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DOSSIER

South China Sea: War on the Horizon?

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Le monde universitaire et l'esprit démocratique

Philippe Burrin

Directeur de l'Institut

Depuis deux ans, la création du Centre sur la démocratie est en préparation. Le Centre naît aujourd'hui dans un contexte que peu d'entre nous avaient anticipé et qui fait surgir bien des questions, notamment sur le sort d'une globalisation contestée par le nationalisme et le populisme.



Ces interrogations sont d'autant plus préoccupantes que les développements récents s'accompagnent d'une mise en cause insidieuse de la démocratie.

Comme l'a rappelé une récente « dispute de la Maison de la paix », la démocratie, c'est bien sûr des institutions, mais c'est aussi un esprit.

Les institutions permettent, en partant de la reconnaissance de la diversité irréductible des intérêts et des valeurs, d'organiser une négociation et un arbitrage entre ces intérêts et ces valeurs. L'esprit, lui, est ce qui permet aux institutions de fonctionner conformément à l'intention visée, qui est d'organiser la vie collective dans le respect de chacun. La corrosion de l'esprit démocratique peut à terme compromettre ce fonctionnement.

Comme l'a dit Karl Popper, la démocratie, c'est le pouvoir non pas de gouverner, mais de juger. Il est donc capital que les électeurs puissent s'informer aussi complètement que possible. De là l'importance de la liberté de la presse et de la diversité des médias, toutes deux indispensables à la formation du jugement. De là aussi l'importance du débat public sur la base d'arguments rationnels, éloignés autant que possible des émotions.

Or, quand l'exploitation de préjugés, par exemple à propos de l'islam, devient pour des partis le mode ordinaire de leur communication politique, il est clair que l'esprit de la démocratie est affaibli dans son fondement même.

Tout comme la démocratie libérale, l'institution universitaire est fille des Lumières. Son existence requiert l'examen critique et la liberté de la recherche. Elle ne peut pas prospérer dans un climat où ces principes sont dédaignés et où la notion de vérité ne mérite même pas une reconnaissance du bout des lèvres. Il est donc de son devoir de veiller à ce que les conditions qui lui permettent d'accomplir sa vocation soient non seulement préservées, mais constamment vivifiées dans la société qui l'entoure.

Centre sur la démocratie

L'Institut ouvre un nouveau centre de recherche

L'Institut est heureux d'annoncer la création d'un nouveau centre de débat et de recherche consacré à la démocratie, le Centre Albert Hirschman sur la démocratie. Cette thématique, qui sera abordée dans un cadre global et une perspective comparative, enrichit la palette de sujets principalement socio-économiques dont traitent les autres centres de recherche de l'Institut et bénéficiera de l'éclairage

que peuvent apporter des disciplines de l'Institut comme l'anthropologie, l'économie, le droit, l'histoire, la science politique et la sociologie politique. La création et le fonctionnement du centre sont soutenus par un financement pluriannuel généreux provenant de la fondation Gnosis (Liechtenstein). L'Institut est très sensible à l'engagement de cette fondation en faveur des sciences sociales

et lui exprime sa très vive reconnaissance pour le soutien qu'elle accorde à l'étude d'un domaine qui touche aujourd'hui toutes les personnes préoccupées par l'évolution du monde.

Le nouveau centre sera dirigé par M^{me} Shalini Randeria, professeur d'anthropologie et de sociologie à l'Institut et recteur de l'Institute for Human Sciences de Vienne.

Democracy has gone global. While the majority of the world's population today lives in democracies, trust in the political institutions of democracy is in free fall in many places. Globalisation, the digital revolution and tensions between national democracies and the global market have led to a radical questioning of the legitimacy of democratic institutions, and to a growing mistrust of political elites. With the rise of so-called "illiberal democracies", the differences between democratic and non-democratic regimes are increasingly blurred. In

disenchanted democracies, have elections become a collective celebration of popular powerlessness? Has the separation of powers gone out of fashion?



Shalini Randeria.

The Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy explores the plurality of democratic experiences around the world by focusing on citizens' democratic aspirations and their dissatisfaction with existing democratic institutions. It will pursue research on issues of trust and micro-politics, of

majoritarianism and vulnerability of minorities, and of surveillance and the threat to democratic rights. A first comparative research project will analyse what influences citizens' decisions to seek solutions to their social, economic and political problems either through the electoral process, through the legal system or through street protests.

The centre will bring together existing research, promote new scholarship, publish and disseminate research to policymakers, media and the public, and help scholars to address the question of how to ensure that

democracies govern more effectively. By initiating interdisciplinary and trans-regional comparative research on democracies, it will complement the Institute's work on governance, conflict, trade, finance and development, migration, and gender. Besides a programme for Visiting Fellows and postdoctoral scholars, it will host an annual conference – this year the theme will be "Disenchantments with Democracies", in cooperation with the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) in Vienna and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in New York.

→ <http://graduateinstitute.ch/democracy>

Among the foremost intellectuals of the twentieth century, Albert O. Hirschman was a brilliant theorist of problems of economic and political development. Born in Berlin in 1915, he addressed in his work two questions fundamental to the study of democratic politics today: When and why do people engage in, or disengage from, public welfare and public action? When and how do people bring about social and political change?

The Graduate Institute is very grateful to Mr Hirschman's daughter, Katia Solomon, for allowing our research centre to bear the name of this remarkable intellectual.

Une nouvelle résidence pour étudiants



L'Institut est engagé dans la réalisation, sur les hauteurs du Petit-Saconnex, d'une résidence étudiante qui lui permettra d'ajouter environ 700 lits aux 250 lits de la Maison des étudiants Edgar et Danièle de Picciotto. Ce faisant, il participe à la création d'une cité internationale qui comprendra également le siège de Médecins sans frontières et des logements pour fonctionnaires internationaux.

Le projet a été rendu possible par le soutien extrêmement généreux d'une fondation privée qui juge important de développer les logements étudiants à Genève et qu'attirait, en outre, l'idée de faire d'une pierre plusieurs coups: offrir une issue à une longue négociation entre l'État et le Bureau international du travail (BIT); donner au BIT les moyens de rénover son bâtiment; et permettre à l'État d'utiliser son terrain pour des réalisations utiles à la Genève internationale.

En effet, le projet de l'Institut concerne un terrain de 22000 mètres carrés qui appartenait à l'État de Genève et sur lequel ce dernier avait donné au BIT un droit de superficie qui courrait jusqu'en 2060 et qu'il souhaitait récupérer. En apportant grâce au don de la fondation mécène l'argent nécessaire à l'achat de la moitié de cette parcelle, l'Institut a facilité la conclusion d'une négociation qui durait depuis près d'une dizaine d'années. L'accord a consisté à diviser le terrain en deux parcelles égales. L'une a été cédée par l'État au BIT en échange de l'annulation de la servitude sur l'autre, le BIT vendant son terrain à la fondation mécène au profit du projet de l'Institut, tandis que

l'État utilisait sa propriété retrouvée en donnant deux droits de superficie, l'un à Médecins sans frontières pour construire son nouveau siège, l'autre à la fondation Terra et Casa pour construire des logements destinés aux fonctionnaires internationaux.

La négociation sur le foncier terminée et fort de sa solide équipe immobilière dirigée par Pierre Guth, l'Institut a pris avec l'accord des deux autres maîtres d'ouvrage, Médecins sans frontières et la fondation Terra et Casa, le pilotage d'un plan localisé de quartier qui vient d'être déposé et qui prévoit la construction d'au moins deux bâtiments pour la résidence étudiante de l'Institut et d'un bâtiment pour chacun des deux autres maîtres d'ouvrage; chaque maître d'ouvrage procédera en pleine liberté au choix d'un projet architectural. Au bout du compte, c'est un quartier ouvert sur l'international qui surgira sur les hauteurs du Petit-Saconnex avec un mixte de bureaux, de logements, de commerces et d'espaces arborisés, le tout agrémenté d'une place publique près de l'arrêt du futur tramway allant à Ferney-Voltaire.

La réalisation de ce projet s'inscrit dans la stratégie de l'Institut de constituer une fortune immobilière dont les revenus viennent compléter la subvention publique et donnent les moyens de poursuivre son essor. Avant tout, elle lui permet d'offrir un lit à tous ses étudiants et d'attirer ainsi des jeunes gens doués du monde entier.



L'INSTITUT

Transforming Environmental Behaviour in Colombia

The Geneva Challenge, hosted at the Graduate Institute, was launched in 2014 thanks to the generous support of Ambassador Jenö Staehelin and under the patronage of Kofi Annan. The competition invites graduate students to devise a solution to a major international development problem. The 2016 contest focused on "The Challenges of Urbanisation". The winners came from Universidad Nacional de Colombia and London School of Economics and Political Science for their project MINGA – Collective Waste Management. Team members Arianna Espinosa Oliver, David Núñez Amórtegui, Abraham Hidalgo Mendoza, Cristian Gil Sánchez and Pilar Veloza Cantillo introduce the project.

Amb. Jenö Staehelin and Ms Aisa Kirabo Kacyira, Deputy Executive Director and Assistant Secretary-General for UN-Habitat (left), hand out the prize to the winning team. 15 November 2016. Eric ROSET

“ We share an interest in linking academic debates about urbanisation challenges with high-impact solutions, and we sought to identify a single issue where different urban challenges intersected within the context of Bogota, our home city. We chose waste management, setting out to dignify the role of waste pickers while improving the general public's environmental behaviour. We wanted a solution that required minimal financial investment and could be replicable and scalable. We opted for a soft infrastructure project with two components: one digital (an app) and the other physical (collection spots).

Participating in the Geneva Challenge was an inspiring and stimulating experience. Preparing our proposal demanded hours of team work, debate and self-criticism. We are a multi-disciplinary team and we had to establish a cooperative working environment to produce results. Once we were selected as a finalist, preparing our presentation required finding ways around obstacles such as time-zone differences:

two of us were in Colombia, two in Europe and the other in Asia. Coming to Geneva for the ceremony brought us into contact with other participants, academics and policymakers. This gave us greater perspectives on our proposal's potential strengths and weaknesses. The jury's questions and other participants' observations were very constructive in enhancing the project, in particular their observations about how to incentivise households to use our app.

The Geneva Challenge prize money will enable us to develop the app and implement a pilot in four neighbourhoods of Bogota. We have had several meetings with key urban stakeholders, including waste pickers associations, public servants working in waste management systems, and representatives of waste management enterprises. Our hope is that MINGA could be replicable across the Global South.”

→ <http://graduateinstitute.ch/TheGenevaChallenge>



L'INSTITUT

La Commission globale de politique en matière de drogues

Entretien avec Ruth Dreifuss, présidente

Vous avez pris la présidence de la Global Commission on Drug Policy (Commission globale de politique en matière de drogues).

Pourriez-vous nous rappeler les origines de la création de cette commission ?

C'est en 2011 que nous nous sommes réunis une première fois, à Genève, anciens responsables politiques des Amériques et d'Europe, représentants du monde économique et de la culture, tous pareillement convaincus de l'échec des politiques en matière de drogues. La même année, nous avons publié un premier rapport, dont l'objectif était de briser le tabou et de démontrer que, si la consommation de stupéfiants représente un risque pour la santé individuelle et collective,

l'illégalité et la répression causent des dommages bien plus importants. Ce rapport décrivait les conséquences de la « guerre contre la drogue », responsable de violations des droits humains, de violence et de corruption,

alors que la production, le marché noir et la consommation de stupéfiants ne cessaient d'augmenter. Nos collègues d'Amérique latine, notamment les anciens présidents du Brésil, de Colombie et du Mexique, avaient déjà dénoncé le fait que le crime organisé – que la prohibition et les luttes pour le contrôle de la production et du trafic avaient renforcé – minait la démocratie et le fonctionnement de la justice. La commission a publié par la suite des rapports consacrés aux conséquences de la prohibition sur la santé publique (épidémies du VIH/sida et d'hépatite C alimentées par l'injection de drogues dans des conditions délétères, privation de soins palliatifs et d'analgésiques puissants à cause de la stigmatisation des substances soumises au contrôle des stupéfiants), avant de proposer les voies de réformes radicales : prévention, traitement, réduction des risques, accès aux médicaments, dépénalisation de la consommation, alternatives aux punitions pour les petits délinquants non violents embrigadés par les organisations criminelles, soutien économique et social aux communautés marginalisées et régulation, par les États, de toute la

chaîne des substances psychoactives.

Comment vous êtes-vous intéressée à la politique en matière de drogues ?

Active politiquement dans la ville de Berne, ville pionnière en matière de prévention des risques dès les premières années de l'épidémie du sida, j'étais déjà au fait du défi de santé publique auquel l'injection d'héroïne nous confrontait. Peu après, c'est au niveau national que j'ai pu agir. Le Conseil fédéral, en me confiant la direction du Département fédéral de l'intérieur, m'a chargée de l'application tant de la loi sur les épidémies que de la loi sur les stupéfiants. C'était l'époque des scènes ouvertes, de la marginalisation des consommateurs de drogues, des overdoses et du taux de transmission du VIH/sida par injection le plus élevé d'Europe. J'avais dit à l'époque que « la dignité humaine est foulée aux pieds ». Cela constitue encore aujourd'hui la raison pour laquelle je me joins à mes collègues commissaires pour appeler à une refonte des politiques en matière de drogues. C'est cette situation, son urgence et la certitude qu'on pouvait pallier la catastrophe qui m'ont alors poussée à agir, et je poursuis simplement, forte des expériences accumulées depuis plus d'un quart de siècle, sur la voie des réformes nécessaires.

