# Foreign Affairs Documentation Bulletin March 2022

#### **AFGHANISTAN**

#### - TERRORISM

#### 1. Niamatullah Ibrahimi

Rumor and collective action frames: an assessment of how competing conceptions of gender, culture, and rule of law shaped responses to rumor and violence in Afghanistan. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 2022, 45(01): 20-42.

How do rumors emerge and spread? One explanation emphasizes some form of crisis and uncertainty as the facilitating condition and another strand of research focuses on micro-level dynamics to explain how some groups are more vulnerable to rumors than others. This article applies framing theory to examine a rumor that led to violence that killed Farkhunda Malikzada in Afghanistan in March 2015 and three separate protests against the incident. Focusing on how different groups understand and reinterpret rumors, the article makes a distinction between rumor as an informational shortcut and an instrument of deliberate manipulation of information.

\*\*Afghanistan - Terrorism; Political conflicts.

**Control No: 45170** 

## ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

## 2. Ian S. Lustick

Geopolitical forecasting and actionable intelligence. Survival, 64(01), 2022: 51-56.

In geopolitics, even rough probabilistic forecasts are difficult to make. Scenario design, table-top simulations and structured discussions are heuristic activities that focus the attention of analysts and increase policymaker satisfaction with intelligence products, but their usefulness is not based on confidence that forecasts are accurate. Traumatised by 9/11 and encouraged by advances in social science, computerised data collection and artificial intelligence, the US government has greatly increased investments in reliable geopolitical forecasting. Despite progress by using computerised data processing, sophisticated statistical methods and machine learning, the results have so far been of limited practical assistance. Forecasters must not only provide credible probability judgements but also show the causal pathways underlying them to enable policymakers to mitigate harms and exploit opportunities. Building that capacity means enhancing the role of social scientists in the design and testing of computer simulation and other forecasting techniques.

\*\*Artificial intelligence; United States; Geopolitical forecasting; Intelligence community.

Control No: 45213

## **BELARUS**

## - CIVIL SOCIETY

3. Anastasiya Astapova et. at.

Authoritarian cooptation of civil society: the case of belarus. Europe-Asia Studies, 74(01), 2022.

In Belarus, a vibrant civil society coexisted for the better part of the past decade with a firmly entrenched autocracy in a depoliticised cooptation mode. Through cooptation, the energy of civil society was channelled from representing a threat to the regime into being its resource. However, the capacity developed by civil society during this period of political inactivity was quickly redeployed for political purposes at the junction of economic crisis,

the regime's failure to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic and the 2020 presidential election. After the 2020 mass protests, in which civil society played a pivotal role, the regime's attitude to civil society turned to suppression and hostility.

\*\*Belarus - Civil society; Economic crisis.

**Control No: 45181** 

#### **BELARUS**

# - POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

4. David R. Marples and Veranika Laputska

Maly trascianiec in the context of current narratives on the holocaust in the Republic of Belarus. Europe-Asia Studies, 74(01), 2022: 31-49.

This article examines the current memorialisation of the Holocaust in Belarus through the example of the Maly Traścianiec camp, established by the Nazi occupation regime just outside Minsk. It traces the changing interpretations of the site's history, from neglect of its Holocaust dimension to a partial recognition of this in the past few years and the establishment of two significant memorials, opened in Maly Traścianiec (2015) and Blahaŭščyna Forest (2018). Building on previous studies, it asks whether Belarus may finally recognise the transnational nature of the Holocaust and Maly Traścianiec as a key component of the Holocaust in Belarus. Such recognition may eventually change the government's longstanding focus on victory in World War II as the founding stone of modern Belarus.

\*\*Belarus - Politics and government; World war II.

**Control No: 45182** 

## **BELGIUM**

## - POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

5. Zeger Verleye

The lumumba commission (1999-2002): shame, guilt, and the post-imperial self. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 2021, 50(01): 3-28.

This article aims to explore the process of colonial redress from the theoretical scope of ontological security. In this theory, shame denotes a challenge to the consistency of state self-narratives, compelling the state to actions that reaffirm its sense of self. However, other works on ontological security argue that post-imperial states are more likely to experience guilt than shame because of their historical connection to international society. By juxtaposing shame and guilt as characteristic of the process of colonial redress, this article gives insight into the challenges, opportunities, and constraints of colonial redress. Empirically, the article discusses parliamentary debates during the Lumumba Commission (1999-2002), a significant moment in Belgium's struggle with its imperial legacy. To adequately trace the anxieties and narrative changes that ontological insecurity implies, this case-study is approached using a narrative and interpretative sentiment analysis. The analysis indicates that Belgian MPs deployed a comedic narrative, sided by discourses of serenity, objectivity, and guilt. This particular narrative countered Belgium's anxiety, facilitated an apology, and restated its self-identity. Based on these findings, the article concludes that the conceptual borderline between shame and guilt is less distinct than is assumed in the literature and suggests that further research is needed into the relationship between narratives and emotions.

\*\*Belgium - Politics and government ; Lumumba commision ; Ontological security ; Belgium's.

## **CANADA**

#### - POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

6. Liam Midzain-Gobin and Caroline Dunton

Renewing relationships? solitudes, decolonisation, and feminist international policy. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 50(01), 2021: 29-54.

In this article we seek to understand how gendered coloniality is re-affirmed and reproduced. It does so by analysing the inter-national relationships formalised through two recent policy initiatives by the Government of Canada: its Feminist International Assistance Policy and ongoing bilateral mechanisms with Indigenous peoples organisations. Using feminist discourse analysis, we argue that the logics underpinning these initiatives are treated as mutually exclusive, with the result being solitudes across policy areas – Indigenous reconciliation and feminist governance – that should instead overlap. Our analysis suggests that in addition to failing to address systemic marginalisation, establishing exclusive domains of feminist and reconciliation policy reproduces gendered coloniality through the building of inter-national relationships. Ultimately, this results in a failure of both policy initiatives.

\*\*Canada - Politics and government ; Canada - Feminist International assistance policy ; Canada - Bilateral mechanism with indigenous.

Control No: 45207

#### **CHINA**

#### - CLIMATE DIPLOMACY

7. Feng Renjie

The making of China's climate diplomacy: analysis from the perspective of two-level games. China Report, 57(4), 2022: 398-416.

