them. Comparing the makeup of provincial party standing committees under Xi Jinping's 18th CPC Central Committee (2012-2017) with those from the 15-17th CPC Central Committees under Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao (1997-2012), the analysis finds that Xi has accelerated personnel changes to address multiple forms of localism. At the same time, gaps in governance outcomes between local cadres and outsiders have faded since 2012 in several domains, implying that Xi-era institutional reforms have also played a role in curbing localism. Even under Xi, however, important personnel risk factors for localism have persisted and in some domains local-outsider differences in governance outcomes have actually increased.

\*\*China - Foreign relations ; China - Central-provincial relations.

**Control No : 44870**

## **CHINA**

### **- MILITARY**

10. Tianru Guan and Tingting Hu

Re-narrating non-intervention policy in China's military-action genre films. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 841-854.

This study examines the cultural representations of Chinese military-action films which re-interpret China's non-intervention policy and give China's foreign engagements rationality and legitimation. It involves two narrative strategies: (1) framing the protection of nationals abroad as the key incentive behind China's military actions; and (2) emphasizing an unquestioning commitment to sovereignty, to UN authorization, and to the consent of host countries during the intervening process. Then, it points out the propagandistic features of China's military-action films: framing the outside world as a threatening place in which individuals' survival depends on the protection of a powerful nation; cultivating collective narcissism and nationalism; and reframing China's global economic expansion through a "friendship narrative".

\*\*China - Military ; China - Government policy.

**Control No : 44878**

## CHINA

### - POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

#### 11. Chung Chieh Chao, Lingxue Sun and Jianbo Wang

Aging population policies and insurance systems in mainland China and Taiwan district: how do similar cultural roots produce different policy results? *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 855-873.

Long-term care (LTC) policies are urgently needed for required services, including workforce support and insurance planning. China has a large population and just recently entered an aging stage, whereas Taiwan is about to become a super-aged society. China and Taiwan have similar cultural context, sharing the same value of Chinese filial piety and living habits although they have distinct political systems. Results shows that there is no silver bullet that would solve the current shortage of an LTC workforce that would fill the gap between care recipients and licensed professionals or informal caregivers. It is clear that action is required in all the aspects of LTC reform. The Taiwan system is comparatively solid while China's system is struggling despite well-planned policy making.

\*\*China - Politics and government ; Taiwan - Politics and government ; China - Social security.

**Control No : 44879**

#### 12. Ezra Vogel

The leadership of Xi Jinping: a dengist perspective. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 693-696.

This article compares Xi Jinping with Deng Xiaoping from two perspectives: first, how their differing backgrounds influenced how they played the role. Second, how the situation of China in 1978 when Deng became the top leader differed from the situation in 2013 when Xi became the top leader and how this influenced the way they played their role. Deng was extremely well-prepared for his position as pre-eminent leader. Because he had clear ideas of what he wanted to accomplish and loyal experienced officials under him, he could lead the country as a macro-manager. He took office when China was poor and troubled and fundamentally reshaped the country, laying the foundations for the most successful four decades in China's history. Xi Jiping became top leader in 2013. He had no experience in working in Beijing and to gain control over the operations of the nation, he became a micro-manager who presided over leadership small groups. He inherited a China far stronger than Deng when China could play a more assertive role internationally. Because four decades of growth created pockets of wealth and power at local areas, Xi attacked corruption to gain more central control over local areas.

\*\*China - Politics and Government ; Xi Jinping ; China - History.

**Control No : 44869**

#### 13. Rongbin Han

Cyber Nationalism and regime support under Xi Jinping: the effects of the 2018 constitutional revision. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 717-733.

This article examines popular nationalism and regime support in the Xi era by evaluating news comments from a major overseas Chinese website on the 2018 constitutional amendments removing presidential term limits. It finds that the event was not only contested among overseas and domestic Chinese, but also has alienated many nationalists who previously supported the regime. Even the subsequent pro-regime discourse is less focused on support for Xi or the regime, and more about distrust of the West and dissidents. However, some citizens have become less critical toward the regime out of the concern of external threats. The findings confirm the Xi Jinping effect on nationalist regime support,

and show how China's international and domestic environments may activate nationalist sentiment differently.

\*\*China - Politics and government ; China - Nationalism.

**Control No : 44871**

## **CHINA**

### **- TRADE AND INDUSTRIES**

#### 14. Feng Xiaoling

Effects of United States anti-dumping actions on Sino-U.S. trade in steel products. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 769-784.

