

Foreign Affairs
Documentation Bulletin
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CANADA

- REFUGEE LAW

1. Molly Joeck

Canadian exclusion jurisprudence post-Febles. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 33(01), 2021: 54–88.

This article examines the state of Canadian refugee law since the decision of the Supreme Court in *Febles v Canada (Citizenship and Immigration)* [2014] 3 SCR 431. Drawing upon an analysis of a set of decisions of the Immigration and Refugee Board, the administrative tribunal tasked with refugee status determination in Canada, the article seeks to determine whether administrative decision makers are heeding the guidance of *Febles* when excluding asylum seekers from refugee protection on the basis of serious criminality pursuant to article 1F(b) of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. In doing so, it examines the controversy around article 1F(b) since its inception across various jurisdictions and amongst academic commentators, situating *Febles* within that controversy in order to demonstrate that the Supreme Court's reluctance to clearly set out the purpose underlying article 1F(b) is in step with a longstanding tendency to understand the provision as serving a gatekeeping function, that prevents criminalized non-citizens from obtaining membership in our society. It argues that by omitting to set out a clear and principled standard by which asylum seekers can be excluded from refugee protection pursuant to article 1F(b), the Supreme Court failed to live up to a thick understanding of the rule of law. It concludes by calling for a reassertion of the rule of law into exclusion decision making, both nationally and internationally, in order to ensure that the legitimacy of the international refugee law regime is maintained.

**Canada - Refugee law ; International controversy.

Control No : 45123

CHINA

- ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

2. Jinghan Zeng

Securitization of artificial intelligence in China. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(03), 2021: 417–445.

This article studies the security politics of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in China. Using securitization as an analytical framework, it examines the official Chinese AI discourse and how AI is becoming a security matter. The article argues that the Chinese central government is securitizing AI to mobilize local states, market actors, intellectuals, and the general public. China's historical anxieties about its technology and regime security needs are conducive to the rise of a security discourse in China's AI politics, a trend also fuelled by tensions arising from great power competition. Although helpful in convincing domestic actors, this securitization trend could undermine Chinese key AI objectives by heading in an inward-looking, techno-nationalistic direction that may be seriously detrimental to China's AI industry and leadership ambitions.

**China - Artificial Intelligence ; International security.

Control No : 45113

CHINA

- FOREIGN RELATIONS - RUSSIA

3. Christopher Weidacher Hsiung

China's technology cooperation with Russia: geopolitics, economics, and regime Security. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(03), 2021: 447–479.

Technology cooperation has long constituted an important part in China's bilateral engagement with Russia. In recent years, however, Sino-Russian technology cooperation has seen a remarkable increase and both sides now view such interaction as a core dimension in the current and future

development of the strategic partnership. This article examines the two countries' technological collaboration, focusing in particular on China's engagement with Russia in emerging technologies and strategic domains. The article argues that three explanations account to explain closer engagement from China: (i) intensified strategic competition with the USA, (ii) broader efforts to expand the overall trade and economic relationship with Russia, and (iii) domestic regime security incentives. Overall, while there exist several challenges and obstacles, increased technology cooperation will continue to expand and also enhance the Sino-Russian strategic partnership. This does not mean that China and Russia will form a formal alliance, but technology cooperation will constitute a critical component in their bilateral relationship, as it reduces their dependence on Western technology, and further consolidates an already well-grounded bilateral relationship.

**China - Foreign relations - Russia ; Russia - Foreign relations - China ; Sino-Russian technology cooperation.

Control No : 45114

CHINA

- FOREIGN RELATIONS - UNITED STATES

4. Jue Zhang and Jin Xu

China-US strategic competition and the descent of a Porous Curtain. The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 14(03), 2021: 321-352.

Since the onset of the Coronavirus Disease 2019(COVID-19) global pandemic, Sino-US strategic rivalry has dramatically heightened to a pitch where there is a mounting discussion over whether or not China and the United States have embarked on a "new Cold War." There are three main views in this regard. The first is that China and the United States have indeed entered a new Cold War; the second is that China and the United States are heading for a new Cold War; and the third is that China and the United States will not descend into a new Cold War. Different views reflect different scholarly understandings of the essential properties of the Cold War concept. Fundamentally, the two core features of the Cold War were ideological confrontation and proxy war. Considering that current US-China strategic competition is in the technological rather than ideological domain, and that neither side has instigated any proxy war; however, the phrase "new Cold War" is inappropriate; that of "Porous Curtain" is more apt. The ever-narrowing power gap between China and the United States has undoubtedly prompted the US government's adoption of a policy of blockade and containment to curb China's rising power. However, the deep integration of the international system and historical inertia of US-China interaction preclude the US's complete isolation from China. This has resulted in bilateral relations of a more porous nature. Although the future may not be promising, competition does not necessarily lead to conflict. For this reason, managing the bilateral competitive relationship and striving towards coexistence under competition should be the key task of both countries.

**China - Foreign relations - United States ; United States - Foreign relations - China ; COVID-19.

Control No : 45110

CHINA

- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

5. Christian Sorace

The Chinese communist party's nervous system: affective governance from Mao to Xi. China Quarterly, 248, 2021: 29 - 51.

In its one hundred years of existence, the Communist Party of China has experimented with how to connect its narratives of legitimacy to people's affects. In this essay, I trace the conceptualization of gratitude, from its repudiation in the Mao era as a vestige of feudalism and imperialism to its return in the reform era as a re-verticalization of Party sovereignty. The paper addresses four examples of gratitude work: Politburo Standing Committee member Wang Yang's short-lived critique of gratitude in the name of a different conception of popular sovereignty; the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Sichuan earthquake as a day of gratitude; the detention of Uyghurs in Xinjiang who are taught to be grateful to the Communist Party in a campaign of religious de-radicalization; and the refusal of gratitude in quarantined Wuhan during the COVID-19 pandemic. In these cases, the Communist Party's sovereignty stands at the threshold between bio- and necro-politics, promising life and salvation in the midst of death and destruction.

**China - Politics and government ; Sovereignty ; COVID-19.

Control No : 45158

6. Patricia M. Thornton

Of constitutions, campaigns and commissions: a century of democratic centralism under the CCP. *China Quarterly*, 248, 2021: 52 - 72.

Democratic centralism, a hallmark of Leninist party organizations, has played a formative role in the history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Yet despite being hailed as an “inviolable” and “unchanging” Party principle, understandings of democratic centralism have shifted dramatically over the century of its existence. This study traces the long arc of the concept's evolution across successive Party Constitutions, focusing on three critical historical junctures: the Sixth Party Congress, which formally adopted democratic centralism into its Constitution as an organizational principle; the Seventh Party Congress, which adopted rectification as the Party's practice of democratic centralism; and the 19th Party Congress, which set a new milestone in codifying the system as a disciplinary tool. I argue that while democratic centralism exemplifies the CCP's institutional plasticity and adaptive governance and is critical to understanding Party-driven constitutionalism in contemporary China, it also highlights an irresolvable paradox inherent in Party rule. Adaptability does not necessarily impart resilience. I conclude that the CCP's normatively unconstrained extra-constitutional leadership under Xi Jinping highlights the essentially and increasingly irrationalist aspects of its illiberal governance project.