This study illustrates the interaction of international and domestic factors that influenced China's stance in the climate negotiations from 1992 to 2015. After providing a historical overview of China's climate diplomacy, it elaborates on the external and internal factors that have shaped China's climate diplomacy. At the international level, it examines the pressures that China has faced from both developed and developing countries at the United Nations climate change conferences. At the domestic level, it analyses three factors—China's political system, its energy scenario and its environmental non-governmental organisations—that pushed China to soften its traditional positions. It ends with an elaboration of the interface of the international and domestic factors that have driven China's shift away from blunt rejection of mitigation responsibility.

\*\*China - Climate diplomacy; United Nations - Climate regime.

**Control No: 45197** 

#### **CHINA**

#### - CYBER POLICY

8. Katharin Tai and Yuan Yi Zhu

A historical explanation of Chinese cybersovereignty. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 22(01), 2022.

In recent years, China has become one of the most prominent voices in the debate on the future of Internet governance, in part through the aggressive promotion of what it calls a doctrine of "cybersovereignty". To date, studies of Internet governance have primarily focused on China's diplomatic efforts in this area from a security perspective and emphasized the explanatory power of China's authoritarian system when discussing the concept's underlying logic. However, relatively little attention has been paid to the historical origins of China's vision of a sovereigntized Internet, which predate the People's Republic of China and are crucial to understanding cybersovereignty in all its dimensions. This article aims to fill this gap by putting China's cybersovereignty doctrine into its proper historical

context. It first charts the rise of cybersovereignty, notably through an examination of the extensive Chinese literature on the concept. The article then turns to historical antecedents for cybersovereignty within Chinese policy discourse. We argue that cybersovereignty should be understood as part of a tradition which we describe as "compound sovereignty", a discursive strategy of legitimation which arose from China's distinctive historical experiences with the idea of sovereignty, and which is used as a strategy of legitimation and reassertion for state authority. By cross-pollinating cyber studies with insights from historical International Relations scholarship, we seek to present a less presentist, more historically anchored and methodologically diverse approach to the study of global Internet governance.

\*\*China - Cyber policy; Cybersovereignty; Internet governance.

**Control No: 45176** 

#### **CHINA**

# - FOREIGN POLICY

9. Andrew J. Nathan and Boshu Zhang

'A shared future for mankind': rhetoric and reality in Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping. Journal of Contemporary China, 31(133), 2022: 57-71.

The phrase 'work to build a community with a shared future for mankind' became the guiding slogan of Chinese foreign policy in 2017. Beneath its smooth surface, the concept contains several layers of complex and sometimes contradictory meanings. Among other things, it seeks to position China both as one among many developing countries, treating all as equals, and as a major world leader that exerts influence over other states and the international system. The concept is thus at once both egalitarian and hierarchical. Along with the core concept, Chinese foreign policy articulates niche discourses on ethno-cultural identity, Marxism, and human rights that are targeted at special audiences. The writings of leading Chinese international-relations intellectuals tend to reveal a more emphatically hierarchical view of the international system, with China at the top, than is explicit in China's official rhetoric. Xi's international message has been promoted energetically by domestic media and promoted tirelessly on the international stage, with adaptations appropriate to diverse audiences. The Chinese message has met with a mixed reception abroad. China's rhetoric of cooperation is seen by many in other countries as a cover for self-interested strategic motives.

\*\*China - Foreign policy; International relations.

**Control No: 45193** 

# 10. G. Venkat Raman and Bappaditya Mukherjee

Is Covid-era assertiveness in Chinese foreign policy novel? China Report, 57(4), 2022: 417-432.

China has responded to criticisms of its handling of the COVID outbreak by an assertive foreign policy style referred to as 'wolf-warrior diplomacy'. This study argues that this does not represent a radical shift in Chinese foreign policy but exacerbates a pre-existing trend. We say that this assertiveness builds upon the twin pillars of 'core interests and the unambiguous exposition of the 'striving for achievement' policy adopted by China since Xi Jinping's elevation as the President in 2012. We outline China's response to its competition with the United States, based on heightened nationalism and practiced through centralised decision making.

\*\*China - Foreign policy; Covid-19; China - Foreign relations - United States; Xi Jinping.

## **CHINA**

# - FOREIGN RELATION - JAPAN

## 11. Dalei Jie

From 'shelving sovereignty' to 'regularized patrol'?: prospect theory and Sino-Japanese islands dispute (2012–14). International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 22(01), 2022.

The article draws on prospect theory to explain the variation of China's risk propensity during the 2012–14 Diaoyu/Senkaku islands disputes with Japan. China's initial reference point 1.0 regarding the disputed islands was the 'shelving agreement' 'shelving the sovereignty dispute and a tacit acceptance of Japan's de facto exclusive control. So after Japan's 'nationalization' of the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands, China was clearly in a domain of losses. China was thus highly risk-acceptant by intensifying maritime and air patrolling, engaging in provocative behaviors, and suspending crisis management mechanisms. Meanwhile, China's reference point evolved. Discourse analysis of Chinese official statements and media coverage indicated that regularized patrolling or joint control became China's reference point 2.0. As it started to act from a domain of gains, Chinese behaviors turned risk-averse by scaling back patrolling and resuming negotiations over crisis management mechanisms.

\*\*China - Foreign relation - Japan ; Japan - Island disputes.

**Control No: 45177** 

## **CHINA**

# - GENDER EQUALITY

#### 12. Harriet Evans

Patchy patriarchy" and the shifting fortunes of the CCP's promise of gender equality since 1921. China Quarterly, 248, 2021: 95 - 115.

The CCP's commitment to gender equality since 1921 has produced vast gains in employment and education for countless women while overlooking established gender hierarchies in family life. Long-term research in Beijing reveals that crossing class, sectoral and generational differences, there is an apparent paradox between women's increasing access to education and employment and their abiding attachment to ideas and practices associated with their roles as wives, mothers and daughters-in-law. A reconfigured "patchy" form of patriarchy is sustained by a dominant discourse of gender difference that naturalizes women's association with the domestic sphere. Unprecedented engagements with international feminism after 1995 introduced new approaches to gender equality. Recently, young feminists from diverse backgrounds have launched public protests targeting expectations of women in marriage and family life, marking a contestation of previous articulations of gender equality. Online platforms are flooded with exchanges about women's empowerment in a market environment that grants them considerable leverage to manage their marital and domestic relationships. The focus of this new generation of feminists on social reproduction signifies a radical departure from the classical Marxist principles underpinning earlier approaches to women's emancipation. Nevertheless, a "patchy patriarchy" continues to characterize widely held gender assumptions and expectations, spanning class and sectoral difference.

\*\*China - Gender equality; International feminism; Beijing.