Est-il judicieux de dépénaliser l'usage des drogues ? Et quel serait l'impact d'une telle décision sur la santé globale ?

Le rapport 2016 de la commission plaide pour une dépénalisation de la consommation et de la possession de drogues pour un usage personnel. D'une part, l'expérience des pays qui ont emprunté cette voie est positive : l'usage de stupéfiants n'a pas augmenté et l'accès aux soins et l'intégration des personnes réellement dépendantes ont été fortement améliorés. D'autre part, la très large majorité de celles et ceux qui consomment des substances psychoactives, illicites ou licites, n'en font pas un usage problématique et ne nuisent pas à autrui. En renonçant à une approche punitive, les États disposent de plus de moyens pour prévenir et soigner, pour réduire les risques inhérents à l'illégalité et au marché noir et pour combattre plus efficacement les vrais

patrons des organisations criminelles.

Quel est le lien entre la commission et Genève ?

L'ancrage genevois de la commission repose sur un contrat avec l'Institut, qui lui loue locaux et services et lui offre un environnement académique stimulant, auquel plusieurs membres de la commission et de son secrétariat sont heureux de contribuer. Par ailleurs, la commission participe activement à la vie de la Genève internationale, celle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme des nombreuses organisations non gouvernementales engagées notamment dans la défense des droits humains et la santé publique.

→ www.globalcommissionondrugs.org

La Commission globale de politique en matière de drogues compte 24 membres, dont Kofi Annan, ancien secrétaire général des Nations Unies, et dix anciens chefs d'État ou de gouvernement. Elle est présidée par Madame Ruth Dreifuss, ancienne présidente de la Confédération suisse et conseillère fédérale à la tête du Département fédéral de l'intérieur.



Ruth Dreifuss.

Centre de consommation
Quai 9 à Genève.
Première Ligne/
Max JACOT



OPINION

What Trump's Election Represents

David Sylvan

Professor of International Relations/Political Science

UNITED STATES, Washington, DC. US President Donald Trump, White House Chief of Staff Reince Priebus, National Security Advisor Michael Flynn, White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer, and Counselor to the President Stephen Bannon. 28 January 2017. AFP/Mandel NGAN

At the time this article was written, Donald Trump had occupied the White House for just over a month. His entire set of Cabinet nominations had not yet been approved, and although executive orders had begun to be issued, most were still in the drafting stage; meanwhile, almost no legislation had yet passed Congress. Nonetheless, even these early actions speak volumes: they are an unsettling combination of practical small steps and symbolic huge ones.

Thus far, Trump's appointees have begun making it easier for financial advisers to work against the interests of their ostensible clients, for polluters to pay less attention to environmental laws, for immigration agents to harass and deport undocumented residents, and for armed forces to launch attacks that will likely result in significant civilian casualties, to name but a few of the policies undertaken by the Trump administration. The fact that the last two of these initiatives are different only in degree, not kind, from those of the Obama administration, or that any number of other initiatives, from noncondemnation of Israeli settlement expansion to the two-China policy, are already down the memory hole does not change the frenziedly reactionary quality of the orders issuing from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue every few hours.

For Trump, and his hard-core supporters in the electorate, what matters is neither the efficacy (at best contestable, quite likely negative) of his policies, nor whether they are affordable, based on facts, or even followed through. The important thing is that the policies aim at stigmatising large numbers of people: refugees, immigrants, Muslims, welfare recipients, transgender persons and gays, non-British members of the European Union, the news media, judges, and of course anyone considered as having supported Hillary Clinton. This stigmatisation is an end in itself, where the intent – to say, “we hate you” – is far more important than the legality or the practicality of the actions. Indeed, the more the actions are contested, the happier Trump and his supporters are.

Already, Trump's election, as well as his policies, have had a marked effect on politics in other countries, encouraging authoritarian leaders and their illiberal supporters. That effect, much more than the details of Trump's policies, is a serious threat to the entire post-1945 order both internationally and in terms of domestic politics in countries around the world. We may well be in for what Auden called “a low dishonest decade”. The question is whether leaders and ordinary citizens have the tenacity, day after day, to stand up for honesty, for tolerance, and for peace.

OPINION

Donald Trump ou l'envers ubuesque du national-libéralisme

Jean-François Bayart

Professeur et titulaire de la chaire Yves Oltramare
Religion et politique dans le monde contemporain

Donald Trump est un fondamentaliste de l'identité américaine. Au sens strict du terme. Tout comme les salafistes, il procède par « invention de la tradition », pour reprendre le concept d'Eric Hobsbawm et Terence Ranger. Il imagine l'Amérique originelle de ses rêves et de ceux de ses électeurs (ou des cauchemars de beaucoup d'autres Américains). L'Amérique de sa jeunesse, blanche, heureuse et triomphante, était aussi l'Amérique des mâles blancs dominants, de la ségrégation raciale et du maccarthysme. Le vote en faveur de Donald Trump a été, autant qu'une protestation de la « ceinture de rouille » contre la désindustrialisation, le rejet du premier président noir élu aux États-Unis.

Dans sa brutalité, le *Muslim ban* signifie le retour fondamentaliste à une définition ethnoconfessionnelle de la citoyenneté américaine. Les vrais Américains sont les WASP, les protestants anglo-saxons blancs. Pour être acceptés, les Latinos catholiques sont sommés de se convertir au protestantisme évangélique, conformément aux recommandations du penseur conservateur Samuel Huntington.

Réponse réactionnaire et moderne à l'Amérique des Civil Rights, du *care* et de l'ouverture au monde, l'accession de Donald Trump à la Maison-Blanche s'inscrit dans une certaine tradition de l'histoire politique américaine, mâtinée de populisme, de démagogie, de violence, de suspicion à l'encontre des immigrés, de nationalisme, d'isolationnisme. *America First!* L'« invention de la tradition » américaine a des précédents. Les historiens ont par exemple montré le rôle décisif de l'industriel philo-nazi Henry Ford dans la tradition inventée de la *country music*, entre les deux guerres. Et, déjà, la fin du XIX^e siècle se ferma brutalement à l'immigration, contribuant à la déstabilisation économique de l'Europe, grande exportatrice de main-d'œuvre, et à l'enclenchement de la Première Guerre mondiale, selon Kevin O'Rourke et Jeffrey Williamson.

Mais Donald Trump est surtout l'avatar nord-américain d'un moment bien contemporain du national-libéralisme, à la croisée de la globalisation économique et financière et de l'universalisation de l'État-nation – un national-libéralisme dont le fondamentalisme identitaire est l'idéologie de prédilection. Il en partage l'ambiguïté, prônant le protectionnisme mais nommant un ancien banquier de Goldman Sachs



secrétaire au Trésor. Il fonctionne selon le principe de la chauve-souris, arborant un corps de mammifère national à l'endroit des pauvres et exhibant des ailes libérales pour les riches. Il stigmatise la corruption de l'establishment, mais il en fait partie et pratique le népotisme.

Néanmoins, Donald Trump a sa particularité par rapport à ses congénères national-libéraux. Imprudent, impudent, incompetent, il gouverne comme le roi Ubu.

■ Jean-François Bayart vient de publier *Les fondamentalistes de l'identité: laïcisme versus djihadisme* (Karthala) et *L'impasse national-libérale: globalisation et repli identitaire* (La Découverte).

BELGIQUE, Bruxelles. Une participante à la manifestation organisée devant l'ambassade des États-Unis contre la politique d'immigration du président Donald Trump. 12 février 2017. AFP/SOOC/Alexandros MICHALIDIS

Dossier based on *Global Challenges* (no. 1, 2017),
The Graduate Institute's series of research dossiers.

→ <http://globalchallenges.ch>

DOSSIER

SOUTH CHINA SEA: WAR ON THE HORIZON?

SINGAPORE. Ships moored in the port.
Shutterstock/JOYFULL



SOUTH CHINA SEA: WAR ON THE HORIZON?

MULTIPLYING HOTBEDS OF TENSION

Dominic Eggel
Research Office

PHILIPPINES, San Antonio. Philippine and US Marines take their positions during a beach assault exercise facing the South China sea. 9 May 2014. AFP/Ted ALJIBE

Over the past decade the South China Sea has once more transformed into a hotbed of tension. China's unprecedented island-building campaign, military build-up and uncompromising sovereignty claims have plunged the region into ebullition and anxiety. Disqualifying most of China's claims and actions in the region, the recent ruling of the Arbitral Tribunal (p. 20–21), far from appeasing the situation, has added fuel to the fire. In a latest twist, the sudden rapprochement of the Philippines – the most reliable long-term local ally of the United States – with China and Donald Trump's recent election have added further uncertainty to the regional equation.

The South China Sea has been of strategic importance and prone to for-

eign intervention since ancient times. Home to one of the world's most vital sea lanes with over 74,000 vessels plying its route annually, the South China Sea constitutes the backbone of the world's trading system. It harbours extensive fish stocks and untapped hydrocarbon resources, attracting the covetousness of coastal states and foreign investors alike.

The South China Sea remains the most contested maritime territory worldwide. China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and Taiwan hold rivaling sovereignty claims over disputed reefs, rocks and islands such as the Spratlys or the Paracels. These tensions are further exacerbated by the United States' nervousness about the shifting regional balance of power, China's contentious

militarisation of the Spratlys, the regional amplification of nationalism and military spending, and the dysfunctionality of the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) in offering solutions.

In such a strained context, skirmishes such as the *USNS Impeccable* incident (2009) between US and Chinese vessels or the standoffs between Chinese and Philippine forces at Reed Bank (2011), Scarborough Shoal (2012) and Second Thomas Shoal (2013–16) pose a serious risk to regional and global security in the absence of functioning conflict prevention or dispute settlement mechanisms.

The South China Sea is a compelling showcase of the world's changing security architecture. China's seemingly irresistible economic and military

rise is challenging the status quo and the United States' proclaimed role as guarantor of stability in the region. Even though lesser powers like Vietnam or the Philippines are likely to continue to play a key role in the South China Sea, its fate lies above all in the hands of the two regional superpowers.

Chinese leadership is ogling with an alternative world order that would restore the nation's ancient glory and overcome the scar left by the 100 years of humiliation initiated by the Opium Wars. Since Deng Xiaoping's paradigmatic shift to trade and economic openness, Chinese rulers have come to conceive maritime security as tantamount to China's national interest. Putting their rhetoric of "peaceful development" to the litmus test, China's decision-makers aim to secure their near seas and to play the role of benevolent hegemon in the region, in a way reminiscent of the Middle Kingdom's former tributary system. Insisting that disputes in the South China Sea are a local issue, China strives to keep the United States at bay by concluding bilateral settlements with ASEAN members.

Considering the South China Sea as a bellwether to decrypt China's agenda on the world stage, the United States has decided to confront China's assertiveness by rebalancing its global priorities. Since 2010 the Obama administration has gradually redeployed naval and air assets from Europe and the Middle East to the Asia-Pacific through its pivot policy of re-engagement. The United States undoubtedly remains the world's largest military power – spending more on the military than the seven next powers combined – but it has to strike a delicate

balance in facing China's irredentist agenda in the South China Sea while avoiding a strategic overstretch. Whether Donald Trump will continue Obama's pivot policy or opt for more isolationist or interventionist policies

Chinese leadership about the exact meaning of its "nine-dash line".

One of the biggest challenges in the South China Sea therefore remains that of understanding and common language as China and the United

“Clearly, conflicts in the South China Sea are not just about realpolitik but also about history, identity and ideological projection.”

remains to be seen. In view of the new president's confrontational rhetoric towards China thus far, it can, however, be doubted whether the cognitive dissonance between the two superpowers will reduce in the near future.

Western powers manifest a general difficulty in reading China's intentions and core interests behind sweeping concepts such as President Xi Jinping's Chinese dream, as well as in fathoming the intricacies of the Chinese worldview and politics. To a certain degree, this seems to be a rhetorical game as part of Western incomprehension is feigned, just as part of Chinese ambiguity is intentional, as illustrated by the ingenuously indefiniteness maintained by the

States are at risk of engaging in an escalating rhetoric that could prove fatal in a context of heightened domestic pressure. Clearly, conflicts in the South China Sea are not just about realpolitik but also about history, identity and ideological projection. Shared conflict management measures and operating communication (back)channels will thus prove crucial to prevent minor skirmishes from escalating.

The following contributions from faculty members and doctoral students of the Institute discuss future prospects for peace and conflict in the South China Sea from the legal, political and military perspectives, with a particular focus on the positions of the two regional superpowers, China and the United States.