**China - Politics and government ; Constitutionalism ; Chinese Communist Party.

Control No : 45159

7. Rebecca E. Karl

In the realm of comrades? Scattered thoughts occasioned by the centenary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921–2021. *China Quarterly*, 248, 2021: 16 - 28.

This brief essay meditates on the advent of the ideal of horizontal social relations, exemplified in the early CCP years in the political term, “comrade” (tongzhi). It takes up Qu Qiubai as exemplary of a Marxist political thinker whose commitments to horizontality/comrade relations can be illustrated through his theories of literature, translation and language. It proposes that despite Xi Jinping's recent rhetorical admonishments to re-activate “comrade” as a political term, it is the LGBTQ community's appropriation of “comrade” in contemporary China that actually holds the potential for a substantive reanimation of the utopian ideals begun a century ago.

**China - Politics and government ; China Communist Party ; Comrade.

Control No : 45157

CHINESE ECONOMIC STATECRAFT

8. Benjamin Barton

Agency and autonomy in the maritime silk road initiative: an examination of Djibouti's Doraleh Container Terminal Disputes. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(03), 2021: 353–380.

Touted as the second coming of the Hambantota debt-for-equity swap deal, the ongoing legal dispute pitting Dubai Ports (DP) World (United Arab Emirates) and China Merchants Port (CMP) over the Doraleh Container Terminal (DCT) (Djibouti) in front of the Hong Kong High Courts has been hastily interpreted as yet another act of Chinese economic statecraft. Yet, when looking more closely at the specifics of this dispute, it would appear that the evidence does not lend itself favourably to those who advocate the power of Chinese political leverage in return for “debt traps”. This article debunks the myth of Chinese grand strategy as the driving force behind the legal dispute over the DCT, by instead placing the combination of Djiboutian elite agency and CMP's entrepreneurial autonomy as the primary causal variables. It does so by predominantly drawing on unexplored publicly available data obtained from the various legal disputes pertaining to the DCT.

**Chinese economic statecraft ; Doraleh Container Terminal ; Maritime Silk Road Initiative.

Control No : 45111

CLIMATE CHANGE

9. Aseem Mahajan, Reuben Kline and Dustin Tingley

Collective risk and distributional equity in climate change bargaining. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66(01), 2022: 61-90.

International climate negotiations occur against the backdrop of increasing collective risk: the likelihood of catastrophic economic loss due to climate change will continue to increase unless and until global mitigation efforts are sufficient to prevent it. We introduce a novel alternating-offers bargaining model that incorporates this characteristic feature of climate change. We test the model using an incentivized experiment. We manipulate two important distributional equity principles: capacity to pay for mitigation of climate change and vulnerability to its potentially catastrophic effects. Our results show that less vulnerable parties do not exploit the greater vulnerability of their bargaining partners. They are, rather, more generous. Conversely, parties with greater capacity are less generous in their offers. Both collective risk itself and its importance in light of the recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report make it all the more urgent to better understand this crucial strategic feature of climate change bargaining.

**Climate change ; International climate negotiations.

Control No : 45156

EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

10. Adel-Naim Reyhani and Gloria Golmohammadi

The limits of static interests: appreciating asylum seekers' contributions to a country's economy in article 8 ECHR adjudication on expulsion. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 33(01), 2021: 3-27.

This article critiques the European Court of Human Rights' approach towards assessing asylum seekers' right to respect for private and family life under article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights in the context of their expulsion. In balancing the right of the individual against the public interest, it is argued that the court's case law follows a static perspective. The rigidly defined assumption that the public interest lies in enforcing migration control and that the societal contributions of asylum seekers cannot influence the strength of the public interest is prevalent in jurisprudence yet underexplored in scholarship. The article uses the case of asylum seekers who contribute to a country's economy to demonstrate that the court currently fails to appreciate the interdependence between these interests. It then suggests a path by which the court's approach might be adjusted towards more nuance, ultimately allowing the contributions of asylum seekers to European communities to be appropriately reflected in legal determinations.

**European Court of Human Rights ; European communities.

Control No : 45121

EUROPEAN UNION

11. Balazs Szent-Ivanyi

Practising what they preach? Development NGOs and the EU's emergency trust fund for Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(11), 2021: 2552-2571.

This article examines how non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) balance their moral and organisational/financial incentives in the case of the European Union Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF). The EUTF was created in 2015 to support the European Union's (EU's) migration policy by addressing the 'root causes' of migration in Africa. The article analyses how NGDOs have reacted to the EUTF using qualitative textual analysis of publications and press releases, and finds that NGDOs have been highly critical of the EUTF's underlying narrative, goals and implementation. Their positions align closely with the stated moral vision of supporting and empowering the global poor. Despite this critical position, many NGDOs have benefitted financially from the EUTF as project implementers. Regression analysis on the determinants of NGDO participation in EUTF projects reveals that NGDOs have largely avoided the more controversial migration management projects of the EUTF, and have focused mostly on projects that build resilience in local communities and support improving the lives and the rights of the poor in Africa. The case of the EUTF shows that NGDOs mostly practise what they preach, and while they did not

abstain from the EUTF, they did not allow their financial incentives to fully dictate their actions either.

**European Union ; European Union - Emergency Trust Fund for Africa ; Non-governmental development organisations.

Control No : 45140

12. Lina Jasmontaite-Zaniewicz and Julia Zomignani Barboza

Disproportionate surveillance: technology-assisted and automated decisions in asylum applications in the EU? *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 33(01), 2021: 89-110.

Since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States, the association between migration and security has been continuously strengthened, with multiple States working to tighten their border controls. In the European Union (EU), this trend has been shown by the frequent overlap between asylum application and migration policies and the agenda concerning border control, security, and terrorism. This securitization of migration discourse is claimed to justify the use of controversial practices to examine asylum applications. Against this background, the article reflects on the use of technology-assisted and automated decisions in this area. In particular, it questions whether the existing safeguards provided in the EU data protection framework ensure asylum seekers' rights to privacy and the protection of personal data. In doing so, the article seeks to offer a more nuanced understanding of European asylum policy and the potential flaws therein that allow individuals' fundamental rights – enshrined in the EU Charter and the European Convention on Human Rights – to be infringed. In conclusion, the article engages with the debate relating to the use of automated decisions, in particular those based on artificial intelligence, and whether they should be excluded from certain policy areas, such as migration.

**European Union ; European Convention on Human Rights.

Control No : 45124

FEMINIST SECURITY STUDIES

13. Catherine Baker

The contingencies of whiteness: gendered/racialized global dynamics of security narratives. *Security Dialogue*, 52(01), 2021: 124-132.

Both the fortification of European borders against migration from the global South and Western militaries' involvement in wars ostensibly to prevent terrorist networks reaching Western shores belong to what critical and feminist security studies already recognize as a racialized security regime. Within this gendered racial order, policies, discourses and everyday practices surrounding border security, migration, asylum and war reinforce each other to construct 'Europe' and 'the West' as normatively white spaces, under threat from racialized Others within and without (see, for example, Gray and Franck, 2019; Stachowitsch and Sachseder, 2019). Yet, on the southeastern periphery of the European Union, which was constructed as a zone of security threat in the 1990s and is now charged with securing the EU's border with the global South, identifications with whiteness are both more complex and more consequential than Western European perspectives may know them to be.