This study focuses on the effects of the United States (U.S.) anti-dumping policy targeting China's steel products, based on the HS 10-digit code monthly data from 1995 to 2015. It shows that as soon as the U.S. government implemented the affirmative preliminary ruling of an anti-dumping case, the volume of Chinese exports to the U.S. decreased regardless of the outcome of the final ruling. In the meantime, the U.S. imports of the involved products from other competing countries increased. It further finds that China's exports of the impacted products were diverted to the third-party countries, most of which were developing countries. This finding is contrary to those of studies from other industries such as textiles and agricultural products.

\*\*China - Trade and Industries ; China - Trade - Unites States ; Unites States - Trade - China ; China - Anti-dumping policy.

**Control No : 44874**

#### 15. Qing He

Exchange rate exposure and international competition: evidence from Chinese industries. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 03(131), 2021: 820-840.

This study analyzes how exchange rate risk exposure and foreign industry competition affect Chinese industries. Using the data from 2005 to 2018, the authors find that industry competition from the US has a statistically significant influence on 33.3 percent of Chinese industries. Unsurprisingly, tradable goods benefit more from depreciation of the Renminbi against the US dollar. Counterintuitively, only 20 percent of the industries supported by the 'Made in China 2025' initiative is sensitive to US industrial competition. In addition, on average Chinese industries face international competition from few developed countries, such as the Netherlands; and depreciation of RMB against the Japanese yen is hurting Chinese industries on average. Developing countries, however, exert marginal competition effects on their Chinese counterparts in the sample period.

\*\*China - Trade and Industries ; China - Foreign exchange rates.

**Control No : 44877**

## **COVID**

### **-19**

#### 16. Ramesh Thakur and David Redman

Forget the cheese of zero COVID. Escape the mousetrap of lockdowns. *Strategic Analysis*, 2021, 45(03): 237-251.

On February 18, SKY News UK trumpeted that 'Lockdown is working! COVID-19 infection rate plummets in England'. Yet, as Figure 1 shows, Sweden with voluntary social distancing guidelines experienced an earlier and faster decline of COVID deaths per capita. The other interesting feature about the figure is how the mortality curves are policy-invariant, mimicking one another regardless of policy interventions between Sweden, the UK and the EU countries. The virus infection, hospitalization and mortality curves seem to rise and fall by seasons, independent of lockdowns.

\*\*COVID-19 ; World politics.

**Control No : 44900**

## FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

### 17. 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 : 44887**

## GEOECONOMICS

### 18. Dong Jung Kim

Making geoeconomics an IR research program. *International Studies Perspectives*, 22(3), 2021: 321-339.

In contrast to growing public attention to geoeconomics as the new mode of conducting great power competition, the IR discipline has not actively engaged in conceptual and theoretical analysis from the geoeconomic viewpoint. This article examines issues that geoeconomics needs to solve to become a new theoretical framework in the positivist "American" IR scholarship that dominates research on great power competition. On the one hand, the concept of geoeconomics needs to be redefined and account for a phenomenon that is not already covered in extant IR scholarship. Thus, geoeconomics should be considered as a form of grand strategy and defined as the use of economic instruments to advance mid- to long-term strategic interests in a geographical region of the world. On the other hand, geoeconomics in positivist IR should take into account international economic structure and domestic politics in developing a parsimonious explanation for the conditions to employ geoeconomic grand strategy. In this process, the theorist needs to make an analytical choice to concentrate on certain factors and mechanisms to assure theoretical parsimony. This article concludes that addressing the issues of conceptual clarity and parsimonious theorization would potentially allow geoeconomics to become a new research program in positivist IR.

\*\*Geoeconomics ; International economic relations.

**Control No : 44886**

## GLOBALIZATION AND HEALTH

### 19. Markus Kornprobst and Stephanie Strobl

Global health: an order struggling to keep up with globalization. *International Affairs(UK)*, 2021, 97(5): 1541-1558.

Do global health institutions keep up with globalization forces? We contend that they seriously lag behind. While medical knowledge becomes more and more refined in showing how diseases spread globally, the political order meant to address this problem is barely

global. It is global in terms of the promises it makes in declarations and even legally binding instruments (institutional foreground). But many entrenched political practices of interaction do not keep these promises (institutional background). We explain this with the dominance of a traditional diplomatic 'feel of the game' in which often narrowly defined national interests, positioning battles among states, and a subordination of global health under considerations of international security and economics prevail. Based on this diagnosis, we discuss three scenarios for the further evolution of the global health order: (1) the persistence of current institutions, (2) revisions of the institutional foreground and persistence of the background, and (3) a qualitative break that makes amendments to both. While the COVID-19 crisis provides openings for the third and, even more so, the second one, the current upheavals in the liberal constellation of orders makes the first scenario the most likely one.

\*\*Globalization and health ; International relations theory.