CHINESE WATERS? THE SOUTH CHINA SEA AT THE HEART OF CHINA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

Nicola Casarini

Visiting Professor of International History

Chinese territorial and maritime claims over large swaths of the South China Sea are based not only on economic and security considerations, but also on national identity making and the renewal of China's past grandeur, which today is taking the form of President Xi Jinping's

to sovereignty disputes. The latter are viewed by Chinese leaders and the public opinion as "domestic" issues and not something over which other claimant states – and even less so the international community – should have a say.

as far as to the East Han Dynasty (AD 23–220) – to demonstrate that the Chinese people – i.e. the explorers, soldiers, traders, fishermen – made the South China Sea "an inalienable part of Chinese territory".

This was reiterated in the "Position Paper of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Matter of Jurisdiction in the South China Sea Arbitration Initiated by the Republic of the Philippines" released on 7 December 2014. The document maintains that "Chinese activities in the South China Sea date back over 2000 years ago" and refers to maps of the South China Sea islands published throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties, including navigational charts drawn up by China's thirteenth century admiral and explorer Zheng He. Seen from this perspective, Chinese territorial and maritime claims in the South China Sea are inextricably linked to China's identity storyline.

The South China Sea as a "Core National Interest"

In the last years, there have been a number of semi-official declarations by Chinese policymakers and senior officials of the People's Liberation Army which have asserted that the islands, shoals and waters in the South China Sea are now a "core national interest", alongside Tibet and Taiwan. This is much more than a Chinese version of the United States' nineteenth century's

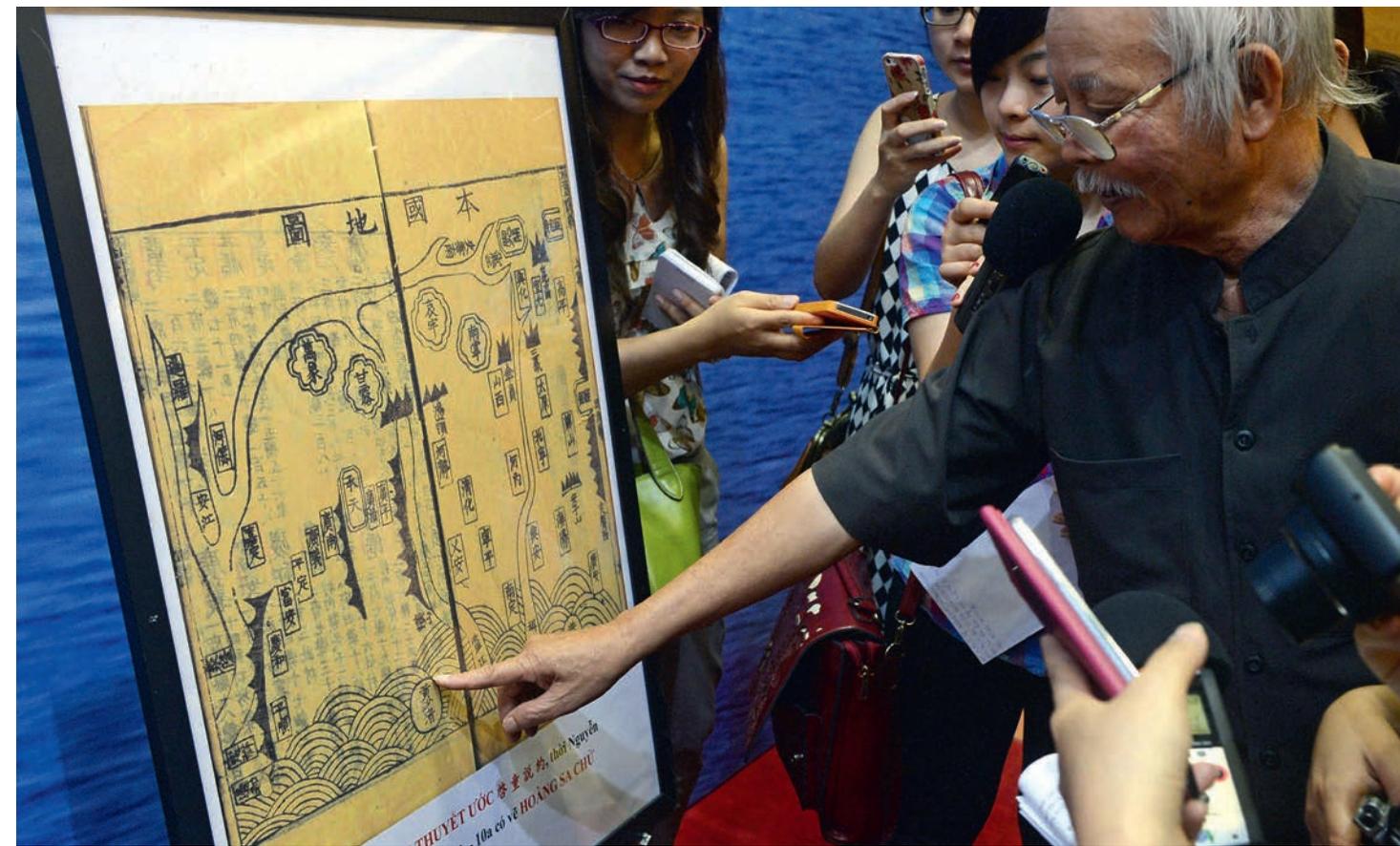
"In Chinese eyes, the hundreds of islands, islets, sandbanks, rocks and shoals throughout the South China Sea region constitute an indivisible part of China's historical territory."

vision of the "China dream". The term has, since 2013, been related to the rejuvenation of the country, including restoring the glory of the ancient times, when China presided over a Sino-centric order in East Asia.

This explains the fundamental Sino-Western division over the application of international law and legal agreements such as the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)

The Political Use of History

In 2000, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs released a document on "Evidence to Support China's Sovereignty over Nansha (Spratly) Islands" where it was stated that "China was the first to discover, name, develop, conduct economic activities on and exercise jurisdiction of the Nansha Islands". The document uses medieval and ancient texts – going back



VIETNAM, Hanoi. Nguyen Ta Nhi, a researcher from the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, talks with reporters about old Han Nom (Sino-Vietnamese language based on classical Chinese characters) documents dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries dealing with Vietnamese sovereignty over the Paracel Islands in the South China Sea. 3 June 2014. AFP/HOANG DINH Nam

Monroe Doctrine since it touches to the very heart of China's national identity. In geography classes across the country, Chinese school children study maps of China that include the entire South China Sea.

In Chinese eyes, the hundreds of islands, islets, sandbanks, rocks and shoals throughout the South China Sea region constitute an indivisible part of China's historical territory. It follows that the overlapping claims, and alternative interpretations, by other countries in the region are not recognised by the Chinese authorities. The hardline approach taken by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on this issue finds support among Chinese public opinion, which has come to view Beijing's construction of artificial islands as perfectly within its rights since it occurs within Chinese territory. The overwhelming view in China is that these are "our islands".

Chinese assertiveness in the South China Sea has increased after President Xi Jinping's accession to power in 2012. As the weakening economy has eroded some of the CCP's legitimacy,

a more muscular foreign policy is considered instrumental for maintaining the "mandate of heaven". It thus becomes essential for the CCP to show that it is able to cater to the Chinese people's well-being and its growing aspirations, using force if necessary, to ensure China's strategic interests and territorial ambitions.

Beijing is currently building artificial islands, installing military facilities, drilling for oil and gas, and chasing off the boats of its Southeast Asian neighbours from waters UNCLOS – and the Arbitral Tribunal – says they can operate in. While in Western eyes these activities are a form of "territorial occupation", for the Chinese authorities they are part of a long-term positioning strategy. They can be seen as an application in the South China Sea of the basic precepts of China's strategy board game: *wei qi* (also known in the West by its Japanese name, *go*).

Wei qi vs International Law

Wei qi is a game of surrounding pieces. It implies a concept of strate-

gic encirclement through protracted "campaigns" and "initiatives". The *wei qi* player seeks relative advantage which requires a constant re-assessment of not only the pieces on the board, but also the reinforcements that the adversary is in a position to deploy. To be able to win, a *wei qi* player needs thus to move into "empty" spaces on the board – i.e. unoccupied islands and reefs in the South China Sea – to gradually mitigate the strategic potential of his opponent's pieces – i.e. the United States and its Asian allies.

China is seeking strategic positioning in the South China Sea. Consequently, Beijing has declared the verdict of the Arbitral Tribunal null and void and questioned the legality of the tribunal itself.

The West should not put too many hopes on international law, including UNCLOS. Instead, the focus should be more on learning China's worldview and strategic thinking so as to better respond to Chinese moves. A *wei qi* contest in the South China Sea is underway. This is a game where Western rules do not apply.



SOUTH CHINA SEA: WAR ON THE HORIZON?

THE US PIVOT STRATEGY: A CHANGE OF PARADIGM IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA?

David Sylvan

Professor of International Relations/Political Science

PHILIPPINES, Manila. Photographers take photos of the US guided missile cruiser USS *Cowpens* docked for a routine port call. The visit highlights the close defence ties between the United States and its former colony, the Philippines, which seeks greater US support in the face of Chinese claims in the South China Sea. 9 March 2013. AFP/Jay DIRECTO

On 1 May 1898, the United States Asiatic Squadron defeated the Spanish in Manila Bay, thus ushering in over 100 years of almost uninterrupted US military presence in the South China Sea. For most of the twentieth century, the United States had military bases in the Philippines, with additional facilities in Thailand, South Vietnam, and Taiwan. Following its defeat in the Vietnam War, the United States gradually was evicted or withdrew from these locations, but even so, sent ships regularly throughout the South China Sea from Singapore as well as from its bases in Japan, Guam, and, of course, the

headquarters of the US Pacific Command in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

In the last few years, though, history has seemed to go into reverse. The United States, as part of what the Obama White House called a “pivot” to Asia, negotiated facilities arrangements with Malaysia and Australia, increased its naval presence in Singapore, signed a “defence framework agreement” with India, and, most strikingly, set up military-to-military ties with Vietnam and reestablished basing arrangements with the Philippines. High-ranking military officers, Cabinet officials, and Obama himself repeatedly said that

the United States planned to extend and deepen its military activities in Southeast Asia and, more generally, East Asia. Among those activities are regular naval “freedom of navigation” exercises near Scarborough Shoal and in the Spratly Islands, both claimed by China as part of their territorial waters. In this regard, it is striking that Donald Trump’s nominee for Secretary of State seemed to support the goal of challenging China’s island-building.

These actions can, of course, be interpreted as early warning signs of a second cold war in the region, with the United States reprising its

anti-China policies of the 1950s and 1960s. The now-defunct Trans-Pacific Partnership, which notably excluded China, could be seen as additional evidence for this interpretation, not least because it was negotiated under the supposedly softer-line Obama administration.

Such a view, though, is contestable, and that for three reasons. First, the fact that there have been numerous basing agreements and other forms of military cooperation set up does not mean that those actions were designed as means to an anti-China end. These actions are what the United States does, not just in the South China Sea, or in East Asia more generally, but throughout the world. At regular intervals, for many decades, the United States has estab-

we have one set of policy instruments – basing and joint agreements – but multiple goals which those instruments are supposed to bring about. (The same can be said about trade agreements, which the United States has also been signing for decades.) In effect, the policy is driven by means, not ends: US officials set up bases and sign military agreements because that is what they know how to do, not necessarily because they intend to confront China.

Second, lest this position be thought of as too cynical, consider the details of US activity in the South China Sea. If all goes as planned, the United States will have facilities to rotate an aircraft carrier through the area more easily than in the past; there will be a few thousand Marines

What is lacking, notably, is any kind of infantry presence, such as in Japan. Doubtless this is because of the “no land wars in Asia” lesson learned, twice, by the United States after the Korean and Vietnam Wars. Thus, at the very least, there is a significant disproportion between the rhetoric connected with the pivot, on the one hand, and the actual military presence and activities agreed to or planned, on the other.

Third, there is no evidence that the Obama administration saw itself as preparing for military clashes with China. Understandably, the US Navy is unhappy about the growth in the size and capability of China’s South Sea Fleet, but if it dominated policy-making in Washington, we would expect a considerably greater scale to the pivot and many more confrontational patrols than have been the case. In fact, even the Navy is split, having invited China to participate in its biennial Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) maritime exercise. Beyond the South China Sea, the United States put considerable efforts into cooperating with China on a host of global and regional issues, from climate change and economic matters to anti-terror policies and North Korean nuclear weapons. Indeed, cooperative arrangements were institutionalised through the “Strategic and Economic Dialogue” and other regularly occurring consultative fora. Will a new Trump administration change all this? Perhaps, but that would involve military risks, frighten US allies, and endanger the economic health of hundreds, if not thousands, of US companies.

In conclusion, none of these points means that a US-China military confrontation in the South China Sea is impossible. Accidents can and doubtless will occur, but there is nothing to suggest that they cannot be contained or that they are a precursor to a new cold war. Recent US military actions need to be taken with not one, but many, grains of salt.