**Control No: 45161** 

# **CHINA**

# - POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

13. Eun Kyong Choi, John Wagner Givens and Andrew Mac Donald

From power balance to dominant faction in xi jinping's China. China Quarterly, 248(01), 2021: 935-956.

Many China watchers argue that Xi Jinping has concentrated power in his own hands in a manner unprecedented since the death of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. This article tests

the extent of Xi's power consolidation by comparing the strength of his faction during his time in power to similar periods under his two immediate predecessors, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao. Furthermore, we investigate whether a dominant faction is emerging under Xi Jinping, replacing the power balancing between factions that was the norm throughout the reform era. Analysing factional affiliations of Chinese leaders in the top four ranks, we find that Xi has formed a dominant faction. Through statistical analysis of the promotion chances of provincial leaders, we find that Xi has been unusually successful when compared to previous leaders at promoting his clients. This suggests that Xi has boosted the power of his faction by elevating provincial leaders to an extent not seen since the death of Mao and Deng.

\*\*China - Politics and government; Elite politics; China - Xi Jinping.

**Control No: 45183** 

# 14. Jing Vivian Zhan

Repress or redistribute? the chinese state's response to resource conflicts. China Quarterly, 248(01), 2021: 987-1010.

It is widely assumed that authoritarian states tend to use repression to suffocate social conflicts that threaten regime stability. Focusing on the Chinese state's responses to resource conflict, a particular type of social conflict triggered by mineral resource extraction, this research argues that authoritarian regimes may prefer to use redistributive policies to defuse social unrest under certain circumstances. Through mixed methods combining qualitative research and statistical analysis, I find that local governments in resource-rich regions do not spend heavily on coercive state apparatus. Instead, they generously hand out social security benefits to appease aggrieved citizens. Furthermore, the Chinese state actively involves mining companies in the redistribution process and requires them to share the financial costs of relief policies. Therefore, when conflicts arise between specific social groups with conflicting interests, redistribution may be a more effective strategy to preserve regime stability.

\*\*China - Politics and government ; China - Resource conflicts ; China - Mixed research methods.

## **Control No: 45185**

# 15. Rudolf Furst

Cultivating the art of anxiety: securitising culture in China. China Report, 57(4), 2022: 433-450.

Deepening globalisation and worldwide availability of free information and ideas raise concerns of the communist China's political leadership about the stability of the regime and the sustainability of the state ideological orthodoxy. Therefore, the state's tightening control of the public communication to curtail the domestic criticism and occasional public discontent is becoming framed and legitimised in terms of cultural security as a non-traditional security concern. This study argues that the restrictive impacts of the politicisation of culture in the centralised agenda of President Xi Jinping reinvigorate China's anti-Western narratives and attitudes. The research focuses on the state's cultural security-related and applicable strategy in the political and institutional agenda and media. Moreover, the study also traces the state cultural security policy in the field of the civic and non-governmental sector, religious and ethnic minorities policy, literature, film and audiovisual sectors. The findings assess the concern that the intellectually anachronistic, self-restraining and internationally hostile policy devaluates China's cultural potential and complexity.

\*\*China - Politics and government; Cultural security.

## 16. Warren Wenzhi Lu and Kellee S. Tsai

Picking places and people : centralizing provincial governance in China. China Quarterly, 248(01), 2021: 957-986.

China's political system has been characterized by two institutions since the 1980s: an explicit "layer-by-layer administrative hierarchy" and the "appointment of cadres one level down." There have, however, been two departures from these administrative practices. First, some provinces have "empowered prosperous counties" by placing them in a dual-reporting relationship with both prefecture-level cities and provinces. Second, some provinces have restored personnel control going "two levels down" by appointing key officials at the county and urban district levels of government. These deviations evolved as responses to China's GDP-centric policy environment during the early reform era. Based on field interviews and nationwide analysis of city-level personnel data, this article argues that such adaptations have generated unintended conflicts between provinces and prefecture-level cities. While prior studies of evolutionary change in China highlight the relationship between state and non-state actors, this study demonstrates how interactions among state actors themselves may fundamentally transform the dynamics of administrative governance.

\*\*China - Politics and government; Evolutionary governance; Inter-governmental relations.

## **Control No: 45184**

# 17. Yu, Xie and Yongai Jin

Global attitudes toward China: trends and correlates. Journal of Contemporary China, 31(133), 2022: 1-16.

China's impact on the world has been increasing in the past few decades. How is the rest of the world reacting to China's rise? One way to answer this question is to study public attitudes toward China. This article examines the trends, patterns, and determinants of public attitudes toward China in other countries by analyzing data from opinion surveys in the years 2005 to 2018. Two motivating hypotheses guide this article's analyses. First, public attitudes toward China in developing or less-developed countries are economy-oriented, with China's involvement in a local economy leading to a more positive attitude toward the country. Second, public attitudes toward China in developed countries are ideology-oriented, with an emphasis on values and beliefs. The study concludes that public opinion on China has experienced a downward trend overall, especially in developed and democratic countries. Moreover, China's foreign direct investment in a given country is positively associated with favorable opinion, while Chinese exports to other countries are negatively associated with favorable opinion.

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

**Control No: 45187** 

## **CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY**

# 18. Elizabeth J. Perry

Missionaries of the party: work-team participation and intellectual incorporation. China Quarterly, 248, 2021: 73 - 94.

Among the most distinctive features of Chinese Communist Party governance is the frequent deployment of work teams to conduct campaigns, implement policies and troubleshoot crises. An underappreciated aspect of work-team operations from Land Reform to the present has been the active participation of educated intellectuals as key intermediaries between central leaders and grassroots society. Serving in effect as "missionaries" of the Party, intellectual work-team members function as trained "ritual specialists" in carrying out their appointed mission. Although work teams are often not the most efficient or effective means of governance, the impact of work-team experience on team members themselves is consequential. Employing quasi-religious practices designed to promote the ideological

incorporation of intellectuals, work teams have helped to forestall the emergence in China of an alienated class of dissidents like those whose criticisms eroded the legitimacy of Communist regimes elsewhere in the world.

\*\*Chinese Communist Party; Campaign - Style governance; China - Politics and government.

## **Control No: 45160**

# 19. Mary Gallagher and Blake Miller

Who not what: the logic of China's information control strategy. China Quarterly, 248(01), 2021: 1011-1036.