**Feminist security studies ; Global South and Western militaries.

Control No : 45120

GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

14. Lorraine Elliott

Australian IR scholarship on the environment: the recent past and the possible future. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2021, 75(06): 604-618.

Australian IR scholars and scholarship have been prominent in framing, informing and contributing to global debates in the field of global environmental politics. This article reviews and analyses those contributions with a focus on the period since 2009. It takes as a starting point research that addresses international or global environmental issues, including those that demand a scalar approach to how the global is voiced and experienced at local and regional sites, and that, in doing so, illuminates key disciplinary concerns and contributes to disciplinary debates. The core of the article is woven around three overlapping sub-fields: global environmental governance,

international political economy, and normative IR. It reveals how Australian-based IR scholars working on the environment have engaged with critiques of neo-liberalism, pursued more critical approaches to securitization, expanded the empirical and conceptual basis of how we understand institutional ecosystems, contributed to bringing social justice concerns to the forefront of global environmental politics and theory, and been part of a conversation about environmental challenges in the Asia Pacific region. The article concludes with some thoughts about the future direction of this research and scholarship.

**Global environmental politics ; Asia Pacific environment ; Australian scholarship.

Control No : 45143

HUMAN RIGHTS

15. Daniel Wilsher

Between martyrdom and silence: dissent, duress, and persecution as the suppression of human rights under the refugee convention. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 33(01), 2021: 28–53.

A real risk of death, torture, violence, or arbitrary detention is generally sufficient to satisfy 'persecution' under the Refugee Convention. Where, however, physical harm will only arise if a claimant were to exercise certain human rights upon return, jurisprudential uncertainty reigns. Only a few individuals are impelled to become 'martyrs' through open dissent. Courts strongly endorse these dissenters' entitlement to international protection even if they could avoid retribution through self-censorship. A second group – 'a silent minority' – are those who would actually refrain from exercising their rights to avoid physical harm. Most jurisprudence appears to accept that such a situation may sometimes amount to persecution. Unlike martyrs, however, these claimants are required to meet control devices based upon the severity of the human rights restriction, and/or the mental effects of self-censorship on the claimant. These are, however, both arbitrary and unprincipled. This article argues the real harm felt by martyrs and the silent minority is the same: the forcible suppression of their enjoyment of human rights. Importantly, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' approach to military service, religious, and sexuality cases already embodies this principle. To generalize, this 'suppressive' persecution arises when (a) claimants sincerely wish to engage in actions which (b) are international human rights entitlements and (c) they face objective conditions of sufficient duress such that they cannot reasonably assert their rights through civil disobedience. When States or private actors suppress the exercise of rights by duress in this way, those affected suffer a denial of rights amounting to persecution. This analysis should apply whether a claimant would be a martyr or would be intimidated into self-censorship.

**Human rights ; Refugee convention.

Control No : 45122

INDIA

- ASEAN

16. Angelina Gurunathan and Ravichandran Moorthy

Riding the Indo-Pacific wave: India–ASEAN partnership sans RCEP. *India Quarterly*, 77(04), 2021: 560-578.

India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' (ASEAN) partnership began in the early 1990s mainly in the economic domain. Reeling from a major internal crisis, India wanted to tap onto the region's economic vibrancy to strengthen its own waning economy. Since then, amidst India's domestic constraints, economic ties have largely sustained the India–ASEAN partnership on a steady course. India's withdrawal from the ASEAN-led Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) negotiations in 2019, therefore, was an important inflection point in the partnership. This study, hence, discusses the prospects for the India–ASEAN partnership moving forward beyond the RCEP. This is undertaken by first examining the main challenges India faces with the ASEAN Free Trade Arrangement and the RCEP. After which, relevant developments pertaining to India's multilateral partnership within the Indo-Pacific theatre as well as to India's economic trajectory are deliberated in relation to ASEAN. Based on this analysis, this study argues that the outlook for India–ASEAN ties remains optimistic since the external and internal pressures needed for important economic reforms has not diminished for India. In addition, there are prospects for wider engagements with ASEAN due to Indo-Pacific-related strategic recalibrations in the region. Therefore, collectively these factors will provide crucial thrusts for the partnership to move forward strongly sans RCEP.

**India - ASEAN ; Regional economic integration ; Indo-Pacific ; Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Control No : 45151

INDIA

- FOREIGN POLICY

17. Sergey I. Lunev and Ellina P. Shavlay

India as a global power: the strategic culture problems. *India Quarterly*, 77(04), 2021: 525-541. The article reviews India's contested role of a great power in global politics. Although showing tangible results across all the aspects pertaining to the great power status, in international relations India is still largely underestimated and even overlooked. Politicians and scholars generally mention three main reasons behind that phenomenon: weak social and economic figures, the country's relatively narrow global impact and the absence of strategic culture. We argue that the latter is key, and that it is in the process of being remedied. In fact, India already has all the prerequisites for being recognised as a 'great power', since it has political, military, economic and cultural capabilities corresponding to the status. It is simply a matter of time and coordinated efforts of the government to formulate and implement a consistent foreign policy and economic strategy as well as a change in Indian elite's strategic thinking which will enable untapping India's existing potential and successfully meeting the objective of increasing its influence in global politics.

**India - Foreign policy ; Strategic culture ; Global strategy ; South Asia.

Control No : 45149

INDIA

- TRADE AGREEMENTS

18. Monika Jain

Was India right in not joining RCEP? A cost-benefit analysis. *India Quarterly*, 77(04), 2021: 542-559.

India dropped out of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)—which included the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, China, South Korea, New Zealand, Japan and Australia—after negotiating for almost seven years in November 2018 on the grounds of national interest and also that free trade agreements (FTAs) did not amount to free trade and led to more trade diversion than trade creation. The cost and benefit of a regional agreement depend on the amount of trade creation with respect to trade diversion (Panagriya, 2000). This study tries to examine India's concerns and, at the same time, highlights the cost of not joining RCEP. India's trade deficit with 11 out of the 15 RCEP nations has been a major cause of concern. Unfavourable trade balance, concerns about the impact on dairy sector, economic slowdown, past experience with FTA's, China factor, data localisation, rules of origin and the experience of ASEAN countries with Sino-FTA have been some of the reasons behind India's decision to opt out of this mega multilateral agreement. Also, bilateral trade agreements with some RCEP countries such as Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and South Korea were operational. A multilateral trade agreement with ASEAN countries was very much in place. So, trade between India and 12 of the RCEP member countries would not have changed much after India's inclusion in the RCEP. The impact of lower tariffs would have been evident for the remaining three countries: China, Australia and New Zealand. Furthermore, there was fear of a massive surge in imports of manufactures from China and dairy imports from Australia and New Zealand. This study also examines the long-term impact of this decision and if India has missed out on becoming a part of the global value chain and gaining greater market access in the Asia-Pacific region. India's policy of import substitution and protectionism did not capitulate desired results in the past. Hence, a critical evaluation of India's decision and some validation on her concerns and fears have been done.