**Control No : 44908**

## **INDIA**

### **- FOREIGN RELATIONS - CHINA**

20. Devendra Kumar

Multilateral initiatives and security dilemma: explaining India's choice to join the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). *Strategic Analysis*, 2021, 45(03): 222-236.

The article attempts to explain India's contrasting strategic choices with regard to China-led initiatives in South Asia. While India chose to join the AIIB, it has opposed the BRI. While the India-China relationship has been defined by the security dilemma for long, China's involvement in the region makes the security dimension even more salient. More so, because infrastructure connectivity projects change the existing relations of power and influence. It is argued here that India's choice to join the AIIB can be explained by its inclusive and transparent governance structures that help decouple China's strategic intentions from the projects funded by the Bank. In contrast, the BRI does not have inclusiveness and transparency, which stokes India's security concerns.

\*\*India - Foreign relations - China ; China - Foreign relations - India ; International economic relations.

**Control No : 44899**

## **INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

21. Courtenay R Conrad and Nathan W Monroe

Legislative process in international organizations. *International Studies Review*, 23(3), 2021: 605-615.

In this analytical essay, we advance a simple but powerful claim: scholars can better understand outcomes of international organizations (IOs) by developing theories that explicitly make assumptions about legislative process. Because process assumptions powerfully explain domestic legislative outcomes and many international assemblies demonstrate similarities to domestic legislatures, scholars could usefully employ legislative-process-centric approaches when theorizing about outcomes in world politics. Following an explication of why scholars might focus on legislative procedure, we describe several legislative procedures and highlight variance across those procedures within several well-known IOs. We also suggest that this variance and the shadow of power politics cast over IOs provides fertile ground for comparative legislative scholars—including scholars of the U.S. Congress—to develop and test new theories of legislative procedure.

\*\*International organizations ; Legislation.

**Control No : 44893**



22. Katharina P Coleman, Magnus Lundgren and Kseniya Oksamytna

Slow progress on UN rapid deployment: the pitfalls of policy paradigms in international organizations. *International Studies Review*, 23(3), 2021: 455-483.

When reform negotiations in international organizations (IOs) produce limited substantive progress, the diagnosis is typically a lack of political will. We identify a different dynamic: in protracted negotiations, international policy paradigms can emerge that enshrine a politically realistic but incomplete issue definition and thereby focus the debate on a subset of policy instruments that do not fully address the underlying problem. We draw on the multilateral negotiations literature to show how policy paradigms—which are widely explored in Comparative Politics, but largely neglected in International Relations—can emerge even in heterogeneous IOs, where deep cognitive cohesion is unlikely. The risk of negotiation failure incentivizes negotiators to adopt and maintain “achievable” issue and goal definitions, which over time are accepted as axiomatic by diplomats, IO officials, and policy experts. The resulting international policy paradigms help avoid institutional paralysis, but can also impede more ambitious reforms. To establish the empirical plausibility of this argument, we highlight the contemporary international policy paradigm of rapid deployment in UN peacekeeping, which focuses more on establishing an initial brigade-sized presence than on rapid deployment of the full peacekeeping force. Drawing on primary documents and interviews, we identify the roots of this First Brigade policy paradigm in reactions to the UN's failure to respond to the 1994 Rwandan genocide and trace its consolidation during UN reform negotiations in the 2000s and early 2010s. We also demonstrate that an alternative explanation of the paradigm as reflecting operational lessons-learned does not hold: a brigade-sized initial presence is rarely sufficient for mandate implementation, does not reliably speed up full deployment, and creates risks for peacekeepers. By highlighting the existence and impact of international policy paradigms, our study adds to scholarship on the role of ideas in International Relations and provides a novel perspective on reform negotiations in IOs.

\*\*International organizations ; Policy paradigm.

**Control No : 44888**

## **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **- MUSIC PEDAGOGY**

23. Vinicius Tavares de Oliveira, Mariana Balau Silveira and Rafael Bittencourt Rodrigues Lopes

Music as an emancipatory pedagogical tool in international relations classes in the Global South. *International Studies Perspectives*, 22(3), 2021: 283-300.

The purpose of this paper is to present considerations about the use of music as a critical and radical pedagogy in an International Relations class in the Global South. How can music help students understand the processes of marginalization, resistance, and struggle? Can it be understood as a tool to be used in the classroom to transcend traditional and marginalizing pedagogies? The contribution of our proposal derives from the possibility of a symbiosis between the teaching of critical, decolonial, and postcolonial perspectives and the language used to communicate these concepts and ideas to a young audience with different backgrounds. In this sense, we bring perceptions of the engagement with music as a pedagogical tool in an undergraduate course entitled “Decolonizing International Relations: epistemic violence and emancipation in Global South.” By playing songs, not only the learning process became deeper and more meaningful to students, but it also opened margins to a dialogical interaction. We share our experience hoping to contribute to a meaningful debate among scholars, inspiring teachers to engage with decolonial/critical pedagogies.