In this paper, we examine how the Chinese state controls social media. While social media companies are responsible for censoring their platforms, they also selectively report certain users to the government. This article focuses on understanding the logic behind media platforms' decisions to report users or content to the government. We find that content is less relevant than commonly thought. Information control efforts often focus on who is posting rather than on what they are posting. The state permits open discussion and debate on social media while controlling and managing influential social forces that may challenge the party-state's hegemonic position. We build on Schurmann's "ideology and organization," emphasizing the Party's goals of embedding itself in all social structures and limiting the ability of non-Party individuals, networks or groups to carve out a separate space for leadership and social status. In the virtual public sphere, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continues to apply these principles to co-opt, repress and limit the reach of influential non-Party "thought leaders." We find evidence to support this logic through qualitative and quantitative analysis of leaked censorship documents from a social media company and government documents on information control.

\*\*Chinese Communist Party; China - Social media.

**Control No: 45186** 

## **EAST ASIA**

20. Jason Kuo, Min-Hua Huang and Yun-Han Chu

Maritime territorial disputes and China's soft power in East Asia. Journal of Contemporary China, 31(133), 2022: 72-85.

Territorial disputes over the East and South China Sea have been an issue of growing policy concern in East Asia in recent years. These maritime territorial disputes, as the authors argue in this study, constitute a contextual factor undermining China's soft power in East Asia. More specifically, this study quantitatively demonstrates that all else equal, citizens are less likely to take a positive view of China's influence on their respective countries with maritime territorial disputes with China than in countries without such disputes with China. This key result suggests a clear international distributional implication of maritime territorial disputes overlooked in the existing literature on China's soft power. This study cautions against one-sided views on a China's soft power whether purely optimistic or skeptical, in contemporary political analyses.

\*\*East Asia; China's soft Power; Maritime territorial disputes.

**Control No: 45194** 

# **EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN**

## 21. Aylin G. Gurzel Aka et. at.

The 'new great game' in the Eastern Mediterranean. Israel Affairs, 28(01), 2022: 16-27. This article examines the vicissitudes in regional affairs in the Eastern Mediterranean and their impact on the geopolitics of energy and geo-cultural realities. Framing the 'logic of competition' (energy market realities/geo-economics) and securitisation of energy politics by focusing on different scenarios, it explores the significance of international supply chains;

the consequences of the emergence of Israel as a regional gas supplier superpower; Turkey's uncertain position as an energy barrier or bridge; and the role played by multinational companies (MNCs), the so-called 'new great gamers'. The scope of the game has expanded and spilled over from the Black Sea region to the Eastern Mediterranean. In this context, Israel's geopolitical approach is significant in the pursuit of wider economic and security interests.

\*\*Eastern Mediterranean; Geopolitics of energy; Geo-cultural realities.

**Control No: 45163** 

#### **EGYPT**

## - POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

## 22. Karim El Taki

Subordinates' quest for recognition in hierarchy. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 50(01), 2021: 55-82.

The scholarship on hierarchy held the promise of exposing conditions of systemic inequality in world politics. However, a significant strand of it approached the international order from above, privileging the perspective of dominant actors. I make the case for a from-below approach to hierarchical orders, recognising and accounting for understudied experiences in world politics, but also developing a more accurate understanding of hierarchy. Through a relational-sociological approach, I conceptualise hierarchy as a socially differentiated system predicated on recognition. The experience of misrecognition by way of normative and material constraints constitutes actors as subordinates. I propose a framework for subordinate actors' navigation of hierarchy in quest of social recognition. I identify three strategies that subordinates employ, depending on the misrecognising constraints they counter (normative/material) and the recognition they seek (internal/external). Subordinates may engage in norm appropriation, alternative leveraging, and salvation from victimhood. I demonstrate the applicability of the framework by examining Egypt's quest for recognition in the aftermath of the 2013 military coup.

\*\*Egypt - Politics and government; Egypt - World politics.

**Control No: 45208** 

#### **INDIA**

## - DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

23. Laxman Kumar Behera and Pabitra Mohan Nayak

India's defence expenditure: a trend analysis. Strategic Analysis, 2021, 45(05): 395-410. This article examines India's defence expenditure over the past ten years. In so doing, it provides a public finance perspective to explain the recurring resource crunch being faced by the Ministry of Defence (MoD). The article reasons that a substantial augmentation of resources for the MoD in the past has faced stiff barriers due to lack of tax buoyancy and also the political, economic and other exigencies that have led to greater public spending outside the traditional areas of expenses, including defence. It argues that the MoD needs to re-balance its expenditure, especially in areas pertaining to manpower.

\*\*India - Defence expenditure.

**Control No: 45167** 

#### **INDIA**

# - DEMOCRACY

24. Jugdep S. Chima

India as a 'crypto-ethnic democracy': the dynamics of 'control' in relation to peripheral ethnic minorities. Third World Quarterly, 42(12), 2021: 2822-2840.

What type of democracy is multi-ethnic India, and how has it maintained territorial unity since Independence? I argue that India is best coded as a 'crypto-ethnic democracy', in contrast to traditional 'consensual' and 'consociational' interpretations, specifically in

relation to its peripheral religious/ethnic minority groups. This argument is demonstrated through three interrelated themes: (1) nation/state-building, legitimating ideology and nationality construction; (2) ethnofederalism, regional political parties and ethnic peace accords; and (3) national security legislation, human rights and state-sponsored pogroms. The new conceptual formulation of 'crypto-ethnic democracy' integrates 'control' with both 'consensus' and 'consociationalism' within democracy. 'Crypto-ethnic democracy' also adds to existing typologies of multi-ethnic democracies, including differentiating the de facto dynamics of 'control' from the de jure institutions identified in traditional models of 'ethnic democracy'. It is argued that the concept of 'crypto-ethnic democracy' has significant conceptual and comparative value for scholars.

\*\*India - Democracy; Crypto-ethnic democracy.

**Control No: 45175** 

## **INDIA**

# - FOREIGN RELATIONS - AUSTRALIA

25. Pankaj Jha and Shaun Star

India-Australia: defining new horizons of engagement. Strategic Analysis, 2021, 45(05): 411-430.

The landmark virtual summit between Prime Ministers Narendra Modi and Scott Morrison in June 2020 led to ties being upgraded to a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership. Australia's High Commissioner to India alluded to the four D's—Democracy, Defence, Diaspora, Dosti (friendship), with increased focus on Defence. In the India–Australia partnership, the emphasis is on maritime security cooperation, Quad 2.0, the Malabar exercises as well as cyber security and intelligence cooperation. The bilateral Mutual Logistics Support Agreement, and growing influence of China in the Indian and Pacific Oceans provide necessary impetus for the relationship to grow. The article outlines reasons for the growing bilateral relationship and the possible future trajectory.

\*\*India - Foreign relations - Australia ; Maritime security cooperation ; Intelligence cooperation ; Cyber security.