**India - Trade agreements ; India - Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership ; RCEP ; ASEAN.

Control No : 45150

INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

19. Sheryl R. Lightfoot

Decolonizing self-determination: haudenosaunee passports and negotiated sovereignty. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(04), 2021: 971-994.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) recognises both Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination and simultaneously offers protections in regard to states' right to sovereignty and territorial integrity vis-à-vis Indigenous peoples' claims. Often, this is considered an internal inconsistency of the UNDRIP, and another common critique is that Indigenous peoples were only recognised as having a diminished right to self-determination, which is less than what everyone else enjoys. This article stands in contrast to these two lines of critique, arguing that the UNDRIP's articulation of self-determination is potentially ushering in a broadening, and possible reshaping, of self-determination, which has been increasingly decoupled from singular Westphalian notions of 'sovereignty' and 'territoriality' in ways that require ongoing negotiation between peoples and states. This case study of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy's issuance and use of their passports, based on original fieldwork including a set of qualitative interviews with key informants, demonstrates how the Haudenosaunee Confederacy is pushing the practice and understanding of self-determination in multiple, new directions to include plural sovereignties in deeply significant ways concerning International Relations in both theory and in practice.

**Indigenous rights ; United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples ; UNDRIP ; Universal Declaration of Human Rights ; UDHR.

Control No : 45125

INDONESIA

- INTERNAL MIGRATION

20. Isabelle Cote

Internal migration and resource conflict: evidence from Riau, Indonesia. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 07(01), 2022: 025.

A vast body of literature suggests that resource exploitation is linked to armed conflict. However, the role of voluntary internal migration in resource conflict has been overlooked. Does internal migration interact with resource exploitation and contribute to violent conflict in resource-rich regions of multinational states? And if so, how? Using a comparative ethnography approach, I inductively developed a four-part theory based on in-depth ethnographic fieldwork in resource-rich Inner Mongolia, China, before evaluating my theory against empirical evidence from Riau province, Indonesia. In contrast to the current literature that either sidesteps the role of voluntary internal migrants in resource conflict, or portrays them as mere negative externalities of resource exploitation, I show how migrants' ownership of, and employment in, many of the companies that exploit and destroy local resources have marginalized local people and threatened their lifestyle and economic subsistence. As local elites resort to nativist frames to resist such practices and mobilize local people around these issues, companies hire brutal non-locally born, security guards or thugs to protect their assets, escalating the violence. Finally, states' reliance on domestic population movements for resource exploitation and national development projects also affects their ability and willingness to intervene in resource conflict, contributing to their protracted nature. This article illustrates the problem with studying resource conflict in isolation from migration dynamics, as the two processes interact with one another, intensifying grievances and providing added motives and opportunities for violence.

**Indonesia - Internal migration ; China - Economic development ; Resource conflict.

Control No : 45134

INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE

21. Yao Song, Guangyu Qiao-Franco and Tianyang Liu

Becoming a normative power? China's Mekong agenda in the era of Xi Jinping. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(06), 2021: 1709-1726.

Maintaining robust diplomatic relationships with neighbouring countries in the Mekong region has become strategically critical to China. Since President Xi Jinping took office, China has been renovating normative power in the Mekong region, endeavouring to socialize the Mekong countries into accepting normative Chinese concepts, such as 'community of shared destiny', by mobilizing and reconfiguring their material and normative recourses. This article argues that China's normative power stems from two primary mechanisms: 1) an organized, top-down diffusion driven by political elites, involving inter-governmental dialogues, socialization via bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms, and negotiations with countries co-opted into China-led connectivity and infrastructure initiatives; 2) a bottom-up diffusion of ideas from practices (i.e. exchange of goods,

trade, aid) and the physical presence of China in the Mekong region, exemplified by the massive scale of infrastructure widely constructed in the region. Taken together, China's expanded normative engagement in the Mekong subregion is comprised of multiple, oscillating modes of normative production that have been 'synchronized' across riparian countries with varied geoeconomic and geopolitical circumstances. Our findings suggest that while normative Chinese discourses have been accepted by the ruling classes of certain Mekong countries, China's attempts to build normative power have been largely shunned by the civil societies in the region.

**International governance ; Law and Ethics.

Control No : 45131

INTERNATIONAL HIERARCHY

22. Joanne Yao

An international hierarchy of science: conquest, cooperation, and the 1959 Antarctic Treaty System. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(04), 2021: 995-1019.

The Antarctic Treaty System (ATS), created in 1959 to govern the southern continent, is often lauded as an illustration of science's potential to inspire peaceful and rational International Relations. This article critically examines this optimistic view of science's role in international politics by focusing on how science as a global hierarchical structure operated as a gatekeeper to an exclusive Antarctic club. I argue that in the early 20th century, the conduct of science in Antarctica was entwined with global and imperial hierarchies. As what Mattern and Zarakol call a broad hierarchy, science worked both as a civilized marker of international status as well as a social performance that legitimated actors' imperial interests in Antarctica. The 1959 ATS relied on science as an existing broad hierarchy to enable competing states to achieve a functional bargain and 'freeze' sovereignty claims, whilst at the same time institutionalizing and reinforcing the legitimacy of science in maintaining international inequalities. In making this argument, I stress the role of formal international institutions in bridging our analysis of broad and functional hierarchies while also highlighting the importance of scientific hierarchies in constituting the current international order.

**International hierarchy ; Antarctic Treaty System.

Control No : 45126

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

23. David Blagden

Roleplay, realpolitik and 'great powerness': the logical distinction between survival and social performance in grand strategy. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(04), 2021: 1162-1192.

States exist in an anarchic international system in which survival is the necessary precursor to fulfilling all of their citizens' other interests. Yet states' inhabitants – and the policymakers they empower – also hold social ideas about other ends that the state should value and how it should pursue them: the 'role' they expect their state to 'play' in international politics. Furthermore, such role-performative impulses can motivate external behaviours inimical to security-maximization – and thus to the state survival necessary for future interest-fulfilment. This article therefore investigates the tensions between roleplay and realpolitik in grand strategy. It does so through interrogation of four mutual incompatibilities in role-performative and realpolitik understandings of 'Great Powerness', a core – but conceptually contested – international-systemic ordering unit, thereby demonstrating their necessary logical distinctiveness. The argument is illustrated with brief case studies on the United States, China, France, the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan. Identification of such security-imperilling role motives thus buttresses neoclassical realist theory; specifically, as an account of strategic deviation from the security-maximizing realist baseline. Such conclusions carry important implications for both scholarship and statecraft, meanwhile. For once we recognize that roleplay and realpolitik are necessarily distinct incentive structures, role motives' advocates can no longer claim that discharging such performative social preferences necessarily bolsters survival prospects too.

**International politics ; Socialization power.

Control No : 45128

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

24. Bina D'Costa

Learning/unlearning in International Relations through the politics of margins and silence. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2021, 75(06): 591-603.