\*\*International relations - Music pedagogy ; Global South - Postcolonialism.

**Control No : 44884**

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### 24. Elise Rousseau and Stephane J Baele

“Filthy Lapdogs,” “Jerks,” and “Hitler”: making sense of insults in international relations. *International Studies Review*, 23(3), 2021: 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.

**Control No : 44891**

## ISRAEL

### - COVID-19

### 25. Sharon Teitler-Regev and Tchai Tavor

Behavior of financial markets during the COVID-19 crisis: a comparison of Israel and the rest of the world. *Israel Affairs*, 2021, 27(04): 691-710.

COVID-19 pandemic created a health emergency that led to a huge global economic crisis. This article examines the effects of a wide range of variables including the number of infections, deaths, and recoveries, as well as categorical variables like public behaviour and government restrictions on stock indexes on 16 different countries. It compares the situation in Israel with the other explored countries. The regression analysis revealed that while in Israel all the variables affected stock-index returns, in the other countries only a few of the variables did so.

\*\*Israel - COVID-19 ; International markets ; Israel - Stock indexes.

**Control No : 44863**

### 26. Shingo Hamanaka

Rallying round the flag effect’ in Israel’s first COVID-19 wave. *Israel Affairs*, 2021, 27(04): 675-690.

This article analyzes the surge in support for PM Benjamin Netanyahu during the first wave of the coronavirus pandemic in Israel within the framework of the rally effect. Israel was chosen as a case study for two reasons. First, the country was repeatedly polled during the first wave of infection. Second, a strict compartmentalised lockdown limited to certain areas, as a natural experimentation, had been in place for some time. These two factors fresh important light on the circumstances under which a society supports its political leaders during a national crisis.

\*\*Israel - COVID-19 ; Benjamin Netanyahu.

**Control No : 44862**

## ISRAEL

### - DEFENSE

### 27. Uzi Ben Shalom et. at.

A phenomenological analysis of subterranean operations in the Israel Defense Forces. *Israel Affairs*, 2021, 27(04): 633-650.

This article analyses the experiences of IDF soldiers involved in subterranean operations in Gaza. While tunnel warfare is a central element in warfare, few sociological studies have focused on this element of combat. In-depth interviews reveal the day-to-day experiences of

the specialised combat engineering units tasked with subterranean operations during the past two decades. The themes identified are: 'Operational activity in tunnels as an experience', 'Courage and danger', 'Selection and classification of manpower' and 'Accumulating experience'. An awareness for generational differences in the narratives allows an analytical model based on four different models for organising forces for operations in tunnels.

\*\*Israel - Defense ; Post-heroic war ; Israel Defense Forces ; Israel - Tunnel operations.

**Control No : 44860**

## **ISRAEL**

### **- FOREIGN RELATIONS**

#### 28. Ofira Gruweis Kovalsky

The General Zionists and the WIZO party, 1948-51. Israel Affairs, 27(04), 2021: 784-800.

In the first elections for the Israeli parliament (January 1949) WIZO ran as a women's party seeking equal rights for women. It won enough votes for a parliamentary seat – highly unusual in that day and age. WIZO was unique in that it started out as an apolitical women's organisation aligned with the mid-stream Zionist consensus and redefined itself as a party fighting for gender equality. This article examines the developments in the General Zionist Party that led WIZO, founded as a women's philanthropic organisation, to run as an independent political party on its own platform on the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel. It will also look at the impact of WIZO party on Israel's center-right - the General Zionists, the Progressive party and Herut - in the context of the Constituent Assembly elections. The establishment of a women's party in 1948-49 was a unique phenomenon with no equal anywhere in the world at the time.

\*\*Israel - Foreign relations ; Israel - General Zionist Party.

**Control No : 44867**

## **ISRAEL**

### **- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

#### 29. Rami Ginat

Egyptian communist voices of peace. Israel Affairs, 27(04), 2021: 711-731.

This article sets out to closely scrutinise the main phases of the campaign for peace (1947-58) undertaken by left-wing Egyptian groups. Based on exclusive first-hand Egyptian communist primary sources – archival and others, it shows that although the communists were the only Egyptian political groups to support the November 1947 UN partition resolution on Palestine, President Gamal Abdel Nasser later, during the Bandung Conference (1955), followed suit yet no concrete official actions were taken by neither the Egyptian nor the Israeli political elites before the 1956 Suez War. Following that war, the prospects for an Egyptian-Israeli peace settlement were shut off for nearly two decades.