**Control No: 45168** 

## **INDIA**

## - FOREIGN RELATIONS - CHINA

26. Bipin K. Tiwary and Anubhav Roy

Partnering a rival: the sustenance of India's complex interdependence with China, 2010-20. Strategic Analysis, 45(05), 2021: 375-394.

While a worrying disrepair in the political-military strand of the equation between New Delhi and Beijing prevailed through the 2010s, its economic component witnessed contrasting instances of convergence. By examining India's business linkages with China during the period, especially through its railway and automobile industries, this article attempts to empirically demonstrate how Indian public and private sector actors managed to consistently cultivate a network of complex interdependence with their Chinese counterparts, resultantly keeping Beijing engaged in multiple, mutually beneficial non-military agendas and contributing to the mitigation of recurring bilateral strife.

\*\*India - Foreign relations - China; India - Trade relations - China.

**Control No: 45166** 

# 27. Thejalhoukho

The Sikkim-Tibet convention of 1890 and the Younghusband Mission of 1904. China Report, 57(4), 2022: 451-465.

The controversy surrounding the Simla Conference of 1913–1914 and the legality of the McMahon line, which was produced by the Conference, has been at the centre of the boundary dispute between India and China. Amidst the diverging opinions amongst scholars

and political commentators, the main issue rest on the unresolved question of Tibet's political status. Was Lhasa authorised to sign treaties for Tibet? Was China the sovereign over Tibet? The answers to such questions are murky and complicated, made more so by the politics and conflicts in the post colonial period. This study attempts to highlight the complicated nature of political authority in Tibet through a study of British policy in Tibet towards the end of 19th and early 20th centuries. The signing of the 1890 Convention with China and the 1904 Convention with Tibet represents two extremes in British foreign policy which attest to the confounding situation presented before the British and the diverging opinions within the British official circles. The period between these two conventions provides a glimpse of the historical background in which the relations between British India, China and Tibet developed subsequently.

\*\*India - Foreign relations - China; Sikkim-Tibet Convention.

**Control No: 45200** 

#### **INDONESIA**

# 28. Andrew Rosser

Diaspora organizations, political settlements, and the migration-development nexus: the case of the Indonesian Diaspora Network. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 22(01), 2022.

This article examines the Indonesian Diaspora Network (IDN), an organization that seeks to 'facilitate' and 'empower' Indonesia's diaspora and enhance its contribution to the country's development. IDN portrays itself as an expression of the collective will of a unified and coherent Indonesian diaspora that is working to promote development-for-all, while critics suggest it is the instrument of elite and professional elements within the diaspora pursuing narrower interests and agendas. By contrast, this article suggests that IDN is a political settlement between these and other elements within the diaspora, each of which has distinct interests and agendas with regard to Indonesia's development. Its impact on Indonesia's development is consequently much less clear-cut than existing analyses suggest while also being contingent on processes of political and social struggle. In theoretical terms, the article encourages an understanding of diaspora organizations in terms of political settlements analysis.

\*\*Indonesia; Indonesian Diaspora Network.

**Control No: 45179** 

# 29. Bagong Suyanto, Mun'im Sirry and Rahma Sugihartati

Pseudo-radicalism and the de-radicalization of educated youth in Indonesia. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 45(02), 2022: 180-199.

This article discusses a recent phenomenon of radicalization among university students in Indonesia, with special attention to what may be called "pseudo-radicalists" (i.e., a group of students who have been exposed to radical ideologies); however, they are not strongly grounded in an exclusive and extreme religious viewpoint that justifies militant attitudes and violent actions. We carefully and critically examine the extent to which educated youth have been infiltrated by radical influences and how they de-radicalized themselves. Our research includes seven government tertiary institutions identified by the National Agency for Combating Terrorism or Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme as having been inflicted by radicalism, namely, Universitas Indonesia, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Institut Pertanian Bogor, Universitas Diponegoro, Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember, Universitas Airlangga, and Universitas Brawijaya. By situating our case study within the existing literature on radicalization and de-radicalization, we hope that this article will enrich our perspectives and shed some light on crucial issues facing educated youth, especially within tertiary campuses.

\*\*Indonesia; Pseudo-Radicalism; Pseudo-Radicalist.

**Control No: 45204** 

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

# 30. Andrew Delatolla, Momin Rahman and Dibyesh Anand

Challenging institutional racism in international relations and our profession: reflections, experiences, and strategies. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 50(01), 2021: 110-148.

Attempts to create a more inclusive discipline and profession have been commended by many and derided by some. While these attempts have pushed for change, particularly with regards to more equal representation of gender and race among faculty, policies aimed at creating a more inclusive environment are often tokenistic, administrative and bureaucratic, and fail to address structural and institutional practices and norms. Moreover, the administrative and bureaucratic policies put into place are generally targeted at a single categorical group, failing to take into account the manner in which identities are intersecting and overlapping. Equality, Diversity and Inclusion often gets driven by Human Resources and Marketing rather than owned by the wider university. This forum draws from a variety of contributions that focus on describing the lived realities of institutional racism, its intersections with other forms of discrimination, and strategies for change. In putting together this forum, we do not aim to create a checklist of practical steps. Instead, we hope to signpost and make visible the successes and failures of previous challenges and future possibilities that must be taken by both faculty and administrations.

\*\*International relations: Gender racism.

**Control No: 45210** 

#### 31. Aslak-Antti Oksanen

The indigenous dimension of the intersocietal: dussel, exteriority and the sami people. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 50(01), 2021: 83-109.

Proponents of uneven and combined development (U&CD) as a theoretical approach to International Relations (IR) have presented it as providing the conceptual means for overcoming Eurocentrism. While the U&CD scholars have made valuable contributions to anti-Eurocentric IR scholarship, this article argues that U&CD has analytical limitations that impede its anti-Eurocentric potential. These limitations derive from U&CD's reliance on the concepts of 'development' and the 'whip of external necessity', which require developmental ranking of societies and lock U&CD into a state-centric social ontology. To provide complementary conceptual resources to overcome U&CD's analytical limitations, this article introduces Enrique Dussel's liberation philosophy (LP), which can incorporate peoples other than states as agents and entities of global politics through its concept of 'exteriority'. U&CD and LP are then jointly applied to analyse the relations between the Nordic states and the indigenous Sámi people to assess the approaches' relative strengths and weaknesses and identify synergies between them. Based on this assessment, the article outlines the potential for synthesising a 'thin' version of U&CD with LP, by using the concept of 'exteriority' to reorient U&CD's analytical focus towards people excluded by the states-system.