As an auto-ethnography, this essay offers my learning and teaching in International Relations through the politics of margins and silences. I note that recentring margins and unpacking multiple silences are not so simple. They generate their own discomforts and unlearning. Through my academic encounters of forging feminist relationships, debating race and racism, and efforts to decolonise knowledge in academia, I observe that these are compounded (and complicated) by everyday life and personal struggles. I maintain that despite crucial progress in the discipline, knowledge is being produced about people, who are actual repositories of knowledge and we have learnt little from them. While margins of the discipline is now a thriving and powerful space, it is appropriated by privileged voices, including those of feminists of global south and north, who are embedded in institutional and structural hierarchies. We need radical, multi-disciplinary methodological tools to decentre state and regional interests and unlearn some of the traditional ways we have been taught to think about what is IR and what is not.

**International relations ; Global South ; Gender justice.

Control No : 45142

25. David Chandler and Farai Chipato

A call for abolition: the disavowal and displacement of race in critical security studies. *Security Dialogue*, 52(01), 2021: 60-68.

In 2020, *Security Dialogue* issued a call for interventions on race and racism in critical security studies, responding to a tumultuous year of global upheaval and academic controversy surrounding racial issues in contemporary society. In the call, the editors highlighted the lack of engagement with race in the field, requesting submissions that interrogate these issues and propose reparative framings to inform future research. Our response to this call seeks to raise some notes of caution, to indicate that the depth and nature of the problem require full acknowledgement prior to the consideration of what, if any, reparative work may be undertaken. We do not think that the call is problematic in its statement that 'the spectres of race and racism haunt the field of critical security studies, not just the broader discipline of International Relations' (*Security Dialogue*, 2020). However, we question the ability of the field to provide reparative perspectives that are adequate to the task of grappling with these spectres.

**International Relations ; Critical security studies.

Control No : 45118

26. Mariana Selister Gomes and Renata Rodrigues Marques

Can securitization theory be saved from itself? A decolonial and feminist intervention. *Security Dialogue*, 52(01), 2021: 78-87.

Recently, the article 'Is securitization theory racist? Civilizationism, methodological whiteness, and antiblack thought in the Copenhagen School', by Howell and Richter-Montpetit (2020), sparked an intense debate in security studies by highlighting what the authors viewed as the racism of the Copenhagen School. Subsequently, Wæver and Buzan (2020) pleaded their case that many securitization studies use the race variable and are aware of racism. The relevance of the debate is undeniable. Several authors have explored the possibilities (and limitations) of connecting gender, racial studies, postcolonial and decolonial thought, and securitization theory (Bertrand, 2018; Gray and Franck, 2019; Hirschauer, 2014; Ibrahim, 2005; Moffette and Vadasaria, 2016; Saeed, 2016). Our objective in this intervention is to contribute to this debate with two main arguments.

**International relations ; Racial studies ; Feminist approach.

Control No : 45117

27. Navnita Chadha Behera, Kristina Hinds and Arlene B Tickner

Making amends: towards an antiracist critical security studies and international relations. *Security Dialogue*, 52(01), 2021: 8-16.

Controversy over an article written by Allison Howell and Melanie Richter-Montpetit (2020) on securitization theory's supposed anti-Black thinking and methodological whiteness, a detailed

rejoinder by two of the Copenhagen School's main representatives that faults the authors' analysis for poor scholarship and 'deep fake' methodology (Wæver and Buzan, 2020; see also Hansen, 2020), and the subsequent backlash towards the senior male scholars' alleged attack against their female detractors form a telling episode of parochial academic theater.

**International relations ; United States - Racism.

Control No : 45115

28. Rhys Machold and Catherine Chiniara Charrett

Beyond ambivalence: locating the whiteness of security. *Security Dialogue*, 52(01), 2021: 38-48. Critical security studies' increasing engagement with race and racism offers a welcome corrective to the subfield's longstanding tendency to ignore such concerns. Yet our intervention begins from the premise that simply adding race and racism to the list of topics and frames of critical security analysis is insufficient. This follows from the growing recognition that critical security studies' and international relations' disavowal and erasure of racism is not reducible to a lack of attention to race per se. It concerns the myriad ways in which international relations (Anievas et al., 2015; Henderson, 2013; Krishna, 2001; Muppidi, 2012; Rutazibwa, 2016; Tilley and Shilliam, 2017; Vitalis, 2015) and security studies (Howell and Richter-Montpetit, 2019, 2020) are implicated in civilizational thinking at the core of white supremacy. Building on these insights, our intervention is structured around the following question: If we take seriously that international relations and security studies are implicated in civilizational thinking, how might recognition of this amend our existing critical depositions to security as well as our analytical starting points for what security is and does?

**International relations ; Racial violence ; Critical security studies.

Control No : 45116

29. Roland Bleiker

Seeing beyond disciplines: aesthetic creativity in international theory. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 75(06), 2021: 573-590.

This essay outlines the contribution that Australia-based scholars have made to aesthetic politics: the exploration of creative and interdisciplinary approaches to International Relations. The struggle to legitimise aesthetic insights is indicative of a larger challenge: how academic disciplines discipline thought in ways that constrains innovative scholarly contributions and their potential to address concrete political problems. The essay advances an argument in favour of seeing beyond the discipline of International Relations. The international is not some higher-order realm that is separate from the rest of the social and political world. The most pressing challenges, from terrorism to climate change, are too complex to be understood as uniquely international phenomena. They implicate the local as much as the global, the psychological as much as the institutional and the relational as much as the structural. Finding practical and policy-relevant solutions to complex transnational problems requires insights from fields as diverse as psychology, neuroscience, literature, demography art and economics, to name just a few. Needed, then, is greater acceptance and support for creative approaches that can understand and address political challenges from multiple parallel perspectives and without having to adhere to preconceived disciplinary conventions.

**International Relations ; Australia - Academia.

Control No : 45141

30. Vincent Charles Keating and Lucy M Abbott

Entrusted norms: security, trust, and betrayal in the Gulf Cooperation Council crisis. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(04), 2021.

Combining scholarship on norms and trust in International Relations, this article puts forward the concept of entrusted norms as a novel means to understand certain dynamics of cooperation and conflict in international politics. Entrusted norms differ from non-entrusted norms both in the manner that they are policed and in the reaction to their infringement. In the first case, there are few formal hedging mechanisms taken against potential defection. In the second case, when broken, they result in a betrayal reaction where a return to the behavioral status quo is insufficient to return to the political status quo. We illustrate the analytical usefulness of entrusted norms through an examination of the established norms of diplomacy within the Gulf Cooperation Council, paying particular attention to interactions between Saudi Arabia and Qatar in the post-Arab Spring period. We argue that the perception of Qatar's defection from an entrusted norm, the preservation of

individual and collective dignity, contributed to the 2014 diplomatic rupture between these two states and set in motion a betrayal/attempted reconciliation cycle, where even Qatar's attempts to move back to the behavioral status quo prior to the fallout have been insufficient to fully repair the relationship. In addition to providing a novel interpretation to this case, this paper highlights the need for further theoretical consideration of the severity and duration of punishment after norm transgression within social constructivism, reinforces the theoretical connection between social structures and emotions, and advocates for an expansion in the domains of trust that we study.