\*\*Israel - Politics and Government ; Arab - Israeli peace ; Egypt.

**Control No : 44864**

#### 30. Raphael Cohen-Almagor

Stockholm and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process: interview with State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Annika Soder. Israel Affairs, 27(04), 2021: 732-749.

This interview with Swedish State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Annika Söder (2014-19) discusses her involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, and Sweden's relationships with Israel and the Palestinian Authority. The interview assesses the positive and negative lessons and implications of the peace process, Sweden's involvement in the peace process, and the likelihood of bringing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to a close.

\*\*Israel - Politics and Government ; Israel - Palestinian peace.

**Control No : 44865**

### 31. Sharon Haleva-Amir

Cross-platform analysis of PLCs' (parties, leaders, candidates) social media presence in Israel's 2015 electoral campaign. *Israel Affairs*, 27(04), 2021: 750-772.

This article analyzes social media presence of all parties, leaders, and candidates (PLCs) during Israel's 2015 electoral campaign, within a transformational era for online campaigns. The article adheres to the theoretical frameworks of normalisation/equalisation hypotheses and personalised politics. Its research design is based on a cross-platform analysis. Findings indicate not only a centralised personalisation trend but rather a depersonalised web sphere. Leaders are more prominent online compared to other candidates; and parties out-perform their leaders, too. Furthermore, findings point to a normalised web sphere, even when referring to new and trendy platforms, revealing that the chances of political newcomers entering the parliamentary arena are scarce.

\*\*Israel - Politics and Government ; Israel - Cross-platform analysis.

**Control No : 44866**

## ISRAEL

### - UNITED STATES AID

### 32. Yu Wang

Interest or influence? an empirical study of U.S. foreign aid to Israel. *Israel Affairs*, 27(04), 2021: 664-674.

Research on the determinants of U.S. foreign aid to Israel is commonly motivated by two contesting theoretical paradigms. Pioneered by Organski, the self-interest paradigm conceptualises aid as a mutually beneficial deal that helps the U.S. to advance its interest in the Middle East. The influence paradigm, best showcased by Mearsheimer and Waltz, views U.S. aid to Israel as a corollary of the overwhelming influence of pro-Israel interest groups on U.S. foreign policy decision-making. This article attempts to shed new light on the debate by using systematic data analysis. The results show consistent evidence in support of the self-interest paradigm.

\*\*Israel - United States AID ; Israel - Foreign policy ; United States - Foreign policy.

**Control No : 44861**

## LAW OF THE SEA

### 33. Hayley Roberts

Identifying "exclusionary agreements": agreement type as a procedural limitation in UNCLOS dispute settlement. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 52(02), 2021: 113-142.

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is heralded as a constitution for the oceans and, as part of this, provides for a compulsory dispute settlement procedure entailing binding decisions. However, case law and academic commentary have highlighted significant issues in definitively identifying other agreements that could preclude these compulsory procedures—a concept permitted by the Convention in certain circumstances. This article begins to explore this challenge by contending that the type of agreement plays a significant role in whether or not it could be determined to be an "exclusionary agreement." In doing so, the article conducts a systematic interpretation of Articles 281 and 282 UNCLOS, underpinned by the application of relevant provisions in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. This provides a conclusive basis as to whether the status of an agreement as an "ad hoc agreement" (specific; adopted for the dispute) or an "existing agreement" (general; adopted prior to the dispute) holds any significance in the context of these articles.

\*\*Law of the sea ; Dispute settlement.

**Control No : 44881**

#### 34. Pierre Thevenin

A liberal maritime power as any other? the Soviet Union during the negotiations of the law of the sea convention. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 52(02), 2021: 193-223. This article examines the role played by the Soviet Union during the negotiations of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. The author argues that since its transformation into a maritime power in the 1960s, the USSR defended a liberal conception of the law of the sea, similar to that promoted by the West with which it cooperated in order to resist attempts by developing states to increase coastal state sovereignty on the high seas and centralize exploitation of the deep seabed's resources. To demonstrate its thesis and reassess the findings of the existing literature, this article draws upon the travaux préparatoires of the Law of the Sea Convention, as well as newly available fonds from the French Diplomatic archives.

\*\*Law of the sea ; Soviet Union.

**Control No : 44883**

#### 35. Wenlan Yang

Protecting submarine cables from physical damage under investment law. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 52(02), 2021: 93-112.