\*\*International relations; Uneven and combined development.

Control No: 45209

## **ISRAEL**

## - FOREIGN RELATIONS - SOUTH KOREA

#### 32. Alon Levkowitz

Israel-South Korea relations: the first six decades. Israel Affairs, 28(01), 2022: 1-15. This article examines relations between the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the State of Israel from the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1962 to 2020. It analyses the internal and external factors influencing their foreign and security policies as well as mutual

misunderstandings and the attendant problems, notably the failure to sign a free trade agreement till 2020. Despite these difficulties, and the geostrategic complexity of the Middle East, especially the Persian Gulf, that influences Seoul's interests in the region and its relations with Israel, the bilateral relationship will further improve once the free trade agreement is ratified by both states.

\*\*Israel - Foreign relations - South Korea ; Republic of Korea ; Diplomatic relations - 1962 to 2020.

**Control No: 45162** 

#### **ISRAEL**

## - POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

#### 33. Amir Goldstein and Elchanan Shilo

Generational crossover: 'the Movement for the Entire Land of Israel' from the Labour movement to Gush Emunim. Israel Affairs, 28(01), 2022: 45-59.

The 'Movement for the Entire Land of Israel', was formed by activist members of the Labour movement shortly after the June 1967 war. Its founders struggle for "Greater Israel" and espoused the establishment of settlements that would secure the Israeli hold on the territories occupied during the war. During the 1970s, however, the movement had effectively come to be spearheaded by Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful), a newly-created religious-nationalist activist group. This article describes this transition while examining the factors that enabled this process despite the two groups' very different political, social, cultural ideals and intergenerational backgrounds.

\*\*Israel - Politics and government; Tehiya.

**Control No: 45165** 

# 34. Jakub Zahora

Occupation, sight, landscape: visibility and the normalization of Israeli settlements. International Political Sociology, 15(04), 2021: 460–481.

This article contributes toward the understanding of social and political mechanisms that work to normalize and naturalize contested political conditions on the part of privileged segments of the public. I engage these issues via an ethnographic study of Israel's so-called non-ideological settlements in the occupied West Bank, which attract Israelis due to socioeconomic advantages rather than a nationalistic and/or religious appeal. Nonetheless, the settlers' suburban experiences are in stark contrast to the geopolitical status of their communities as well as the local and international resistance they generate. I draw empirically on interviews and observations conducted in the settlement of Ariel to make sense of this dynamic. Utilizing insights from critical investigations of visuality and landscape, I argue that the normalization of everyday life in the settlements is achieved through the operation of a particular scopic regime linked to the landscape formations in the West Bank. Employing these concepts to investigate the everyday politics of seeing, I show how they channel the settlers' sight in a way that makes the Israeli rule seem uncontested, naturalized, and even aesthetic in three registers: the depth of visual field, the surroundings, and the people who inhabit the settlements' landscape.

\*\*Israel - Politics and government; Israeli settlements.

**Control No: 45180** 

# 35. Mordechay Lash, Yossi Goldstein and Itzhag Shai

Excavating unstable ground: trends in archaeological research in Judea and Samaria, 1967-77. Israel Affairs, 28(01), 2022: 28-44.

This article examines the factors that influenced the trends in archaeological excavations in Judea and Samaria during the decade attending the 1967 Six-Day War. Examination reveals a close connection between the political trends in Israel as they pertained to Judea and Samaria and the archaeological excavations undertaken in this region. When a prime

minister appeared to consider Judea and Samaria an inseparable part of the state of Israel archaeologists followed (Meir). But when prime ministers regarded Judea and Samaria as territory that would be returned to the Jordanians (Eshkol and Rabin), the archaeologists stopped excavating in the region.

\*\*Israel - Politics and government; Judea and Samaria; West Bank; Israel - Archaeological excavations.

**Control No: 45164** 

#### **MALI**

## - CLIMATE SECURITY

36. Daniela Calmon, Chantal Jacovetti and Massa Kone

Agrarian climate justice as a progressive alternative to climate security: Mali at the intersection of natural resource conflicts. Third World Quarterly, 42(12), 2021: 2785-2803. Natural resource conflicts in Mali in the last decade represent an important case to visualise the interconnection between land and climate issues. The country has received significant international attention in recent years both due to the announcement of large-scale land deals and due to its perceived vulnerability to climate stress. At the same time, Malian peasant movements have formed important networks of resistance and have been leading the pilot implementation of village land commissions to recognise and manage community resources, based on a new Agricultural Land Law. This paper explores emerging trends in natural resource politics through the lens of interactions between land and climate policies and discourses. We analyse the growing use of the frame of 'climate security' to associate climate change, conflict and migration in relation to countries such as Mali, by looking into the possibilities that this frame could shift focus and blame towards conflicts between marginalised groups and further close space for bottom-up participation. As an alternative, we explore the relevance of a platform of agrarian climate justice and the possibilities and challenges of enacting some of its principles through the implementation of the village land commissions.

\*\*Mali - Climate security; Sahel.

**Control No: 45173** 

## **RUSSIA**

## - FOREIGN POLICY

37. Theodore, P. Gerber and Qian, He

Sino-phobia in Russia and Kyrgyzstan. Journal of Contemporary China, 31(133), 2022: 38-56

Sino-phobia, which has reportedly grown internationally during the COVID-19 pandemic, is a potential obstacle to China's economic and foreign policy initiatives involving Russia and Central Asia. After providing historical and theoretical context, the authors analyse publicly reported time-series data from Russia and original survey data from Russia and Kyrgyzstan to assess the extent of Sino-phobic attitudes and their associations with demographic, socioeconomic, and geographic variables. By also considering attitudes toward Americans and other national groups, the authors show that anti-Chinese sentiment, while high, does not exhibit especially pronounced tendencies. In Russia, nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment are key correlates of Sino-phobia. Additional survey research is necessary to assess the impact of COVID-19 on Sino-phobia and determine whether it hinders China-friendly policies, as some observers have suggested.

\*\*Russia - Foreign policy; Sino-phobia; COVID-19.

## RUSSIAN FEDERATION

## 38. Rodric Braithwaite

Hope deferred: Russia from 1991 to 2021. Survival, 64(01), 2022: 29-44.