**International relations ; Gulf Cooperation Council.

Control No : 45127

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY

31. Jamal Barnes and Samuel M Makinda

A threat to cosmopolitan duties? How COVID-19 has been used as a tool to undermine refugee rights. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(06), 2021: 1671–1689.

The outbreak of COVID-19 in early 2020 provided cover for some states to take strict and hostile measures against refugees and asylum seekers, thereby privileging self-regarding over other-regarding or cosmopolitan-oriented policies. The hostile measures, which have included detentions, pushbacks and other refugee deterrence actions not only appeared to shake the refugee system, but they increased the vulnerability of asylum seekers and refugees who continued to be exposed to torture, drownings at sea, trafficking and sexual violence. This development, which included a fine-tuning of some measures that had been hatched before the emergence of COVID-19, appeared to set back efforts to nurture the bonds of global human solidarity and expand moral and ethical boundaries beyond state borders. However, the international refugee regime continues and is supported by many states and other international actors that seek to emphasise cosmopolitan and other-regarding policies. The resilience of the refugee system underlines the fact that international society has a practical and moral basis to challenge exclusionist policies towards asylum seekers and refugees, prevent future harm that might result from asylum deterrence policies and develop more humane forms of international refugee governance.

**International relations theory ; International governance ; Global Health and Development.

Control No : 45129

32. Joe Burton and George Christou

Bridging the gap between cyberwar and cyberpeace. *International Affairs(UK)*, 97(06), 2021: 1727–1747.

The conceptual debate around the term cyber warfare has dominated the cybersecurity discipline over the last two decades. Much less attention has been given during this period to an equally important question: what constitutes cyber peace? This article draws on the literatures in peace and conflict studies and on desecuritization in critical security studies, to suggest how we might begin to rearticulate the cybersecurity narrative and shift the debate away from securitization and cyberwar to a more academically grounded focus on desecuritization and cyber peace. It is argued that such a move away from a vicious circle where states frame cybersecurity predominantly within a national security narrative and where they seek to perpetually prepare for cyberwar, to a virtual cycle of positive cyber peace, is not only a desirable, but a necessary outcome going forward. We assert that this is particularly important if we are to avoid (continuing) to construct the very vulnerabilities and insecurities that lead to the prioritization of offence and destruction in cyberspace, rather than transformative, human-centred development in information and communications technology innovation.

**International Relations Theory ; Law and Ethics ; International Governance.

Control No : 45132

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

33. Jeffrey M Kaplow

State compliance and the track record of international security institutions: evidence from the nuclear nonproliferation regime. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 07(01), 2022: 027.

Why do states choose to comply with international security institutions, and what factors drive

changes in compliance behavior over time? This article argues that these institutions are based on a fundamental bargain among members—each is willing to comply only so long as others do—but there is often uncertainty about the compliance of others. The track record of the institution provides information that helps to resolve this uncertainty. As time passes with few violations, states will be more likely to comply themselves; evidence of increasing noncompliance, on the other hand, will make states more likely to cheat. Analysis of data on nuclear weapons programs from 1968 to 2010 finds that members of the nuclear nonproliferation regime are more likely to pursue nuclear weapons when there have been a greater number of recent violations of the regime. These findings point to a more dynamic view of international security institutions than has generally been recognized in the literature.

**International security ; Nuclear nonproliferation regime.

Control No : 45136

IRAQ

- HUMAN RIGHTS

34. Christopher J Einolf

How torture fails: evidence of misinformation from torture-induced confessions in Iraq. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 07(01), 2022: 019.

This article examines the testimony of fifty-seven torture victims in Saddam Hussein's Iraq to illustrate the processes by which torture fails to gain true confessions or accurate information. Theoretical analyses have identified several ways in which torture is likely to fail, but this is the first study to examine empirically how this occurs. In the study sample, victims stated that torture frequently led to inaccurate results, with respondents who were guilty of anti-regime activity refusing to confess or give information, innocent victims giving false information and confessions, and guilty victims giving accurate information followed by inaccurate information when the torture continued. The majority of victims stated that they resisted torture and did not confess or give any information. They did so because they knew that the regime relied on confessions to get criminal convictions and because they knew that confessing or providing information would only lead to more torture.

**Iraq - Human rights ; Iraq - Interrogation.

Control No : 45135

ISRAEL

- DEMOGRAPHY

35. Daphna Birenbaum-Carmeli

Israeli demography: a composite portrait of a reproductive outlier. *Israel Affairs*, 27(06), 2021: 1053-1081.

With a fertility rate twice higher than the OECD average, Israel is a world outlier in terms of fertility. This article puts together a composite portrait of this exceptional reproductive landscape. Within a comparative framework, it offers context-specific illustrations showing that considered vis-à-vis women in the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and Jewish FSU immigrants to the U.S., FSU immigrants to Israel had higher fertility. Inside Israel, all non-Jewish women have decreased their fertility rate in the past two decades, whereas Jewish women of all strata, but ultra orthodox women, have increased their fertility rate. Given the material challenges of child-rearing in Israel, the article concludes with some questions and preliminary answers regarding Israel's exceptional fertility rates.

**Israel - Demography ; Former Soviet Union ; Population density.

Control No : 45146

ISRAEL

- ECONOMIC POLICY

36. Yair Barak

The ascent of the Israeli economists: a historical perspective. *Israel Affairs*, 27(06), 2021: 1082-1109.

From the Zionist movement's early days, it mobilised scientific and technical knowledge in order to implement its goals. Economists were also recruited for this mission, but not as decision-makers; they agreed with the political decision makers' goals and policies and were involved in their implementation. The economists' secondary status lasted up until the 1980s, when they helped to

overcome the hyper-inflation crisis. They were mobilised to back the politicians, who implemented an unusual heterodox massive stabilisation plan. Its success became the economists' springboard for massive political-economic influence. It was only after the program's success, that their economic position gradually became central. Their position became dominant in the 1990s, after the politicians implemented privatisation, which opened up the neoliberal era in Israeli socio-economic policy. The political echelon accepted the neoliberal ideology as framework, while the economists actually applied it.

**Israel - Economic policy ; David Ben-Gurion ; Neoliberal ideology.

Control No : 45147

ISRAEL

- SYRIAN CIVIL WAR

37. Dmitry Strovsky and Ron Schleifer

Leaders, politics, and media policy: Benjamin Netanyahu in the Russian press. *Israel Affairs*, 27(06), 2021: 1033-1052.

The Russian media frequently wrote about Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (1996–99, 2009–21), analysing his role in Middle Eastern affairs, especially with regard to Palestinian-Israeli relations, the Syrian civil war, and the Iranian nuclear programme. Examining Netanyahu's image in the Russian press is crucial not only for understanding the political priorities of twenty-first-century Russian media but also for investigating Moscow's role in international politics given its keen interest in the Middle East.

**Israel - Syrian civil war ; Palestinian - Israeli relations ; Benjamin Netanyahu.

Control No : 45145

ISRAEL

- TOURISM

38. Shlomit Hon-Snir, Sharon Teitler Regev and Anabel Lifszyc-Friedlander

Independent international tourism in Israel. *Israel Affairs*, 27(06), 2021: 1130-1142.