“US officials set up bases and sign military agreements because that is what they know how to do, not necessarily because they intend to confront China.”

lished military facilities and/or worked out military-to-military ties in every region of the world: first Central America and the Caribbean, then Western Europe, South America, East Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and, most recently, sub-Saharan Africa. Of course, the rationale for these moves differs from one time period and one place to another, with anti-communism, anti-narcotics trafficking, and anti-terrorism being the most common justifications. In effect,

stationed in the region; and the United States will be able to carry out various sorts of air patrols (e.g., on surveillance or anti-submarine missions). However, each of these activities could have been carried out by the United States prior to the pivot, though of course not as easily as with the new basing arrangements. Moreover, the scale of the planned US military presence in the South China Sea is far more limited than during the 1950s and 1960s.

CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES: THE EVOLUTION OF A RELATIONSHIP

Jussi Hanhimäki

Professor of International History

The evolution of Sino-American relations over the past half-a-century or so is a tale of successes and paradoxes. In the 1970s the two countries entered into a strategic partnership to contain the Soviet Union. As of the 1980s the relationship morphed into growing economic interdependence. Today, rising tensions in the South China Sea and the inauguration of an apparently anti-Chinese American president have produced a situation prone to confrontation. Nevertheless, the historical evolution of the past half-century should provide some solace against doomsday scenarios.

United States and “Red China”

The relationship between the United States and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) got off to a bad start. In 1949 the PRC snubbed the United States and forged an alliance with the Soviet Union. The United States retaliated by refusing to recognise the legitimacy of the new Chinese government. Chinese and American soldiers killed each other in the thousands during the Korean War of the early 1950s.

By the 1960s “Red China” – as Americans preferred to call it – was in American eyes a bigger version of how North Korea appears today: an economic basket case led by a strong leader, relying on a massive army, closed to the outside world, monolithic in its ideology, consumed by a

deep-seated anti-Americanism, and possessing nuclear weapons (as of 1964). The PRC was a country, as Henry Kissinger put it, “led by a group of

was a strategic partnership aimed at containing China’s former ally, the Soviet Union. In practice this translated to sharing intelligence information and,

“Today, the relationship between China and the United States is probably the most important bilateral relationship on the globe.”

monks – Communist monks – who have fought for 50 years and kept their revolutionary purity”.

From Strategic Partnership to the Pivot

In July 1971, President Nixon sent Kissinger on a secret trip to Beijing that paved the way for Sino-American rapprochement. Full normalisation was achieved under the Carter administration. The relationship that emerged

as Soviet-American relations worsened in the early 1980s, US military sales to China.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 weakened the rationale of the Sino-American strategic partnership. Meanwhile, between 1996 and 2015 China’s military budget grew by an annual average of 11%, making the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) into a force capable of projecting Chinese power in the Far Eastern region.



PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, Shanghai. US Representative Henry Hyde (centre) views an exhibition called “Journeys to Peace and Cooperation” showcasing the 30th anniversary of former US President Richard Nixon’s visit to China. 11 December 2002. AFP/LIU Jin

As China’s military power and assertiveness have grown, the Sino-American strategic partnership has suffered. The Obama administration tried to reassure its long-standing allies in the region – Japan, the Philippines, South Korea among others – by militarily “pivoting” towards Asia. But little has come out of this idea because the US focus has, for decades, been on other regions, notably the Middle East.

Rise and Decline in the Shadow of Globalisation

In 1971, Kissinger was certain that China’s interest in forging a relationship was “100% political”. In 1972, Sino-American trade amounted to a mere USD 4 million. However, by the late 1980s the annual value of Sino-American trade was over USD 20 billion. China gained a great deal: its annual GDP growth averaged over 10% in the 1980s.

In the 1970s Americans still enjoyed a small trade surplus but since 1985 that balance has reversed. By 1989 Chinese sales to the United States were more than twice as high as US sales to China. Still, China was only

the United States’ 14th largest trading partner.

Fast forward to 2016, and things look very different. At 15% China is America’s second largest trading partner behind Canada. The United States’ biggest trading deficit (USD 350 billion) is with China. China’s share of the world economy had grown exponentially to 13.4% by 2014 (the US share was 22.3%). Consequently, a popular theme of analysts and pundits – as well as a centrepiece of Donald Trump’s campaign rhetoric – has become America’s decline and China’s rise.

Too Big to Fail?

Today, the relationship between China and the United States is probably the most important bilateral relationship on the globe. But it remains burdened by issues on which the two countries agree to disagree. Respect for human rights is but one thorny problem that Beijing and Washington are unlikely, in the present situation, to discuss seriously.

A change in the pattern of Sino-American relations could arise from two sources. Although unlikely, it is possible

that military action involving American allies in the South China Sea could prompt the United States to enact severe measures vis-à-vis China. These would probably not remain unchallenged. An action-reaction cycle might result in potentially catastrophic consequences.

A more likely “game changer” would emerge as a consequence of domestic pressures. The inauguration of Donald Trump may well lead to policies aimed at clamping down on China’s “unfair” trade policies. Such policies would find support among human rights advocates willing to press China towards political reform. In China, an economic slowdown could stroke the flames of nationalism and place the many historical grievances – real and invented ones – to the forefront of the government’s effort to shift attention from domestic problems to foreign threats.

If history is a guide, neither of these scenarios is inevitable. Indeed, more likely is the continuation of competitive coexistence between the world’s two largest economies. For ultimately, they have little to gain from direct conflict with each other.



SOUTH CHINA SEA: WAR ON THE HORIZON?

LEGAL VICTORY FOR THE PHILIPPINES AGAINST CHINA: A CASE STUDY

Christine Pichel Medina

PhD (2017), Department of International Law

PHILIPPINES, Manila. Activists protest in front of the Chinese Consular Office against China's reclamation and construction activities on islands and reefs in the Spratly group of the South China Sea that are also claimed by the Philippines. 12 June 2015. AFP/Noel CELIS

On 12 July 2016, the Arbitral Tribunal in the *South China Sea Arbitration (The Republic of the Philippines v. The People's Republic of China)* issued a unanimous award largely favourable to the Philippines. China has rejected the ruling, but it may nonetheless be a stepping-stone on the way to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The award addresses three main substantive issues: (a) the so-called "nine-dash line" and China's claim to historic rights in the South

China Sea, (b) the status of certain maritime features in the South China Sea and (c) the legality of Chinese activities in the South China Sea.

The "Nine-Dash Line" and the Alleged Chinese Historic Rights

Dealing with the question whether China's claims to historic rights within the area marked by the so-called "nine-dash line", which covers nearly the entire South China Sea, were in conformity with the

United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the tribunal concluded that UNCLOS does not permit the preservation of historic rights of any state within the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) or the continental shelf (CS) of another state. Therefore, after the entry into force of UNCLOS, the historic rights that might have existed for China within the nine-dash line in areas that would otherwise include the EEZ or the CS of the Philippines were contrary to UNCLOS.

The Status of Maritime Features

Concerning the legal status of certain maritime features located in the South China Sea, the tribunal determined that Scarborough Shoal is a rock, and, among those features in the Spratly Islands, that Mischief Reef, Subi Reef and Second Thomas Shoal are "low-tide elevations" (LTE), and Johnson Reef, Cuarteron Reef and Fiery Cross Reef are mere rocks. However, the tribunal concluded, contrary to the Philippines' position, that Gaven Reef (North) and McKennan Reef are rocks that are not capable of generating an EEZ or a CS. Determining whether such features are "islands", "rocks", "LTEs" or "submerged banks" is important because, unlike fully entitled islands, rocks which cannot sustain human habitation or economic life of their own do not generate an EEZ and a CS. Consequently, rocks do not give rights to resource exploitation beyond their territorial sea. Furthermore, LTEs or submerged banks do not generate any maritime zone.

The Legality of Chinese Activities in the South China Sea

The tribunal concluded that China breached the provisions of UNCLOS, in particular by (a) temporary prohibiting fishing in areas of the South China Sea falling within the Philippines' EEZ, (b) failing to prevent Chinese vessels from fishing in the Philippines' EEZ at Mischief Reef and Second Thomas Shoal and (c) preventing Filipino fishermen from engaging in traditional fishing at Scarborough Shoal. Regarding China's construction of artificial islands, installations and structures at Mischief Reef – a LTE which is part of the Philippines' EEZ and CS – without the authorisation of the Philippines, the tribunal also

“While the tribunal’s intention appeared to be that of making a path forward to solve the problem between the two countries, the long-term effects of the award are still to be seen.”

The Aftermath of the Tribunal's Decision

The Philippines welcomed the award as it vindicated most of its claims, and stated that it remained open to negotiate with China. Conversely, China rejected the decision as illegal, null and void and therefore without any binding effect on itself. Other countries, including the United States, Vietnam, Australia and Japan, backed the Philippines and called on China to respect the tribunal's decision. Conversely, Cambodia supported China's non-acceptance of the award. Members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) issued a joint communiqué reaffirming the need to avoid actions that might escalate tensions in the South China Sea and to seek the peaceful resolution of disputes in accordance with international law, including UNCLOS. The tribunal's ruling is certainly a legal victory for the Philippines over China as the judges agreed unanimously on almost all the questions submitted by the Philippines and declared that (a) China is obliged to comply with

UNCLOS and that (b) the award is legally binding on China.

Nonetheless, there is no enforcement mechanism as such under UNCLOS in the event that China fails to comply with the tribunal's decision. The Philippines could thus either resort to diplomatic ways (bilateral or multilateral negotiations within the framework of international organisations) or have recourse to further arbitration under UNCLOS. Moreover, other states and non-state actors could take further actions (i.e. economic sanctions) to put pressure on Beijing to shift its behaviour. In the meanwhile, it is hard to believe that countries such as Japan with Okinotorishima or the United States with Johnson's Island will withdraw their claims over features that they assert to be fully entitled islands and not mere rocks. Thus, while the tribunal's intention appeared to be that of making a path forward to solve the problem between the two countries, the long-term effects of the award are still to be seen.

TOWARDS AN ARMS RACE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA?

Umut Yüksel

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Department of International Relations/Political Science

Countries in the South China Sea have significantly enhanced their air and naval presence over recent decades. While there is nothing unusual about states expanding resources to maintain and improve their militaries, the trends in defence spending, coupled with recent island-building activities, raise the question of whether countries in the region are engaged in an arms race.

Modernisation or Competitive Arms Build-up?

An arms race involves states boosting their armaments in response to actual or contingent future threats posed by the armaments of potential adversaries. Armament decisions and military posturing of one state may lead to an action-reaction sequence – a spiral of reciprocal arms build-up – arguably like the Anglo-German naval race before World War I.

According to the above definition, the respective armament acquisitions in the region over the past decades do not quite add up to an arms race. Yet there is legitimate concern that recent years saw an intensely competitive posture in how the countries in the region assert their claims, improve their military capabilities and project naval power.

Whereas internal security concerns such as smuggling and separatism

preoccupied most of the countries in the region until the 1980s, the following decades witnessed a move towards comprehensive military restructuring and modernisation in a time of strong economic growth. While defence spending declined globally in the post-Cold War era, military expenditures of East

the South China Sea. Regional actors have been increasing air and naval capabilities by ordering fighter aircrafts, submarines and other warships, as well as sophisticated weaponry including anti-ship cruise missiles and high technology surveillance and communications systems.

“Further evolution of armaments in the region will be greatly shaped by how countries decide to manage their disputes after the arbitral award.”

and Southeast Asian countries have kept increasing. The riparian countries of the South China Sea now spend on defence almost three times as much as they were spending in 1992.

A large share of this increase in military expenditure has been allocated to reinforcing competing claims over land features and maritime zones in

The Chinese Difference

China has been at the forefront of improving the quality and quantity of its armaments. It has greatly enhanced the strategic deployment of its forces and acquired a strong navy, crowned in 2012 by its first aircraft carrier, *Liaoning*. The development of a second aircraft carrier exclusively built



Liaoning, China's only aircraft carrier, sails during military drills in the Bohai Sea, off China's northeast coast. December 2016. STR/AFP.

domestically is underway. China has also developed a very impressive submarine force and achieved superiority in number and size of its maritime law enforcement vessels.

Chinese military superiority raises concerns for the other states adjacent to the South China Sea. A latecomer to the island-building activities, Chinese land reclamation and construction activities in disputed zones have far surpassed those of countries like the Philippines, Malaysia and Vietnam. China uses these islands as military outposts equipped with runways, radars and potentially surface-to-air missiles to further enhance its power projection capabilities and ability to constrain the movement of other forces in the region.

Counting on US Support – Until When?

If it seems hard for neighbouring states to match Chinese advances in a regional arms race, they could until now count on the military presence of the United States, currently the only force able to challenge Chinese

supremacy over the South China Sea. This raises the risk of a direct standoff between the United States and China if, for instance, the US navy sees its manoeuvres constrained by China. However, US assurances could embolden other states in the region to resist an increasingly assertive China. The United States could thus be led into conflict by its treaty allies as the Obama administration's "pivot" to Asia may have raised expectations of continued US presence among its allies and caused increased concern among the Chinese.