The physical security of submarine cables is under multiple sources of threats from private activities, but the law of the sea does not provide sufficient jurisdiction for the coastal state to regulate these threats. International investment law, however, provides cable investors with the possibility of invoking the full protection and security (FPS) standard against the cable-landing state in international arbitration. This standard requires the cable-landing state to take all reasonable measures to protect the physical security of submarine cables from physical damage, but its application is subject to some limits.

\*\*Law of the sea ; Investment protection.

**Control No : 44880**

### **LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER**

#### 36. Jeannette Money

Globalization, international mobility and the liberal international order. *International Affairs(UK)*, 2021, 97(5): 1559-1577.

Since the Second World War, globalization has been underpinned by a liberal international order, a rules-based system structured around the principles of economic interdependence, democracy, human rights and multilateralism. However, the relationship between international mobility and the liberal international order (LIO) is contested. In the article, I disaggregate 'international mobility' into three regimes: the travel regime, the voluntary (labour) migration regime, and the refugee regime—each governed by distinct norms and operating procedures. I outline the characteristics of the LIO that pertain to international mobility and provide evidence to demonstrate that none of the three dimensions of international mobility—travel, migration, and asylum—reflects these characteristics. Given the LIO principles enumerated above, the exclusion of international mobility from the LIO is surprising. I survey the scholarship on the LIO and international mobility and argue that the exclusion of international mobility from the LIO rests on benefits provided to core states by the status quo ante governing international mobility. That is, the status quo ante permits countries of destination to determine the level and type of cross-border mobility. Thus, international mobility continues to be underpinned by the play of state preferences rather than the principles of the LIO. The COVID-19 pandemic is likely to shape these norms and operating procedures in ways that reinforce the status quo.

\*\*Liberal international order ; Law and Ethics.

**Control No : 44909**

## **LIBERAL MONETARY ORDERS**

### 37. Mark R Brawley

Globalization/deglobalization: lessons from liberal monetary orders. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(5), 2021: 1505-1520.

Economic globalization never proceeded in a smooth steady trajectory. The current international economy, organized around liberal principles, faces potential problems unleashed by the COVID-19 pandemic. Two popular theoretical approaches offer varying reasons for the survivability of the contemporary order. One stresses the benefits associated with participating in liberal international orders, claiming such arrangements are essentially self-sustaining. The rival view emphasizes the uneven distribution of gains, emphasizing the role of leadership, especially for dampening crises. To examine the support for each argument, I examine the evolution of international monetary arrangements. International monetary orders lie at the heart of liberal international economies; no prior liberal monetary order has proven self-sustaining. Liberal international monetary sub-orders depend upon leadership as much as cooperation for their survival—leaders exert efforts to shape followers' actions so long as the leader draws sufficient benefits to make such efforts worthwhile. The economic disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic provides the latest illustration of this point, though these arguments also suggest experiences across issue-areas will vary.

\*\*Liberal monetary orders ; Political Economy.

**Control No : 44906**

## **LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL TRADING ORDER**

### 38. Steven E Lobell and Jordan Ernstsen

The liberal international trading order (LITO) in an era of shifting capabilities. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(5), 2021: 1489-1504.

There is much debate about the impending collapse of the liberal international order. It is provoked by the shifts in material and military capabilities from emerging peer and near-peer competitors, some of whom were not part of the original grand bargain and others that are in a stronger position to renegotiate the bargain. As one critical element of the liberal international order, we ask, during power shifts: is the liberal international trading order (LITO) durable and resilient? When and why will the LITO collapse? Does the relative decline of the hegemon alone explain these outcomes? In advancing a second-image reversed plus argument, we highlight how a shift in the nature of the foreign commercial orientation of peer and near-peer contenders can alter the domestic balance of power of two broad and logrolled coalitions competing to capture the state and thus affect whether the erstwhile leader defends, renegotiates, or abandons the trading order it created. To better understand these forces, we examine two paradigmatic cases: Britain in the 1930s and the United States in the 2000s.

\*\*Liberal International Trading Order ; International relations theory.

**Control No : 44905**

## **MALI**

### **- TERRORISM CRISIS**

### 39. Sergei Boeke

The unforeseen 2012 crisis in mali: the diverging outcomes of risk and threat analyses. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44(10), 2021: 835-854.

The 2012 crisis in Mali, where the state collapsed and terrorist groups took over the north, came as a surprise to many. Mali had been considered a poster-child for democracy and was judged as considerably more stable than its neighbors by leading quantitative indices of state fragility. This article explores how quantitative risk and qualitative threat approaches

led to incomplete analyses, and how bureaucratic processes stifled a holistic diagnosis of the situation in Mali. French and Dutch government views are analyzed, adding new empirical information on how ministries and embassies were unwilling to call out disconcerting developments in Mali.