The share of international tourists visiting Israel independently is continuously increasing, and is expected to blossom when the depressed COVID-19 air travel picks up as it enables people to avoid exposure to large groups. This article explores the patterns and characteristics of independent tourism in Israel with a focus on the method and timing of the various services purchased and the level of satisfaction derived from the purchase processes. By way of doing so, it uses a holistic approach that combines questionnaire with interviews – a unique method in the study of independent international tourism.

**Israel - Tourism ; Tourist behaviour.

Control No : 45148

MILITARY ALLIANCE

39. Raymond Kuo and Brian Dylan Blankenship

Deterrence and restraint: Do joint military exercises escalate conflict? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66(01), 2022: 3-31.

Multinational military exercises are among the most notable demonstrations of military cooperation and intent. On average, one is initiated every 8.9 days. But it has often been argued that joint military exercises (JMEs) increase the risk of war. Using a relational contracting approach, we claim that formal military alliances mediate the effect of JMEs. Exercises and alliances serve complementary functions: The former allows targeted responses to military provocations by adversaries, while the latter provides institutional constraints on partners and establishes a partnership's overall strategic limitations. In combination, alliances dampen the conflict escalation effects of exercises, deterring adversaries while simultaneously restraining partners. We test this theory using a two-stage model on directed dyadic data of JMEs from 1973 through 2003. We find that JMEs in general do not escalate conflict, and that JMEs conducted with allies in particular reduce the probability of conflict escalation.

**Military alliance ; Multinational military exercises ; Joint military exercises.

Control No : 45154

NORTH

-SOUTH COOPERATION

40. Alena Sander

Reclaiming partnership – ‘rightful resistance’ in a Norths/Souths cooperation. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(11), 2021: 2538-2551.

Over the past few decades, the development discourse has been subject to various criticisms. Instead of rejecting these criticisms, however, the discourse absorbed at least parts of them. This led to discursive incoherencies. These appear as new concepts that seem incompatible with the initial development discourse and the power relations on which it relies. The notion of partnership, which refers to mutual trust and respect, is one of the discourse’s most prominent incoherent features. In the everyday cooperation between Jordanian women’s organisations and their North-based donors, however, partnership is an ideal, rather than an actual practice, and is frequently arbitrarily misinterpreted and misused by the donors. Through a case study grounded in a two-month participant observation of one Jordanian women’s organisation and a series of qualitative interviews with their staff members and donor representatives conducted in Jordan in 2017 and 2018, the paper explores how the organisation and their staff members intentionally resist their donors’ behaviour by performing acts of rightful resistance.

**North-South Cooperation ; Development discourse ; Jordan - Women’s rights.

Control No : 45139

ORIENTALISM

41. Ahmad H. Sa’di

Orientalism in a globalised world: Said in the twenty-first century. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(11), 2021: 2505-2520.

From its publication in 1978, Edward Said’s magnum opus *Orientalism* has generated fierce and unrelenting debates regarding its epistemology and scope, and the interpretive validity of its Western cultural representations of the self and other. Since then, however, the world has become increasingly governed by different sets of assumptions, ideologies, relations of production and reproduction, and matrixes of power relations. This article considers whether orientalism has kept its hold on Western public opinion, media presentations, political elites, and sections of the scholarly community’s mode of thinking in the current neo-liberal, globalised, digitalised and securitised world. It also considers whether its mutation has shifted to engender a paradigmatic change and argues that alongside the old-style orientalism, a more sophisticated, subtle, and up-to-date perspective has appeared. Although its emphases, concerns and methodologies might represent a certain departure from old orientalist dogmas, its objective seems to remain largely intact.

**Orientalism ; Islamophobia.

Control No : 45137

42. David Nugent

Orientalism in war and peace: the politics of academic scholarship during the long twentieth century. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(11), 2021: 2521-2537.

In this paper I explore the relationship between Orientalism, empire-building and the development of the social sciences in the US during the long twentieth century. I focus on the construction of a series of academic infrastructures that the sponsors of the social sciences have underwritten to produce knowledge about the Others of empire. I am especially concerned with the role of these academic infrastructures in concealing imperial domination and in Orientalising imperial subjects. I trace the historical development of the infrastructures and explore the dilemmas they create for scholars who seek to critique processes in which they are unavoidably involved.

**Orientalism ; United States military.

Control No : 45138

RACIAL HIERARCHY

43. Polly Pallister-Wilkins

Saving the souls of white folk: humanitarianism as white supremacy. *Security Dialogue*, 52(01), 2021: 98-106.

White saviourism is a much-discussed aspect of humanitarian action (Richey, 2016; Wearing et al., 2018). Acknowledgment of the colonial dynamics of white saviourism at play in contemporary humanitarianism have led the sector to diversify its staff, but, like other liberal diversity work addressing systemic inequalities, simply adding more Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC) fails to address underlying structures (Ahmed, 2012). I argue that humanitarianism is haunted by more than white saviourism past and present. Instead, I argue that humanitarianism is animated and made possible by white supremacy, defined as 'a logic of social organisation that produces regimented, institutionalised, and militarised conceptions of hierarchised "human" difference' (Rodriguez, 2009: 11). In discussing humanitarianism as white supremacy, I argue humanitarianism plays a historical and contemporary role in the creation and consolidation of what W. E. B. Du Bois ([1920] 1999) termed 'whiteness' and, drawing on Sylvia Wynter (1996), that it veils the racial hierarchies within universalist understandings of the 'human'. This means that humanitarianism as it has developed over time allows white supremacy to go unchallenged but also to thrive. As such, humanitarianism offers no reparative possibility within its current terms of reference, which raises questions about the potential for and limits of decolonizing humanitarianism.

**Racial hierarchy ; Humanitarianism.

Control No : 45119

REGIONALISM

44. Shiping Tang

Regionalism in the shadow of extraregional great powers: a game theoretical explanation of Central Asia and beyond. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(03), 2021: 381-416.

The article develops a game theoretical model for the evolution of various regionalism projects. It contends that regionalism in the post-World War II (WWII) world has almost always evolved in the shadow of extraregional great powers (EGPs), with the United States being the principal, but not the only, EGP. As such, how regional great powers (RGPs) and small-to-medium states (SMSs) within a region interact with each other in the shadow of EGPs are critical to the evolution of different regionalism projects. This setup leads to a game theoretical framework. Among the various regionalism projects, regionalism in Central Asia is an intriguing case. The model developed in this article implies that the sometimes competitive and sometimes cooperative interaction among SMSs, EGPs, and RGPs can best explain the historical dynamics of the regionalism project in Central Asia. In particular, the model explains why the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the regionalism project that has been proclaimed to be dead or close to be dead by many pundits, has become the more resilient and visible among the many regionalism projects within the region. The model also applies to other regionalism projects.

**Regionalism ; Shanghai Cooperation Organization ; Central Asia.

Control No : 45112

RUSSIA

- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

45. Graeme Gill

Images of Russia in Western scholarship. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2021, 75(06): 637-649.