The United States has recently sought to strengthen its security ties with other states in the region, like the Philippines, a treaty ally, as well as Vietnam, a former adversary. It lifted its arms embargo on Vietnam, agreed with South Korea on the deployment of a missile defence system, and concluded a defence deal with the Philippines which would allow it to use Philippine bases to rotate ships, aircraft and personnel. In the days preceding the award of the Arbitral Tribunal in the *South China Sea Arbitration* case,

two of the ten US aircraft carriers were in the Philippine Sea for joint exercises with the Philippines.

If no resolution to the various land and maritime disputes is forthcoming, it is probable that the regional actors will seek to improve their military standing. At this stage the US stance will prove crucial. If the new US administration reduces the US presence in the region, we may be set for a regional arms race between China, Vietnam and the Philippines. Given Chinese superiority in terms of military capabilities, however, the region's countries may also judge that such a race would be lost and seek ways to accommodate Chinese demands. Further evolution of armaments in the region will be greatly shaped by how countries decide to manage their disputes after the arbitral award and how the new US administration charts its interests in the South China Sea.

The Graduate Institute organises a wide range of public events at Maison de la Paix. Watch video footage from recent events at → <http://youtube.com/user/graduateinstitute>

BAN KI-MOON

Former United Nations Secretary General



“Get Ready to Lead the World”

On 3 October 2016, the Graduate Institute was honoured to welcome United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon for a lecture, co-organised with the Club diplomatique de Genève and the Forum suisse de politique internationale, to mark the conclusion of his term of office on 31 December 2016. Mr Ban spoke to students, faculty and guests about the current state of the world, which he described as “an exceptionally difficult period ... of uncommon volatility and unconscionable suffering”.

The Secretary General underlined that 135 million people now require daily life-saving assistance from the United Nations, and that 65 million people are either refugees or migrants. He said “these numbers are unsustainable. Their implications put our future at risk.”

Mr Ban did however see encouraging signs in the progress being made on sustainable development, climate change and global citizenship, describing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (the SDG goals) as “an inspiring new manifesto”.

OLIVIER ROY

Professeur à l’Institut universitaire européen de Florence

“Retrouver une place pour la religion”

Le 12 octobre 2016, Olivier Roy, spécialiste mondialement connu de l’islam politique, a donné une conférence de la chaire Yves Oltramare sur le thème « Repenser la place des religions en Europe ».

Selon le professeur Roy, « dans les sociétés européennes sécularisées, la religion fait retour comme marqueur identitaire et entraîne un conflit des valeurs, en politique comme dans les tribunaux. La sécularisation en Europe a trop bien fonctionné, et aujourd’hui le religieux apparaît comme bizarre, voire hostile, sinon comme une menace politique. Pour garantir l’ouverture de l’espace social, il faut réaffirmer l’universalité des droits de l’homme, qui incluent la liberté religieuse. »

La chaire Yves Oltramare Religion et politique dans le monde contemporain, dirigée par le professeur Jean-François Bayart, a pour mission d’apporter une contribution scientifique majeure à l’analyse de l’impact des rapports entre religion et politique sur l’évolution des sociétés et du système international.



JOHANN N. SCHNEIDER-AMMANN

Président de la Confédération suisse

“Le protectionnisme n’est pas une option”

Le 21 novembre 2016, l’Institut a accueilli le conseiller fédéral Johann Schneider-Amman, président de la Confédération, pour une conférence sur le thème « La globalisation : déclin ou nouveau départ ? Un regard suisse ».

Selon M. Schneider-Amman, « la globalisation contribue à la croissance économique, mais de larges pans de la population restent sceptiques sur ce qu’elle leur apporte personnellement. Ils se sentent menacés par la concurrence des travailleurs étrangers et exclus de la prospérité promise.

» Dans ce contexte très difficile, chaque pays doit trouver sa voie. Pour la Suisse, le protectionnisme n’est pas une option. Nous devons rester fidèles au libre-échange ; cela comprend aussi l’ouverture à la libre circulation des personnes.

» La réussite de la Suisse réside dans une recette simple en ces temps instables : la combinaison du partenariat social avec une loi du travail libérale. »

Organisée en partenariat avec le Club diplomatique de Genève et le Forum suisse de politique étrangère, la conférence a été suivie d’un débat animé par le professeur Cédric Dupont et la journaliste Esther Mamarbachi.



MICHAEL KIMMEL

Executive Director of the Center for the Study of Men and Masculinities at Stony Brook University

“Gender Equality Is All about Men”

On 1 December 2016, Michael Kimmel, described by *The Guardian* as “the world’s most prominent male feminist”, spoke at Maison de la Paix on how to transcend barriers and transform perceptions about equality, masculinity and feminism.

Dr Kimmel said that “typically, when we think about gender equality, we think it’s about women. But it has everything to do with men. It’s the thing that will enable us to have better lives, better relationships with our families and a better work-life balance. This is not just about being nicer to women or making space for women: gender equality is what will enable us as men to live the lives we want to lead.”

The event, which featured a debate between Dr Kimmel and WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, UN Ambassador Pamela Hamamoto, UNOG Director-General Michael Møller and Saatchi & Saatchi’s Andrea Pedrazzini, was introduced by Professor Elisabeth Prügl, Director of the Graduate Institute’s Gender Centre.



Nouveaux professeurs

ADITYA BHARADWAJ

Professor of Anthropology and Sociology of Development
PhD, University of Bristol, United Kingdom

Professor Bharadwaj completed doctoral research at the University of Bristol and post-doctoral fellowship at Cardiff University before joining the University of Edinburgh where he taught and researched for over seven years. In 2013, Aditya Bharadwaj was awarded a European Research Council (ERC) Consolidator Grant for a project examining the emergence of stem cell biotechnologies in India.

“My nearly two decades in anthropology and sociology have allowed a unique view into the human condition, an opportunity that began in the departments of sociology at the universities of Delhi, Bristol, Cardiff and Edinburgh. Although I flourished in each one as an anthropologist amongst sociologists whilst remaining true to my sociological grounding, the Graduate Institute’s Department of Anthropology and Sociology (ANSO) has offered me a true intellectual home.



My research interests blend two key dimensions of health biotechnologies: reproductive and regenerative medicine. I not only seek to challenge the simplistic North/South–developed/developing–high-tech/public-health oppositions that continue to influence much of policy and practice debates, but I also show how India is leading the way in improvising medicine and biotechnologies to distil robust cost-effective therapeutic mileage from largely misunderstood regenerative and reproductive biotechnologies. In addition, rethinking the standard-development paradigm allows my work to demonstrate the flow of knowledge from the Global South to the Global North, transnational migration for healthcare to the Global South, and flows in patients matched by the equally contentious transnational circulation of gametes and human tissue. Doing so allows me to ask critical

questions on regulation and governance of the biotechnology-enabled movement of health technologies, people, expertise, and human cellular form and tissue.

Thus far, global health–policy thinking has remained largely silent on these issues of critical importance. My intention is to bring these cutting-edge questions of technology into conversation with health-policy issues in the Global South as well as public health debates often still preoccupied with primary-healthcare delivery. In the final analysis, these “biotech-enabled” developments raise important questions about global and national gradients of inequality and access to care.

These research interests – and their real-world impacts – are very much a reflection of my ANSO biography. I look forward to continuing to be a part of this community and to blending research-led insights and teaching into the diverse communities at the heart of International Geneva.”

MOHAMMAD-MAHMOUD OULD MOHAMEDOU

Professor of International History
PhD, City University of New York

Professor Mohamedou was Scholar-in-Residence at Harvard University’s Centre for Middle Eastern Studies before becoming a Research Associate at the Ralph Bunche Institute on the United Nations in New York. He was Director of Research at the International Council on Human Rights Policy, prior to returning to Harvard where he was Associate Director of the Programme on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research. He subsequently served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mauritania before becoming Head of the Regional Development Programme at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy where he then served as Deputy Director and Academic Dean.



“Within the general field of transnational history, working initially as a political scientist who drifted towards political history and adopting an interdisciplinary approach, I have been preoccupied with three main avenues of research: state-building, transitions to democracy and political violence – thematic areas that are interconnected, particularly in the Middle East, North Africa and the Sahel. These interests emerged reactively to dominant narratives which I found problematic or incomplete.

My first book, *Iraq and the Second Gulf War: State-Building and Regime Security* (Austin & Winfield, 1998) was researched in Iraq in 1996. In this work, I developed a framework for the study of state-building which I use in my teaching at the Institute and at Sciences Po Paris. My second line of work, which I started in the late 1990s, was concerned with political transformation. The issue has occupied me anew over the past five years with work on the Arab Spring and on neo-Orientalism, particularly for a new book coedited with Timothy Sisk in 2016, *Democratisation in the 21st Century: Reviving Transitory* (Routledge). The third pillar of my work is a “transnational trilogy” of three books examining late twentieth and early twenty-first century political violence and transnational terrorism, notably in the wake of 9/11. The first work, *Contre-Croisade: le 11 septembre et le retournement du monde* (L’Harmattan, 2004), was a reconstruction of an event that objectively “changed the world”. The second volume, *Understanding Al Qaeda: Changing War and Global Politics* (Pluto Press, 2007), positions itself against the over-emphasis on Al Qaeda’s religiosity, putting emphasis rather on the militarisation of Islamism and the transnationalisation of terrorism. I am currently completing the last part of the trilogy, a new book which focuses on the Islamic State (ISIS).

My engagement with senior policymaking at the United Nations, in the United States, Europe, Africa and the Middle East over the past years has also allowed me to experience the practical aspects of these governance questions, which is something important to share with the Institute’s students and community.”

Nouveaux professeurs

GITA STEINER-KHAMSI

Professor of Education
Dr. phil., University of Zurich



Gita Steiner-Khamisi, Professor at Columbia University (Teachers College), New York, has been appointed Professor at the Graduate Institute, where she will also serve as Director of the Network for International Policies and Cooperation in Education and Training (NORRAG), an Associate Programme of the Institute (see below). She will hold a dual academic affiliation, splitting her time between Geneva (spring semesters) and New York (fall semesters). She will teach courses in the interdisciplinary programmes of the Institute, such as “International Governance and Education: Comparative Policy Studies” or “Education and Development: Tools and Techniques for International Cooperation”.

Iranian by birth, Swiss by upbringing, and US citizen by naturalisation, her appointment at the Institute signals a partial return to Switzerland with the purpose of strengthening the study and the research of comparative policy studies in education in the context of Development Studies and International Affairs.

A graduate from the University of Zurich (1983, Dr. phil. I in social psychology with minors in sociology and anthropology), she worked for the first ten years of her career at the Ministry of Education of the Canton of Zurich. Following the example of the Republic of Geneva, she built the first policy research unit at a Swiss cantonal ministry of education that dealt specifically with multicultural education. A three-year postdoc research grant enabled her to go to the Universities of London, Toronto and UC-Berkeley to examine education policies for immigrants, asylum seekers and ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States from an international comparative perspective.

Her academic appointment at Columbia University, first as untenured Associate Professor, then as tenured Full Professor and Department Chair, started in 1995. She is also a board member of the Harriman Institute for Russian, Eurasian, and East European Studies of Columbia University. A past president of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), she edits two book series that deal with comparative policy studies (Routledge, Teachers College Press). She published eight books and numerous journal articles, book chapters, and reports on topics related to transnational policy borrowing and lending, global governance and education, global education industry, public-private partnership in education, or comparative research methodology. Her geographic research focus is Mongolia and Central Asia.

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NORRAG is an Associate Programme of the Graduate Institute. As a global multi-stakeholder network, it has been seeking to inform, challenge and influence international education and training policies and cooperation for more than 30 years, with a specific focus on perspectives from the global South. NORRAG’s scope of work includes knowledge production and dissemination, policy dialogue and capacity development.

→ www.norrag.org

Thoughts on Teaching at the Graduate Institute

Carolyn N. Biltoft

Assistant Professor of International History

I joined the Graduate Institute after leaving my first academic position at Georgia State, a public university in the heart of downtown Atlanta. In Atlanta, I frequently taught large undergraduate survey courses in world history. Most of my effort as a teacher went into figuring out how to get a diverse range of students – many of who were first generation college students – to remain invested and alert while we traversed the “history of the world” from the sixteenth to the twentieth century in thirteen short weeks. While I occasionally taught graduate seminars in world history, most of my maiden voyage as an educator was spent helping undergraduates that had been incubated in public schools and nursed on multiple-choice tests learn to read, think and write critically. When they questioned the relevance of history, I endeavoured to show them how the past offers us a rich resource for understanding the complex connections between people, events and layered contexts, from the personal to the geopolitical.

History is not just a compendium of facts, places and dates. Quite to the contrary, history is a way of thinking. It is a discipline that seeks to make space for the complexity, ambiguity and indeterminacy of the human experience within and across time. That was my primary message and I tried to carry it through by showing patterns within the unique particularities of historical episodes, from the Black Death to the AIDS epidemic, from the choices of Phillip II to those of Pol Pot. This is still my basic message as a teacher and thesis advisor at the Graduate Institute; however, my own “historical” contexts have changed significantly from the grid pattern streets of Atlanta to the alpine intersections of *Genève internationale*. With this change have come new variables, new challenges and new lessons.