\*\*Mali - Terrorism crisis.

**Control No : 44903**

## **MIGRATION**

### 40. Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Elise Pizzi

Natural Disasters, Forced Migration, and Conflict: The Importance of Government Policy Responses. *International Studies Review*, 23(3), 2021: 580-604.

Understanding the connections between environmental change, migration, and conflict is urgent as natural disasters increase in frequency and intensity. Countries that experience natural disasters face greater risks for intrastate conflicts, especially for rapid-onset disasters. Migration is one response to these environmental changes. Existing literature suggests that environmental migration can cause violent conflict as migrants lose livelihoods, move to new areas, or compete over scarce resources. However, the path through which migration leads to conflict—and the policy responses that either fuel conflict or promote stability—is not well understood. Some countries develop adequate proactive (e.g., infrastructure) and reactive post-disaster (e.g., reconstruction) policies to mitigate grievances and conflict risks from forced migration. Other countries fail to respond adequately to disasters, opening the door for insurgent groups to garner support. We argue that we must analyze government policies related to relocation programs, restrictions on movement, and post-disaster reconstruction to identify trigger situations where disasters and migration are most likely to produce violence.

\*\*Migration ; Disasters.

**Control No : 44892**

## **MYANMAR**

### **- HUMAN SECURITY**

### 41. Jarrod Hayes and Katja Weber

Globalization, deglobalization and human security: the case of Myanmar. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(5), 2021: 1469-1488.

Increased nationalism, greater protectionism and a gradual move away from a rules-based international order by some members of the international community do not bode well for vulnerable populations around the globe. Human security is threatened by a host of non-traditional security challenges catalysed by the growth of physical technologies and require multifaceted responses from a variety of actors. Many of those actors look to transnational networks built on globalized liberal order's social norms—what we call social technologies—for protection. The dwindling interconnectedness of deglobalization is likely to further empower corrupt governments at the expense of vulnerable citizens. This results from a decreased willingness by states and international institutions to defend human security. Whether one looks at the plight of persecuted citizens during Burma's military junta, human slaves in the fisheries off the coast of Indonesia, or farmers uprooted from their land by palm oil plantations, without social technologies to counterbalance the negative implications of physical technology the international community will lack the political capacity (sanctions, arms embargoes, travel restrictions, etc.), to aid those most in need. Ultimately, the effects of deglobalization on human security will depend largely on the trajectory of social technology developing alongside advances in physical technology.

\*\*Myanmar - Human security ; East Asia and Pacific ; International Governance.

**Control No : 44904**

## PEACE

42. Johanna Soderstrom, Malin Åkebo and Anna K Jarstad

Friends, Fellows, and Foes: A New Framework for Studying Relational Peace. *International Studies Review*, 23(3), 2021: 484-508.

In this article, we suggest that taking a relational view of peace seriously is a fruitful avenue for expanding current theoretical frameworks surrounding peace as a concept. Paving the way for such an approach, this article conducts a review of the literature that takes on peace as a relational concept. We then return to how a relationship is conceptualized, before turning to how such components would be further defined in order to specify relational peace. Based on this framework, we argue that a peaceful relationship entails deliberation, non-domination, and cooperation between the actors in the dyad; the actors involved recognize and trust each other and believe that the relationship is either one between legitimate fellows or one between friends. The article clarifies the methodological implications of studying peace in this manner. It also demonstrates some of the advantages of this approach, as it shows how peace and war can coexist in webs of multiple interactions, and the importance of studying relations, and how actors understand these relationships, as a way of studying varieties of peace.

\*\*PEACE ; Theoretical framework.

**Control No : 44889**

## PPEACEKEEPING MISSION

43. Allard Duursma

Pinioning the peacekeepers: sovereignty, host-state resistance against peacekeeping missions, and violence against civilians. *International Studies Review*, 23(3), 2021: 670-695. Why and how do host-states resist contemporary peacekeeping missions? This article puts forward the argument that host-state resistance against peacekeepers is a strategy to balance challenges to the internal and external faces of a civil war state's sovereignty. Government officials might see an intense counter-insurgency campaign as an effective way to regain the monopoly on violence and thus strengthen the internal sovereignty of the state, but this will often lead to criticism from the international community and thus also lead to an erosion of the external sovereignty of the state. Conversely, the acceptance of a peacekeeping mission can strengthen a civil war state's external sovereignty as this acceptance signals a willingness to manage armed violence, but the deployment of peacekeepers is at the expense of internal sovereignty as it often limits the ability of government troops to conduct their counter-insurgency efforts. States can resolve this dilemma by accepting a peacekeeping mission to prop up their external sovereignty, but at the same time trying to limit the effectiveness of peacekeepers in those areas where peacekeeping activities potentially interfere with the efforts of government troops to regain the monopoly on the use of violence. The article zooms in on how the Sudanese government accepted the deployment of the United Nations–African Union Peacekeeping Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), but at the same undermined its civilian protection efforts, though other cases are considered as well.