Initially Western scholars generally assumed that Russia would become a 'normal' democratic state, taking its place in the existing world order. They attributed this to Yeltsin's democratic credentials, but they could do so only by ignoring the clear flaws in Russian democracy as it developed under his presidency. This means that when Russia moved in a more authoritarian direction under Yeltsin's successor Vladimir Putin, the explanation that most gave for this was the agency of Putin. He was seen as reinstating many of the elements of the Soviet legacy, including the role of the security apparatus. Putin's rise was also seen as decisive in the shift of Russia's international position from one seeking accommodation within the existing international architecture to one seeking to revise

that architecture in ways objectionable to the West. The result is said to be a new cold war. But there is disagreement about how this should be understood: is Russia acting as a traditional great power, and therefore understandable through the established principles of international relations, or is she still claiming Soviet-style exceptionalism? What is clear, and many do not appreciate, is that even when Putin has gone, Russia's core interests will likely not change.

**Russia - Politics and government ; Putin ; Soviet legacy.

Control No : 45144

SAARC

- TRADE POLICY

46. Radha Raghurampatruni, M. Senthil and N. Gayathri

The future potential and prospects of SAARC regional grouping: a study. *India Quarterly*, 77(04), 2021: 579-604.

The renewed and reinvigorated engagement of India with the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) over the past few years has been one of the significant factors leading to the gradual and irreversible transition of the regional organisation from a declaratory phase to one of implementation (Bhagwati, 2008). The new growth momentum in the South Asian region and its increasing openness encourages a fresh look at the economic integration of the region. In this context, the study examines the opportunities and commodity potential of trade between India and the SAARC countries by adopting a variety of trade indices of export intensity index and import intensity index along with Gini coefficient. The authors further study the commodity trade potential between India and the SAARC countries by adopting the revealed comparative advantage index and revealed import dependency index. The study concludes an increasing export intensity and import intensity of trade between India and the other SAARC member countries. Finally, the values of Gravity coefficient and commodity analysis find a high trade potential between them and the untapped trade and investment scenario that could be tapped by strengthening the regional block of SAARC.

**SAARC - Trade Policy ; Revealed Comparative Advantage ; South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

Control No : 45152

SRI LANKA

- RADICALISATION

47. N. Manoharan, Drorima Chatterjee and Dhruv Ashok

The new 'Other': Islamic radicalisation and de-radicalisation in Sri Lanka. *India Quarterly*, 77(04), 2021: 605-621.

One of the key terms to understand the nature of violence and conflicts world over is 'radicalisation'. Sri Lanka's case is instructive in understanding the various dimensions of Islamic radicalisation and de-radicalisation, especially in South Asia. Though a small state, Sri Lanka has witnessed three radical movements, the latest being Islamic that got manifested in deadly Easter attacks of April 2019. Eco-space for Islamic radicalisation existed in the island for decades, but the rise of ultra-Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism post the end of Eelam War IV acted as a breaking point. The underlying context is perceived as the feeling of insecurity projected by hardline Sinhala-Buddhist elements. In due course, the primary 'other' shifted from Tamils to Sri Lankan Muslims. Apart from inter-communal dissonance, international jihadist network also fostered radicalisation process in the island's Muslim community. Political instability due to co-habitation issues between the then president and the prime minister was a perfect distraction from the core security and development issues. In response to the violent manifestation of radicalisation, de-radicalisation measures by the successive Sri Lankan governments were mostly military in nature. Socio-economic and political components of Islamic de-radicalisation are at the incipient stage, if not totally missing. The article suggests wide-ranging measures to address the issue of radicalisation in the island state.

**Sri Lanka - Radicalisation ; De-radicalisation ; Islamic - Radicalisation ; ISIS.

Control No : 45153

SUB -SAHARAN AFRICA

48. Claire Elder

Somaliland's authoritarian turn: oligarchic–corporate power and the political economy of de facto states. *International Affairs*(UK), 97(06), 2021: 1749–1765.

Somaliland's endurance as Africa's longest de facto state has for decades preoccupied scholarship on state formation and democratization. The prevailing democratic success narrative has, however, downplayed the complex internal political dynamics and crises that have characterized Somaliland's independence since 1991. Relying on a number of robust resources, including 110 interviews and archival work conducted in Somaliland from 2015 until 2021, this article examines at close range Somaliland's political economy and provides a more cautious assessment of Somaliland's democratization trajectory. It argues that the political authority of cross-border oligarchic–corporate structures and the securitization of aid created an 'oligopolistic state' and 'peaceocracy' rather than a national, democratic government. This analysis highlights how de facto states struggle to balance political control and financial hardship generating creative and uneven governance structures. This study also raises important questions about how donors in the Gulf and in Asia provide new opportunities for recognition through Islamic finance and business that may affect de facto states' commitments to democratization. Finally, it contributes to theorizing about the ideologies of privatized governance that emerge in peripheral and developing economies and the political consequences of perennial non-recognition.

**Sub-Saharan Africa ; Political economy.

Control No : 45133

49. Isaac Olawale Albert

Decapitation strategies and the significance of Abubakar Shekau's death in Nigeria's Boko Haram crisis. *International Affairs*(UK), 97(06), 2021: 1691–1708.

Decapitation strategies have often been linked to counterterrorism. The existing literature suggests the results of these strategies are mixed. Previous studies suggest that the death of a prominent leader may not necessarily end the crisis; it all depends on the group's infrastructure, ideology, leadership traditions, and extent of its penetration in society. This article takes a critical look at the impact of a recent leadership decapitation in Nigeria. Abubakar Shekau, the leader of the Boko Haram movement in the Lake Chad Basin countries, was killed on 19 May 2021 by a faction of the movement known as the Islamic State of West African Province (ISWAP). This article argues that Shekau's case has paradoxically helped to strengthen ISWAP's position, giving it new recruits and other resources and perhaps most importantly reinforced its position with local communities. This has implications for the Nigerian state, its neighbours and, because of Boko Haram's links to ISIS, the wider war on terrorism.

**Sub-Saharan Africa ; Security and Defence.

Control No : 45130

UNITED NATIONS

- PEACEKEEPING

50. Magnus Lundgren, Kseniya Oksamytna and Vincenzo Bove

Politics or performance? leadership accountability in UN peacekeeping. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66(01), 2022: 32-60.

International organizations face a trade-off between the need to replace poorly performing leaders and the imperative of preserving the loyalty of influential or pivotal member states. This performance-politics dilemma is particularly acute in UN peacekeeping. Leaders of peacekeeping operations are responsible for ensuring that peacekeepers implement mandates, maintain discipline, and stay safe. Yet, if leaders fail to do so, is the UN Secretariat able and willing to replace them? We investigate newly collected data on the tenure of 238 civilian and military leaders in thirty-eight peacekeeping operations, 1978 to 2017. We find that the tenures of civilian leaders are insensitive to performance, but that military leaders in poorly performing missions are more likely to be replaced. We also find evidence that political considerations complicate the UN's efforts at accountability. Holding mission performance constant, military leaders from countries that are powerful or contribute large numbers of troops stay longer in post.

**United Nations - Peacekeeping ; International organization.

Control No : 45155