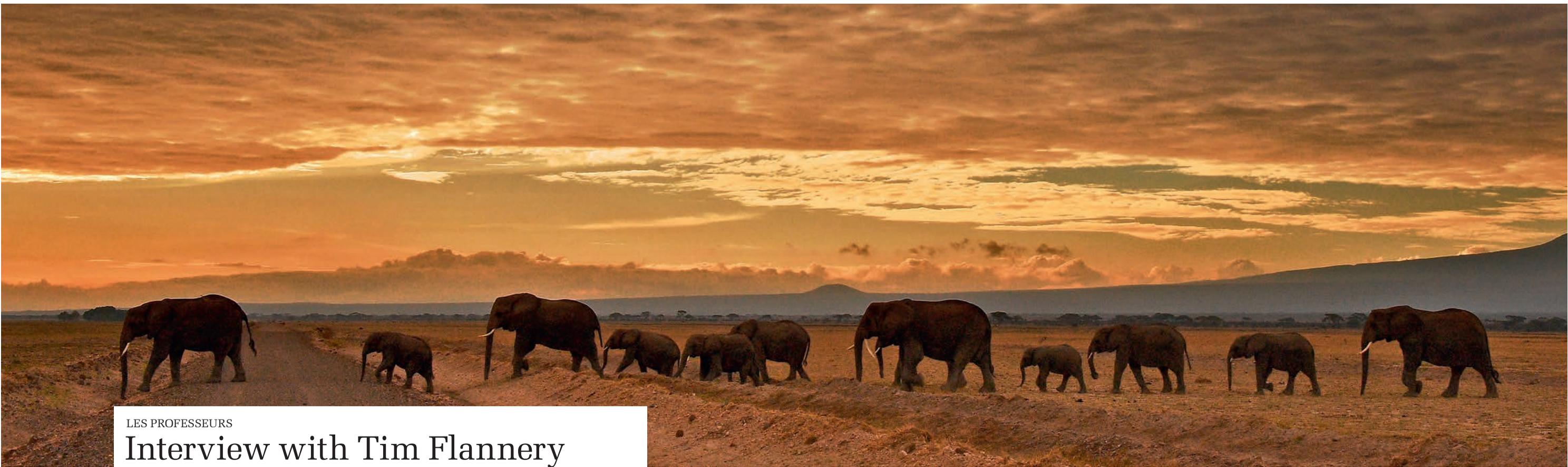
The students at the Graduate Institute on the whole have been better trained in what we might call the “basic” scholarly skills than those I encountered previously. Because I spend less time transmitting these skills, I have more time to dedicate to pushing students further and deeper beyond the surface displays of mastery. This has been an extremely rewarding experience.

History is the only discipline inside the Institute that sits at the intersection of the humanities and the social sciences. In an age of social media and supposedly declining attention spans, I still believe the art and craft of humanistic inquiry provides invaluable intellectual modalities. Thus here at the Graduate Institute, in addition to helping students become

versed in specific fields of historical expertise, I teach them to read both primary and secondary texts patiently for nuances, to think laterally about variables that don’t fit neatly into models, and to have the courage to ask questions that don’t have easy or clear answers. For the historians, I try to introduce these budding scholars to the ins and outs of what French historian (and antifascist) Marc Bloch called “the historian’s craft”. For those students who don’t come here to study history, I try to show them that history is an invaluable companion to any mode of scientific inquiry, simply because not all human dynamics can be easily measured but all can be pondered. Thus, even and perhaps especially at an institute dedicated to achieving a practical understanding of international dynamics, I find that there is still a place and need for the Aristotelian contemplative life. Such slow, painstaking contemplation is still the best bulwark against the binary-logic and false-news-driven political gridlock that has been boiling beneath the surface of our democratic societies. In my experience, the students at the Graduate Institute take seriously this challenge to use historical inquiry to defy and resist the hyper-simplification of the world.

In Geneva, the students come for many reasons and from many continents, and in each class, I have been pleased to see how they are ready and willing to dedicate the sweat and endless hours it takes to read, think and write historically. So far I have been learning as much or more from my students as they have from me. I remain confident that most will leave the Graduate Institute and go on to make a difference by bringing both the art and the science of historical inquiry to their chosen fields and professions.





LES PROFESSEURS

Interview with Tim Flannery

Segré Foundation
Distinguished Visiting Professor

KENYA. Elephants walking in Amboseli National Park. Endangered primates and elephants are among the groups squeezed hardest by global warming. 3 November 2016. AFP/Carl DE SOUZA

Acclaimed Australian scientist, explorer and conservationist Tim Flannery has joined the Graduate Institute as Segré Foundation Distinguished Visiting Professor and as Visiting Fellow at the Centre for International Environmental Studies. This Spring semester he is teaching a course on “Climate Change, Clean Energy and Negative Carbon Options”. Professor Flannery, who is a Professorial Fellow at the University of Melbourne, was previously Chief Commissioner of the Climate Commission, an Australian government body providing information on climate change.

A frequent presenter on television and radio, in 2007 he was named Australian of Year in recognition of his efforts to explain environmental issues and bring them to the attention of the public. Professor Flannery’s books include ecological histories of Australasia and North America, as well as works on climate change and on the relationship between humans and our planet. As a field zoologist he has discovered and named more than thirty new species of mammals, including two tree-kangaroos.

Your most recent book is called *Atmosphere of Hope: Solutions to the Climate Crisis* (2015). What is there to be hopeful about? What is there to be worried about?

I realised a few years ago that we were making some progress towards dealing with the climate issue, but not enough to avoid really serious consequences. What’s heartening is the level of awareness of the dangers of climate change among young people: when I published *The Weather Makers* in 2005, climate change simply wasn’t on the social or political agenda. It’s also encouraging that global greenhouse gas emissions have levelled off since 2013, while the economy has grown. It’s positive that innovation is driving our economies like never before. The wave of innovative technologies transforming clean energy will hasten emissions reductions, for example by allowing us to draw CO₂ out of the atmosphere. But we must ensure that innovation is funnelled into climate-friendly infrastructure that will remain competitive in the low-carbon economy. Because we are fast approaching climatic tipping points, and it remains unclear whether we can act fast enough to avoid them.

What will you be covering in your course at the Graduate Institute?

I believe that the large-scale deployment of carbon-negative technologies will be required in the near future to avoid triggering dangerous tipping points in the climate system. My course will focus on the scale of human climate

influence and the climate challenge, and the technologies and methods that are likely to be deployable at the gigatonne scale by 2050. These range from kelp farming to the use of silicate rocks and the manufacture of carbon-negative carbon fibre and plastics. We’ll investigate clean energy’s potential to help feed and clean up, as well as power, humanity, and look at new “third way” technologies and a new Earth systems approach to carbon capture and storage in ice and oceans.



Tim Flannery.

You are currently working on a new book on the history of animals in Europe – with what purpose?

Europe is a fascinating and exceptional place. I want to understand the forces that have formed it and shaped its species. And I need to know how those forces are playing out today. Looking back through 100 million years of the Earth’s history, I think I have identified some of the factors responsible for Europe’s special nature. Researching the book from Geneva is an exciting and challenging prospect.

L’Institut est heureux d’annoncer son partenariat avec la Fondation Segré, qui finance la chaire de professeur invité occupée par Tim Flannery et dont la vocation est de protéger la nature et la biodiversité.

Cette fondation a été créée en 1996 par Claudio Segré, un ami de longue date de l’Institut puisqu’il a été notamment l’un des fondateurs du Centre international d’études monétaires et bancaires.

Après un doctorat d’économie à Yale sous la direction de Robert Triffin, M. Segré a travaillé de 1959 à 1967 à la Commission européenne, avant de devenir associé de la banque Lazard puis président de plusieurs établissements bancaires européens. L’Institut lui exprime toute sa reconnaissance pour son soutien indéfectible.

→ www.fondationsegre.org



LES ÉTUDIANTS

Les migrations, un problème ?

Entretien avec Julie Melichar

Étudiante de master en affaires internationales

et Gladys Robert

Étudiante de master en études du développement

Vous êtes à l'origine de la création de l'initiative « Migration ».

Comment vous êtes-vous intéressées au problème des migrations ?



Julie Melichar. J'ai commencé à m'y intéresser de plus près il y a plusieurs années, quand des amis réfugiés en Allemagne m'ont raconté leurs trajectoires depuis le Mali, le Nigéria, l'Erythrée, l'Afghanistan, l'Iraq, la Syrie. Leurs récits des difficultés du parcours et de l'accueil négatif qui leur est souvent réservé en Europe m'ont montré l'ampleur des inégalités du monde dans lequel nous vivons et m'ont décidée à tenter de le changer. Des rencontres dans des camps en Grèce, en Palestine, au Liban et en Suisse ont ensuite renforcé mon engagement.

Gladys Robert. Ce sont des semaines de volontariat à Calais en janvier et février 2016 qui ont constitué un tournant décisif par rapport à mon intérêt ; on ne peut rester indifférent au fait de partager ne serait-ce qu'un aperçu de l'intensité du quotidien des habitants de la « jungle ». L'engagement citoyen, concret, m'est alors paru évident.



D'où viennent ces difficultés, et quelles en sont les conséquences ?

JM Les difficultés découlent de la façon dont nous percevons les migrations : se déplacer est considéré comme anormal et l'immobilité est présentée comme la solution. Malgré la mondialisation et la levée des restrictions des mouvements de biens, de capitaux et de l'information, nous réfléchissons encore en termes d'États-nations, qui sont une construction pourtant récente, quand il s'agit d'être humains. Ainsi, nous oublions que nous avons toujours bougé et évolué grâce à ces mouvements. De plus, le changement climatique et la montée des

inégalités globales rendent improbable un arrêt prochain des migrations ; il faut donc l'accepter et s'y préparer, socialement et politiquement.

GR Un autre défi est lié à la popularité croissante d'une définition ethno-confessionnelle de la citoyenneté. Les mouvements de populations sont présentés et perçus comme une menace contre la vision idéalisée d'une nation homogène ; le Brexit, l'élection de Trump, la popularité de Norbert Hofer en Autriche sont des exemples révélateurs de ces dynamiques qu'il s'agit de prendre au sérieux.

JM Il y a une aujourd'hui une tendance à « illégaliser » les migrants, qui à la fois reflète et produit un phénomène de racialisation européenne. « L'autre », celui qui n'est pas Européen, est souvent considéré comme inférieur et responsable des modifications sociales, économiques et sécuritaires du paysage européen.

GR Les conséquences des politiques migratoires sur les populations concernées, mais aussi sur l'avenir de l'Europe, sont cruciales. En effet, les personnes en mouvement sont

actuellement « parquées » dans des camps – comme en Grèce ou en Serbie – et se retrouvent à attendre au sein de systèmes administratifs saturés. Nos dirigeants sont ainsi en train de produire une situation dans laquelle des populations entières vivent aux marges de la société et sont forcées d'accepter l'assistance des organisations internationales. Nous ne sommes que trop peu conscients des conséquences que cette forme d'apartheid peut avoir sur le vivre ensemble de demain.

Comment pourrait-on régler ce problème ?

JM Un point important concerne justement la problématisation de cette thématique : politiquement, la migration est largement perçue comme un « problème à régler » dont la solution passerait par une sécurisation du phénomène. Celle-ci, qui consiste souvent à renforcer, voire à fermer les frontières, est en fait à la source de la réelle « crise » migratoire et humanitaire aux frontières de l'Europe. Il faut cesser de se demander *si* nous avons la capacité d'accueillir les personnes en mouvement et réfléchir plutôt à *comment* les accueillir.

GR La réponse doit se dérouler à plusieurs niveaux : il faut du courage politique pour prendre des décisions

solidaires et décomposer les paradigmes à la base du système actuel, notamment le repli nationaliste et la considération de certaines personnes comme « citoyens de deuxième classe » dont la vie importe moins. Mais ce changement politique ne pourra pas se faire sans un changement des mentalités. À ce niveau-là, le travail citoyen de sensibilisation et d'éducation est crucial. Proposer des espaces où rencontrer les nouveaux arrivants peut aider à réduire les préjugés, dédramatiser l'image négative des réfugiés véhiculée par certains médias et promouvoir l'acceptation de ceux trop souvent considérés comme « autres ».

Quel est votre point de vue sur les frontières ?

JM Les frontières servent à empêcher le mouvement et contribuent à renforcer la perception qui fait des migrations un problème. Elles placent une proportion croissante de la population mondiale dans l'illégalité et s'avèrent létales. Les fermer n'empêchera pas ceux qui le veulent de venir, mais augmentera le nombre de morts en chemin. La preuve sur les îles grecques : malgré l'accord entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie, les bateaux continuent d'arriver. Les réfugiés sont reçus dans des conditions inhumaines qui les déstabilisent psychologiquement. Ce n'est pas la solution. Au contraire, il faut créer de nouvelles façons légales et sûres d'atteindre l'Europe et de s'y déplacer.