The Soviet Union was formally replaced by the Russian Federation on 25 December 1991. Americans felt they had won the Cold War. Russians felt an angry sense of humiliation. The Soviet potential for collapse had become visible after Josef Stalin died in 1953. It was not corrected by the Soviet leadership nor picked up by Western governments, and it was masked by Soviet military and international success. But eventually the Soviet leadership could no longer ignore the growing crisis. They appointed Mikhail Gorbachev to find a remedy. He failed. His eventual successor, Vladimir Putin, used force to restore Russia's role abroad, but ran an increasingly brutal and corrupt regime at home. Russians had hoped that Russia might become prosperous and stable, on good terms with its neighbours. Though that hope was much diminished by Christmas 2021, a flicker nevertheless remained.

\*\*Russian federation : Soviet Union : Vladimir Putin.

**Control No: 45212** 

## **SOVEREIGNTY**

## - TERRITORY

# 39. Mustafa Menshawy

Sovereignty alignment process: strategies of regime survival in Egypt, Libya and Syria. Third World Quarterly, 42(12), 2021: 2804-2821.

Sovereignty is an ambiguous concept. It is always saturated with multiple meanings, especially as other concepts are either defined in terms of it or depend on it for their own meanings. It gets more ambiguous as scholars, especially those adopting constructivism as a theory of politics and international relations, move onto divergent paths, creating a gap between theory and practice. The article proposes the sovereignty alignment process as a two-level approach that can clarify sovereignty and its components, including territoriality. The internal level of the alignment process includes disaggregating meanings into frames before aggregating them into master frames that can identify, group and organise different – even contradictory - facets of sovereignty. The external level traces how these sets of meanings interact with the outside world, having its own meaning and discursive opportunity, which can consolidate the actor's repertoire of meanings on sovereignty. The outside world can also be material, helping to enact or operationalise the articulated meanings by other means, including the use of force or diplomacy. The approach has been devised to analyse the developments of the Arab uprisings, examining how state leaders redefined their identities and interests to survive the sweeping waves of protests against their regimes in 2011 and afterwards.

\*\*Sovereignty - Territory; Arab Spring; Egypt, Libya and Syria.

**Control No: 45174** 

## **TERRORISM**

## 40. Eitan Azani and Liram Koblentz-Stenzler

Muslim converts who turn to global jihad : radicalization characteristics and countermeasures. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 45(02), 2022: 111-137.

Over the past three decades, along with the expansion of the phenomenon of global jihad, we have witnessed a growing trend of converts to Islam integrating into global jihad organizations. Some of these converts constitute an important element in the terrorist infrastructure, globally, and particularly in the West. Some are recruited as foreign fighters into the ranks of the Islamic State or other Islamic extremist organizations. Global jihad organizations have identified the potential of new converts (knowledge of the local culture,

the difficulty in tracking them faced by intelligence organizations), and they are investing efforts in every possible arena (physical and digital) to recruit them for terrorist activity. The converts, for their part, are more vulnerable to recruitment for terrorist purposes. The aim of the article is to illuminate the existing phenomenon of radicalization among new converts to Islam and expand the current knowledge base with regard to the variables that affect the growth of this phenomenon and the background and preconditions for such growth. Moreover, this article will attempt to use the above in order to design and develop effective tools for early warning and curbing this phenomenon.

\*\*Terrorism; Global Jihad.

**Control No: 45201** 

# 41. John Jupp

Strengthening protection and support for victims of terrorism in criminal proceedings in Afghanistan. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 45(02), 2022: 160-179.

Afghanistan faces significant challenges as it seeks to emerge from thirty years of civil war and insurgent violence and promote lasting peace and security. Terrorist incidents, which have increased dramatically since 2004, continue to pose a major threat to security, destabilizing governance and fracturing state initiatives to guarantee rule of law to citizens. An urgent priority for the government, as part of its development of counterterrorism policy, is to ensure that the formal criminal justice system responds effectively to the threat of terrorism by creating mechanisms and procedures that support the rights and needs of victims in accordance with international human rights standards. To date, examining victimhood in Afghanistan and accurately understanding the assistance and support that victims of terrorism receive and to which they are entitled during criminal justice processes have avoided academic scrutiny. Informed by empirical evidence and qualitative interviews with justice officials in Afghanistan, this article aims to fill this important gap in scholarship. It does so by drawing on an international framework for good practices outlined in the Global Counterterrorism Forum's Madrid Memorandum to shed new light on gaps in existing national law. In doing so, it makes important recommendations for both institutional and legislative reform designed to strengthen protections and assistance for victims of terrorism and inform contemporary reviews of criminal procedural law being undertaken by justice ministries in Afghanistan.

\*\*Terrorism; Afghanistan - Human rights.

**Control No: 45203** 

## 42. Marco Nilsson

Motivations for Jihad and cognitive dissonance – a qualitative analysis of former Swedish Jihadists. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 45(01), 2022: 92-110.

This study is based on interviews with three former Swedish jihadists, and it uses cognitive dissonance theory to analyze how their motivations for jihad changed—from the early stages of radicalization to fighting as part of a jihadist group and finally leaving jihad. It argues that cognitive dissonance is a causal mechanism, alternative to empathy and collective relative deprivation, that can explain how individuals with collective identities can be motivated to opt for jihad. For none of the interviewees did fundamentalist Islam provide a gateway into jihadism, nor did they seem to use Islam as a mere justification for violent behavior. Cognitive dissonance can also shed light on why some jihadists have not been susceptible to further radicalization by accepting even more radical ideas.

\*\*Terrorism; Radicalization; Global Jihad.

**Control No: 45172** 

# 43. Matthew J. Dolliver and Erin M. Kearns

Is it terrorism?: public perceptions, media, and labeling the Las Vegas shooting. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 2022, 45(01): 1-19.

When a mass casualty event occurs, why do some people label it terrorism while others do not? People are more likely to consider an attack to be terrorism when the perpetrator is Muslim, yet it is unclear what other factors influence perceptions of mass violence. Using data collected from a national sample of U.S. adults shortly after the 2017 Las Vegas shooting, we examine how media consumption and social identity influence views of the attack. Media consumption and individual-level factors—Islamophobia, political ideology, and other participant demographics—influence how people view the attack and how confident people are in their assessments.

\*\*Terrorism; Political ideology; Global terrorism database.

**Control No: 45169** 

## **UKRAINE CRISIS**

# 44. Robert Hunter

The Ukraine crisis: why and what now? Survival, 64(01), 2022: 7-28.

Having rebuilt its military, Russia invaded Ukraine in 2014 and has now positioned more than 100,000 troops on its borders, challenging NATO's supposed encirclement of Russia and its military capabilities in Central Europe. The West has responded with threats of unprecedented sanctions. This crisis stems from the Soviet Union's collapse and the West's effort to create a 'Europe whole and free' and at peace. The West failed to convince Russia to play a positive role in Europe and to help it do so. NATO declared that Ukraine and Georgia, on Russia's borders, would someday become Alliance members. Nevertheless, the US and NATO are conducting serious diplomacy with Russia. Confidence-building measures, including on conventional forces, are the best alternative to confrontation. A new cold war will benefit no one, Russia least of all.