\*\*Ppeacekeeping Mission ; Political violence.

**Control No : 44895**

## RUSSIA

### - FOREIGN POLICY

44. Vinay Kaura

Russia's Afghan policy: determinants and outcomes. *Strategic Analysis*, 2021, 45(03): 165-183.

Russia's policy on Afghanistan has witnessed considerable transformation during the last



two decades. This has allowed Moscow to change its stance towards the Taliban from confrontation to accommodation. The article explains Russia's foreign policy trajectory towards Afghanistan, exploring the key determinants, approaches and potential outcomes. Drawing mainly on secondary sources as well as the statements of officials and experts, the article also seeks to highlight the recent trends in Russia's Afghan policy. Against the backdrop of changing regional geopolitics, the analysis is likely to be useful for the Indian government which is recalibrating India's own stance in the changing circumstances.

\*\*Russia - Foreign policy ; Afghanistan - Foreign policy.

**Control No : 44896**

## **TERRORISM**

### 45. 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.

**Control No : 44890**

## **UNITED STATES**

### **- COUNTER TERRORISM**

### 46. 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 States - Counter terrorism ; United States - Counterinsurgency.

**Control No : 44902**

## **UNITED STATES**

### **- FOREIGN RELATIONS - MIDDLE EAST**

47. P.R. Kumaraswamy

American activism on religious freedom in the Middle East: a critique. *Strategic Analysis*, 45(03), 2021: 207-221.

Since its enactment in October 1998, the International Religious Freedom Act has become a major instrument to further the American foreign policy agenda in the Middle East and elsewhere. While the annual reports are a great source of information on lesser-known facts and shifts concerning religious minorities, they also underscore an inherent bias in favour of Christian missionaries, politicization of the minority question and American exceptionalism. Until there is an inclusive alternative, the Religious Freedom Reports of the US State Department are a good source of information to be used with caution.

\*\*United States - Foreign relations - Middle East ; World politics.

**Control No : 44898**

## **WEST BANK STATEMENT**

48. Reoute Drey-Diamant

Intergenerational gaps in West Bank Jewish communities. *Israel Affairs*, 27(04), 2021: 801-818.

This article examined the differences between the political attitudes of two generations of religious Zionists settlers in the West Bank. Theoretical approaches on intergenerational socialization were reviewed, predicting trends of continuity vis-à-vis change in intergenerational attitudes. Also, previous studies of the religious Zionist sector subgroups, the settlements, and their residents were reviewed. The study was conducted with a quantitative method, while the research tool was an online research questionnaire. The study findings verify the research hypothesis regarding the intergenerational differences in political attitudes, as most issues that were examined found that the younger generation holds more hawkish attitudes in comparison to their parents. Finally, the young Torani were emphasized in the research as the secondary group of settlers who, in most cases, hold the most extreme political attitudes.

\*\*West bank statement ; Israel - Religious parties.

**Control No : 44868**

## **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 - Migration.

**Control No : 44894**

## **WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION**

50. Aseema Sinha

Understanding the ‘crisis of the institution’ in the liberal trade order at the WTO. *International Affairs(UK)*, 2021, 97(5): 1521-1540.

The liberal trade order is in crisis. I argue that the origins of the current crises lie in the underlying tension which exists in the World Trade Organization (WTO), magnified by a churning in global power dynamics. A dilemma at the heart of the WTO between two important goals of representativeness and effectiveness means that both goals cannot be pursued at the same time. Now, this inherent tension is being magnified by power shifts in the global economy most evident in the rise of emerging powers within the WTO, who demand more representation, and the retreat by the US towards a more inward-looking orientation; both together damage effectiveness. Simultaneously, new powers such as China and India are defending a ‘reformed multilateralism’ combined with selective protectionism with varying capacity. These shifts are transforming previous ‘crises within institutions’ into a ‘crisis of institutions’ at the WTO, wherein the rules of the game, ideas of free trade and the legitimacy of the WTO are under threat. Global trade politics is seeing new coalitions at the WTO, as emerging powers craft their own rise, US defends sovereignty and trade protections, and launches a challenge to China’s rise, and some established powers (the EU for example) seek to reform it. The new global trade politics is walking on two uneven legs and creating winners and losers and new ways of managing the transitional trading order as did the creation of the post-world war order.

\*\*World Trade Organization ; South Asia ; International Governance.

**Control No : 44907**