GR Dans cette optique, il s'agit de garder à l'esprit le fait que les frontières et les politiques migratoires ne sont pas des données a priori mais sont construites. La fermeture des frontières révèle une crise des institutions et de la solidarité en Europe. En outre, les systèmes de Schengen et Dublin se sont montrés largement dépassés et n'ont pas su faire face à la situation actuelle. Toutefois, de nombreux pays – dont la Suisse – se cachent derrière une application stricte et faillissent ainsi à leurs responsabilités en termes de droits humains.



LES ÉTUDIANTS

From Harvard to the Graduate Institute

Researching the Small Arms Trade

Rana Elkahwagy

Egyptian/Lebanese Junior Faculty Member at Alexandria University;
SJD Candidate at Harvard Law School

I have always believed that everything happens at the right time. One year after participating in the Egyptian Revolution, I was admitted into the master (LLM) programme and later into the doctorate (SJD) programme at Harvard Law School. There, I learned the skills of legal research and legal writing,

I met brilliant professors, and I attended inspiring courses, seminars, and workshops. I chose international law and specifically the international regulation of small arms as my area of specialisation, as I believe that international law can play a significant role in strengthening the regulation of small arms. After spending three years in Cambridge, I decided the time was ripe to start a new academic adventure and to apply for an exchange programme at the Graduate Institute.



My decision to apply to the Graduate Institute was influenced by numerous factors. First, the Institute is widely known for its strong interest in international law research. It has one of the world's broadest course-offerings in this field and the distinguished faculty members represent a variety of areas of interests in almost all branches of international law. In addition, the Graduate Institute is the parent organisation of numerous centres including the Small Arms Survey, which is one of the leading centres providing public information on many aspects related to small arms.

My experience during the fall semester was invaluable. First, I had the privilege of finally meeting many professors whose publications I'd enjoyed reading in the last four years. Their insights and guidance helped with the development and progress of my dissertation. Second, I had the opportunity to meet wonderful students and professionals from different nationalities and backgrounds who are passionate about my areas of interests, and with whom I had endless, stimulating conversations. Finally, I was able to participate in the economic law clinic, an excellent practical experience with the support of many dedicated professors.

For all these reasons, my semester at the Graduate Institute was crucial for my research on the trade in small arms and the regulation of trade in controversial goods more broadly. This experience will also inspire me to achieve my long-term goal of becoming an influential law professor in the future.

LES ÉTUDIANTS

My Exchange Semester Experience in Mexico City

Aarin Shapiro

Master Student in Development Studies

One of the reasons I applied to the Graduate Institute was its array of top-quality partner universities abroad where we could choose to study for an exchange semester. Having already spent two years living, working and travelling in Latin America, I was eager to return, this time to study. When I was accepted at El Colegio de México, I was thrilled to have the opportunity to experience a new country and university, study in Spanish for the first time, and return to a part of the world that filled me with such inspiration and joy.

Perhaps the best part about studying at El Colegio is confronting my own intellectual biases with an academic perspective from a "developing" country, which we often study as if they're so subordinated and far away. I feel so privileged to have learned in the company of some of Mexico's brightest and most dedicated students and professors. Their personal experiences brought to life the theories and literature we studied in class. Indeed, the academic environment at El Colegio is very demanding, but in the best possible way.

One of my courses in particular, "Sociological Reflection on Nature" with Dr José Lezama, proved to be among my favourite ones in all my academic career. It has given me a completely new way to see and appreciate nature, and the conceptual tools to understand the environmental crisis in which we find ourselves today. It has also significantly aided my thesis research, which looks at the ontological conflicts between indigenous groups and extractive industries. With the help of Dr Lezama (who, I am very excited to say, will be my thesis second reader) I have met other academics working in my research area, and have travelled to my case study region of Wirikuta in San Luís Potosí, where the installation of Canadian mining companies threatens the physical and spiritual integrity of the land and its nearby indigenous residents.



After the first few weeks of navigating the impossibly complex transit system, learning which chilies one can safely eat without crying, and catching on to some basic Mexican slang, I felt right at home in this massive metropolis. I was surprised at how livable one of the biggest cities in the world is, and how warm and welcoming the people have been towards me. Studying in Spanish for the first time and given the heavy workload expected by our professors, I haven't had much time to explore this impressive city and country. That said, Mexico has captivated me in a way I hadn't anticipated. I already feel nostalgic for the places and people I will leave behind. But I am confident that it will not be long before I step on this soil again, whether it's to work or travel.

Portrait

OMAR A. TOURAY

PhD in International Relations (1995)

Former Ambassador and Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Gambia;
Senior Specialist, Islamic Development Bank, Jeddah

I arrived at the Graduate Institute in 1990 and left in 1995 after completing a PhD in International Relations under the supervision of Professor A.G. Hopkins. The Institute's multidisciplinary training prepared me for a career in diplomacy and international development that began with a brief stint at the Labour Law Information Division of the International Labour Office in Geneva. I then joined the diplomatic service of the Gambia, starting as Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before being assigned first as first secretary, and then counsellor, at the Gambian Mission to the European Union in Brussels.

Our activities in Brussels revolved around high-level negotiations between the European Union and African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States. I also shuttled regularly to Geneva to take part in the various trade talks underway at the World Trade Organization (WTO). These multilateral diplomatic activities were pursued simultaneously with bilateral diplomacy that saw me crisscrossing between Brussels and various European capitals that were under the Mission's jurisdiction.

In 2002, I was appointed Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the African Union (AU) in Addis Ababa, with concurrent accreditation as High Commissioner to

South Africa and Kenya. The five and a half years I spent in Addis Ababa could not have been more fulfilling. The budding African Union had just been launched and I felt privileged to be part of the processes that shaped it.

In March 2008, I was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, barely six months after I had been appointed Permanent Representative of the Gambia to the United Nations in New York. The main challenge of the ministerial assignment consisted in realigning the Gambia's foreign relations in a manner that would foster national development as well as promote peace and security.

In October 2009, I began a fulfilling international career, first as an independent consultant for various UN and AU agencies and then as Regional Policy Advisor for the World Food Programme in Nairobi. In July 2012, I joined the Islamic Development Bank, a multilateral development bank at the forefront of development finance.

Throughout this time, I have managed to stay academically active with publications that include peer reviewed monographs – *The Gambia and the World: A History of the Foreign Policy of Africa's Smallest State* (Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 2000), *The African Union: The First Ten Years* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016) – and several papers on African affairs and international development.

I recall the words of former Institute Director, Professor Alexander Swoboda. Addressing the new students in September 1990, he said in his characteristic eloquence, "Vous êtes chanceux." Yes, I have indeed been lucky.



LES ALUMNI

2016 Alumni Reunion

1. After the gala dinner at the InterContinental Hotel.
2. Jennifer Blanke, President of the Alumni Association, and Lora Pappa.
3. The Alumni Association Committee.
4. Michel Barde. Eric ROSET

The 2016 Alumni Reunion, which took place between 4 and 6 November 2016, was once again a success. The weekend of memories, meetings and get-togethers opened with the first roundtable on Friday evening and carried on until the Sunday morning brunch for alumni coming from abroad. More than 500 alumni participated at debates on current affairs topics, spoke to students, visited Maison de la Paix and attended the gala dinner at the InterContinental Hotel.

This year's alumni reunion was also the first time the Alumni Association handed out its

awards recognising alumni for their commitment to the Institute and/or their professional achievements. This inaugural year, the Alumni Association Committee selected for the Alumna of the Year award Lora Pappa (Master in International Relations, 1988), founder of the Greek NGO METAdrasi and expert in helping child refugees. The award for commitment to the Alumni Association and the Institute was given to Michel Barde (Diploma, 1975), former Member of the HEI Foundation Board and President of the Association of HEI Alumni from 1977 to 1982.

**Don't miss our next
Alumni Reunion on
3–5 November 2017!**



→ <http://graduateinstitute.ch/alumni>

Nouvelles publications



Paris : Khartala. 2016. 104 p.

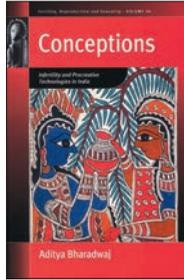
LES FONDAMENTALISTES DE L'IDENTITÉ LAÏCISME VERSUS DJIHADISME

Jean-François **Bayart**

La question identitaire s'est substituée à la question sociale et politique. L'islam s'est mué en nouvel ennemi de l'intérieur, en remplacement du communisme défunt. L'idée laïque, constitutive de la loi française de 1905 actant la séparation des cultes et de l'État et la neutralité de celui-ci en matière religieuse, s'est transformée en idéologie laïciste et en religion nationale, mettant l'islam sous contrôle politique.

Djihadistes et laïcistes sont devenus des ennemis complémentaires, se renforçant mutuellement de leur haine réciproque. Aussi bien Daech que la droite identitariste entendent réduire ce que l'un et l'autre nomment la « zone grise » des citoyens qui ne se reconnaissent ni dans la nouvelle religion nationale ni dans la guerre sainte.

Qui sème le vent culturaliste récolte la tempête identitaire.



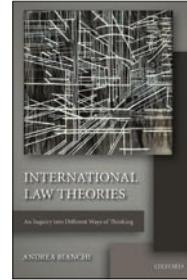
Fertility, Reproduction and Sexuality: Social and Cultural Perspectives 34. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. 2016. 312 p.

CONCEPTIONS INFERTILITY AND PROCREATIVE TECHNOLOGIES IN INDIA

Aditya **Bharadwaj**

Assisted reproductive technologies have become a visible part of contemporary Indian reality. Popular culture, print and electronic media, and the expansion of IVF clinics have together normalised the idea of "test-tube babies". For the first time in modern India, the traditionally stigmatised condition of infertility and its cultural and biomedical management are being vocally and publicly articulated.

Infertility in India lies at the intersection of multiple cultural conceptions, which are key to understanding the spread of reproductive technologies and the social implications of infertility and childlessness. This study considers the political economy of health in India, biomedical politics within the private sector, emerging governance frameworks to control the application of these technologies, the mass media as a field for promoting and contesting assisted conception, traditional norms and ideas and their continued relevance in the contemporary religious domain, and the way Indian culture produces gendered suffering, stigma and the eventual engagement with conception technologies. Together, these aspects unravel the complex nature of infertility and assisted conception in contemporary India.



Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2016. 336 p.

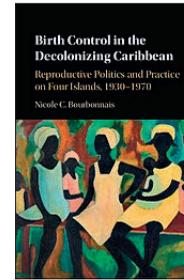
INTERNATIONAL LAW THEORIES AN INQUIRY INTO DIFFERENT WAYS OF THINKING

Andrea **Bianchi**

Two fish are swimming in a pond. "Do you know what?" the fish asks his friend. "No, tell me." "I was talking to a frog the other day, who told me that we are surrounded by water!" His friend looks at him with great scepticism: "Water? What's that? Show me some water!"

International lawyers often find themselves focused on the practice of the law rather than the underlying theories. This book is an attempt to stir up "the water" that international lawyers swim in. It analyses a range of theoretical approaches to international law and invites readers to engage with different ways of legal thinking in order to familiarise themselves with the water all around us, of which we hardly have any perception.

International Law Theories provides interested scholars, practitioners, and students of international law and other disciplines with an introduction to various international legal theories, their genealogies and possible critiques. By providing an analytical approach to international legal theory, the book encourages readers to enhance their sensitivity to these different approaches and to consider how the presuppositions behind each theory affect analysis, research and practice in international law.



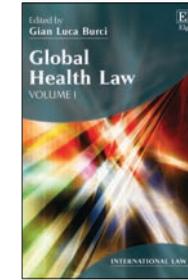
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2016. 253 p.

BIRTH CONTROL IN THE DECOLONIZING CARIBBEAN REPRODUCTIVE POLITICS AND PRACTICE ON FOUR ISLANDS, 1930-1970

Nicole C. **Bourbonnais**

Over the course of the twentieth century, campaigns to increase access to modern birth control methods spread across the globe and fundamentally altered the way people thought about and mobilised around reproduction. This book explores how a variety of actors translated this movement into practice on four islands (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and Bermuda) between the 1930s and 1970s. The process of decolonisation during this period led to heightened clashes over imperial and national policy and brought local class, race and gender tensions to the surface, making debates over reproductive practices particularly evocative.

Based on archival research across six countries, *Birth Control in the Decolonizing Caribbean* is at once a comparative political history, a history of transnational activism and a social history, exploring the challenges faced by working-class women as they tried to negotiate control over their reproductive lives within this heated context.



International Law Series 14. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. 2016. 1384 p.

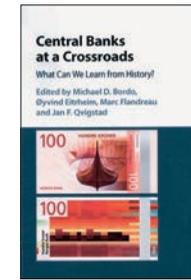
GLOBAL HEALTH LAW

Edited by Gian Luca **Burci**

The role of international law for the protection and promotion of human health is a subject of increasing importance at scholarly and policy levels. A narrow field of international legal instruments dedicated to the protection of health is complemented by a growing body of non-binding standards and instruments of diverse origins, and by the realisation of the complex mutual interactions between a number of international legal regimes and health considerations.