\*\*Ukraine crisis; NATO; Military relations; Partnership for peace.

**Control No: 45211** 

#### UNITED KINGDOM

## - COUNTER TERRORISM

45. Colin Atkinson, Donna Yates and Nick Brooke

Researching a risky business? the use of freedom of information to explore counterterrorism security at museums in the United Kingdom. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 2022, 45(01): 43-61.

This article reflects on the value and limitations of the use of Freedom of Information (FOI) in the collection of data on counterterrorism policies and practices at museums in the United Kingdom (UK). In doing so, this article re-interprets the museum within the "single narrative" of global jihadist terrorism before using FOI to uncover counterterrorism security measures at museums in the UK. We particularly signpost the importance of the role of the museum security manager as the interface between the museum and the wider UK counterterrorism network. Throughout, but particularly in the discussion section, the article reflects on the value and limitations of FOI as a social research tool. The conclusion highlights the requirement for further qualitative enquiry into the museum as an emerging site of counterterrorism security discourse and practice, particularly in relation to how museum security managers understand and navigate this unique cultural space.

\*\*United Kingdom - Counter terrorism; Freedom of Information.

Control No: 45171

#### **UNITED NATIONS**

#### - COUNTER TERRORISM

46. Chuck Thiessen

The strategic ambiguity of the United Nations approach to preventing violent extremism. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 45(02), 2022: 138-159.

The use of international peacebuilding as a delivery vehicle for preventing violent extremism (PVE) initiatives is a recent and pivotal development in United Nations (UN) counterterrorism strategy. However, existing research has not considered the contradictions that emerge when international organizations transition to new peacebuilding approaches such as PVE. Further, it remains unclear whether and how intervening organizations overcome these contradictions. Based on forty-seven interviews with UN, government, and nongovernmental organization officials in Kyrgyzstan and New York this article critically analyzes the shift to PVE as an underlying strategic approach to UN peacebuilding and the mismatch between external expectations and local priorities. Interview narratives feature ambiguity in conceptions of foundational PVE concepts and in how interveners reference a menu of drivers for violent extremism according to project requirements. This article argues that ambiguity is strategically tolerated and employed, whereby not clarifying the terms of engagement with (sub-)national counterparts supports external agendas and achieves a basic unity of purpose by permitting counterparts increased managerial latitude to satisfy self-interests.

\*\*United Nations - Counter terrorism; Counterterrorism strategy.

Control No: 45202

## **UNITED STATES**

# - FOREIGN RELATIONS

47. Stacie L. Pettyjohn

War with China: five scenarios. Survival, 64(01), 2022.

The US military rightly focuses on a Taiwan-invasion scenario for force planning, but to understand the odds of Sino-American war a range of scenarios must be examined. Consideration of five scenarios suggests that none of the wars that China might intentionally start are very attractive from Beijing's perspective, providing the United States and its allies with time to strengthen deterrence. The greatest risk of a Sino-American conflict in the near term is inadvertent or accidental escalation caused by misperception or miscalculation. As the United States takes steps to bolster deterrence and reduce the risks of deliberate war, it must simultaneously put in place crisis-management mechanisms to prevent inadvertent or accidental escalation.

\*\*United States - Foreign relations; China - Foreign relations; Chinese communist party.

**Control No: 45214** 

#### **UNITED STATES**

## - FOREIGN RELATIONS - CHINA

48. Andrew J. Nathan

Biden's China policy: old wine in new bottles? China Report, 57(4), 2022: 387-397.

The Biden Administration has accepted the Trump Administration's definition of China as a 'strategic competitor', and has retained Trump's tariffs, the 'Quad', and the upgrade in Taiwan's protocol status. But Biden's China policy is different from Trump's in being truly strategic. The key elements of that strategy are focused on improving the United States' competitiveness domestically and in international affairs; cooperation with allies and partners; an emphasis on human rights; partial decoupling of economic and technology relationships; and a search for some areas of cooperation with China. Success for the Biden strategy would consist neither of bottling up China in its current global power position nor in achieving a negotiated condominium in Asia. The Biden Administration would succeed if the United States can maintain its alliance system, keep a robust military presence in East Asia and prevent the forcible integration of Taiwan into China while avoiding major war. Several features of the China challenge make it reasonable to hope that such success is possible.

\*\*United States - Foreign relations - China; Human rights; Biden - strategic competitor.

## **UNITED STATES**

#### - MILITARY PRESENCE

49. Sou Shinomoto

Deep engagement and public opinion toward the United States: U.S. military presence and threat perceptions. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 22(01), 2022.

Under what conditions are a country's residents likely to express favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the United States? I discuss this question using survey data from 38 countries, focusing on the possible impacts that the active approach by the United States toward security threats has on the psychology of countries' residents. The results show that the larger the U.S. military presence in a country, the more likely that its residents are to express negative attitudes toward the United States. Meanwhile, citizens who feel threatened by specific types of global actors that the U.S. government actively confronts as security threats are less likely to express negative attitudes toward the United States, and particularly less likely to do so the larger the U.S. military presence in their country. These findings contribute significantly to understanding the shifts in the socio-political dynamics of regions such as the Asia-Pacific, where the United States has long implemented an active approach.

\*\*United States - Military presence; Asia-Pacific.

**Control No: 45178** 

#### **UNITED STATES**

#### - TRADE RELATIONS - CHINA

50. Yongai Jin, Shawn Dorius and Yu Xie

Americans' attitudes toward the US-China trade war. Journal of Contemporary China, 31(133), 2022: 17-37.

The US public holds more nuanced views about China than are typically captured in public opinion surveys. Empirical investigation of a nationwide online survey of US adults shows that the American public is sharply divided over the US–China trade war, despite reporting high support for international trade with China (76%). Using survey questions on US–China trade and the trade war, a typology was developed that indicates more than 40% of US adults support trade with China but oppose the trade war. A slightly smaller share has a more economically militant view of trade with China, supporting trade and the trade war. Political identity is strongly associated with attitudes toward the trade war, but only weakly associated with attitudes toward trade with China. Perceptions about China and its government, people, and culture are highly correlated with views on trade with China but are unrelated to views on the trade war.

\*\*United States - Trade Relations - China ; China - Trade Relation - United States ; International relations.