Academic literature on this phenomenon is a recent development, but it is expanding both in terms of depth and breadth of analysis. Part of the research agenda is of an interdisciplinary nature and dedicated to the analysis of the governance landscape for global health and its normative implications, for example with regard to the national security implications of outbreaks of epidemic diseases.

Prof. Burci's book is the first comprehensive collection of academic literature on global health law and governance and fills a gap in reference works by addressing both crosscutting and institutional issues as well as discrete health topics and the role of health considerations in a range of international legal regimes.



New York: Cambridge University Press. July 2016. 714 p.

CENTRAL BANKS AT A CROSSROADS: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM HISTORY?

Edited by Marc **Flandreau**, Michael D. **Bordo**, Øyvind **Eitrheim** and Jan F. **Ovigstad**

Throughout their long history, the primary concern of central banks has oscillated between price stability in normal times and financial stability in extraordinary times. The recent global financial crisis has sparked intense debate over the nature of their role. Bankers and policymakers face an enormous challenge finding the right balance of power between the central bank and the state.

In this new volume, international experts and policymakers present research and historical analysis on the evolution of the central bank, focusing on four key aspects: its role as an institution, the part it plays within the international monetary system, how to delineate and limit its functions, and how to apply the lessons of the past two centuries.



Geneva: Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies; Istanbul: MEF University. 2016. 150 p.

WATER RESOURCES MANAGEMENT IN THE LOWER ASI-ORONTES RIVER BASIN *ISSUES AND OPPORTUNITIES*

Edited by Ronald **Jaubert** and Aysegül **Kibaroglu**

This book addresses water resources management challenges in the Turkish section of the Asi-Orontes River basin. It is a product of the international workshop “Water Resources Management in the Asi-Orontes River Basin: Issues and Opportunities” which was convened at MEF University in Istanbul in November 2014. The workshop, which was attended by academics, experts, policymakers and practitioners, was organised as part of a research programme on the Orontes River basin led by the Graduate Institute with the support of the Global Program Water Initiatives of the Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency. The programme aims to analyse water management challenges and perspectives in the Orontes River basin and to establish a multidisciplinary scientific and technical network on water management including Lebanese, Syrian and Turkish organisations. The first phase of the programme initiated in 2012 focused on the upper and middle reaches of the Orontes River basin in Lebanon and Syria. The second phase includes the lower reach of the basin, largely located in the Hatay province in Turkey.

The full text is freely available on
→ <https://docs.water-security.org>



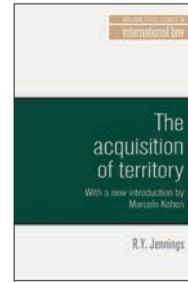
Global Health Diplomacy 4. New Jersey: World Scientific. 2016. 368 p.

THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A GLOBAL HEALTH ACTOR

Edited by Ilona **Kickbusch**, Michaela **Told** and Thea **Emmerling**

This book provides a systematic collection of contributions on EU actors, policy, governance and actions in global health. It starts with an introduction to the EU as a global actor before outlining the historical development and the EU treaty base for health. It discusses the Commission’s global health communication and the Council Conclusions on global health, which define EU values in global health and identify the future priorities for global health action in the EU. The book also considers the opportunities for research and provides an overview of the political, legal and financial instruments available to the EU. It explores the global health architecture and processes within which the EU is acting, addresses the importance of policy coherence at a national level and provides a critical viewpoint on the EU as a global health actor.

The book will provide practitioners working in policymaking and international negotiations affecting health, as well as students and researchers, with a better understanding of the EU, its role in global health, and its uniqueness and specificity as a global health actor.



Manchester: Manchester University Press. June 2017. 168 p.

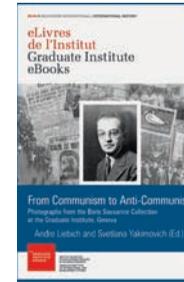
THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

With a New Introduction by Marcelo **Kohen**

Robert Y. **Jennings** (deceased)

Originally published by Manchester University Press in 1963, this book is now regarded as a classic of international law literature. Robert Jennings examines the major issues relating to the acquisition of territory in a stimulating and elegant manner, providing a sense of the critical relationship between law and politics on the international scene – vital if law is to be practiced and interpreted correctly.

This reissue features a new introduction by Marcelo Kohen of the Graduate Institute, contextualising the work and discussing its continued relevance to students of international law and international lawyers themselves. He is one of the leading experts on questions of acquisition of territory, having been involved in numerous territorial disputes before the International Court of Justice.



Graduate Institute eBook 6. Geneva: Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. 2016.

FROM COMMUNISM TO ANTI-COMMUNISM *PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE BORIS SOUVARINE COLLECTION AT THE GRADUATE INSTITUTE, GENEVA*

Edited by Andre **Liebich** and Svetlana **Yakimovich**

Boris Souvarine (1895–1984) was both one of the key founders of the French Communist Party and, later, one of its most ferocious critics. In the early 1920s he occupied high positions in Moscow in the Communist International. He then pursued the quest for an independent Marxist position, earning the opprobrium of both Left and Right. After World War II he became a vociferous anti-communist militant. Throughout his long life, he collected working notes, press clippings and documentation concerning East-West relations. These documents, which Souvarine bequeathed to the Graduate Institute’s Library along with part of his library, form the basis of this eBook. By covering the Russian revolutions of 1917, the most noteworthy congress of the Communist International, life throughout the USSR at the time of the “Great Upheaval”, the country’s collectivisation and industrialisation, the death of Stalin, and anti-communist propaganda during the Cold War, they give us a new and original perspective on that period and allow us to reflect upon the present era.

→ <http://books.openedition.org/iheid/6440>



Global Institutions Series. Abingdon: Routledge. March 2017. 230 p.

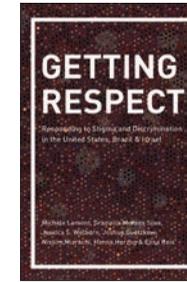
THE POLITICS OF EXPERTISE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS *HOW INTERNATIONAL BUREAUCRACIES PRODUCE AND MOBILIZE KNOWLEDGE*

Edited by Annabelle **Littoz-Monnet**

Given the complexity, technicality and apparent apolitical character of global policy issues, “evidence-based” policymaking has imposed itself as the best way to evaluate the risks and consequences of political action in global arenas.

This edited volume advances existing research on the production and use of expert knowledge by international organisations. It reveals, first, how international bureaucrats deploy knowledge in policymaking, pointing to the multifold usages of expert knowledge in policy. Second, it sheds light on how the knowledge used by international bureaucracies is produced, pointing to the need to explore complex mechanisms by which the production of knowledge is usually negotiated amongst different groups of actors. Third, the volume helps us decipher what kind of evidence international bureaucrats resort to, and with what implications, pointing to the politics concealed behind the use of certain forms of knowledge by international bureaucracies.

This volume makes a crucial contribution to our understanding of the way global policy agendas are shaped and propagated.

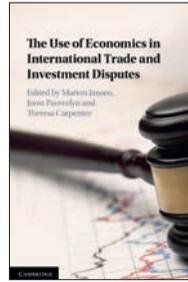


Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2016. 400 p.

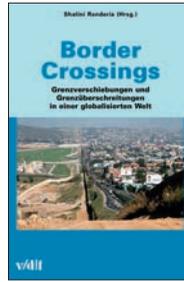
GETTING RESPECT *RESPONDING TO STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES, BRAZIL, AND ISRAEL*

Graziella **Moraes Silva**, Michèle **Lamont**, Jessica S. **Welburn**, Joshua **Guetzkow**, Nissim **Mizrachi**, Hanna **Herzog** and Elisa **Reis**

Getting Respect illuminates experiences of members of stigmatised groups around the world by comparing three countries with enduring group boundaries: the United States, Brazil and Israel. The authors delve into what kinds of stigmatising or discriminatory incidents individuals encounter in each country, how they respond to these occurrences, and what they view as the best strategy – whether individually, collectively, through confrontation, or through self-improvement – for dealing with such events. This deeply collaborative and integrated study draws on more than 400 in-depth interviews with middle- and working-class men and women residing in and around multiethnic cities – New York City, Rio de Janeiro and Tel Aviv – to compare the discriminatory experiences of African Americans, black Brazilians, and Arab Palestinian citizens of Israel, as well as Israeli Ethiopian Jews and Mizrahi (Sephardic) Jews. Detailed analysis reveals significant differences in group behaviour. The authors account for these patterns by considering the extent to which each group is actually a group, the sociohistorical context of intergroup conflict, and the national ideologies and other cultural repertoires that group members rely on.



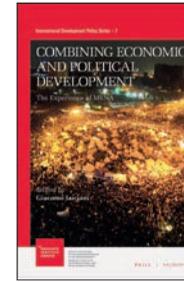
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. March 2017.



Zürich: vdf Hochschulverlag AG an der ETH Zürich. 2016. 264 p.



A VoxEU.org Book. London: CEPR Press. 2016. 152 p.



International Development Policy (I-DEV) Special Issue 7.1, 2016.



International Development Policy (I-DEV) E-issue 7.2, 2016.



Montréal : Athéna. 2016. 164 p.

THE USE OF ECONOMICS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT DISPUTES

Edited by Theresa **Carpenter**, Joost **Pauwelyn** and Marion **Jansen**

International markets have become increasingly integrated, both in terms of the size of trade and investment flows and in terms of the number of players involved. Global trade and investment flows are governed by a collection of national, bilateral, regional and multilateral legal frameworks, giving rise to questions regarding how these frameworks interact.

This volume focuses on one aspect of that interaction: dispute settlement arrangements in the different fields of international economic law. The main focus is on the fields of international trade law and international investment law, exploring how, in each of these fields, the discipline of economics has played or could play a role.

With chapters contributed by leading practitioners and academics, this book compiles insights from the fields of trade law, investment arbitration, competition law and even commercial arbitration on the use of economics within disputes. It provides a comprehensive overview of existing knowledge and practice regarding the use of economics in international economic law. The volume finishes with a set of guidelines for submitting economic evidence in WTO or investor-state dispute settlement proceedings.

BORDER CROSSINGS GRENZ-VERSCHIEBUNGEN UND GRENZ-ÜBERSCHREITUNGEN IN EINER GLOBALISIERTEN WELT

Edited by Shalini **Randeria**

This wide-ranging, interdisciplinary collection addresses various facets of contemporary processes of transnationalisation that challenge nation-state borders but also blur economic, political, social and cultural boundaries. Delineating these shifts at the macro- and micro-levels, the contributors to this bilingual German/English volume show how boundaries are being transgressed as well as redrawn. Leading political theorists, sociologists, social anthropologists, legal scholars, historians and economists discuss questions of tolerance and legal pluralism in multicultural-multireligious societies; transformations of family ties, love, sexual relations; formation of new collective religious identities; migration, rule of law and citizenship; financial globalisation, trade and economic development; connectedness, solidarities and new patterns of gendered exclusions; as well as neoliberalism and Eurocentrism, postmodernism, Orientalism and Islamism. This theoretically sophisticated and empirically nuanced set of essays often uses an explicitly gendered perspective. Several chapters draw on material from South Africa, Cuba, Israel, Indonesia, Norway, South and Southeast Asia in order to ground their study of globalisation in a specific context.

WHAT TO DO WITH THE UK? EU PERSPECTIVES ON BREXIT

Edited by Charles **Wyplosz**

For decades, Europe was about integration. Following the British referendum, the main issue now is disintegration. The British and EU27 governments face two negotiations. First, the divorce proceedings will start when Britain invokes Article 50 (by end of March 2017). Second, they will have to negotiate on all aspects of the future relationship between the UK and the EU as a whole. This book investigates what individual EU27 countries might wish to achieve. To that effect, economists from 15 countries were asked what, in their view, their own country's strategy should be.

Unsurprisingly, the responses are diverse. One reason is that the potential impact of Brexit varies from one country to another. Another reason is that the view of what the EU stands for, or should stand for, is not the same from one country to another. All sorts of historical and geopolitical issues pop up. This book suggests that it will not be easy for the EU27 countries to agree on how to deal with the UK. The UK has little to offer to achieve its own goals, yet to be worked out. Disunion among the EU27 may be its best hope.

COMBINING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT THE EXPERIENCE OF MENA

Edited by Giacomo **Luciani**
Editor-in-chief: Gilles **Carbonnier**

The latest special issue of *International Development Policy* focuses on the tensions embedded in economic and political development processes in the Middle East and North Africa. In the post-Arab Spring context, scholars and policymakers from the region and beyond question how the specific economic policy mix may support or stifle democratisation.

The special issue is published in paper format by Brill | Nijhoff (Leiden) and available in open access on the ejournal's website
→ <https://poldev.revues.org/2239>

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Launched in 2010 by the Graduate Institute, *International Development Policy* is a peer-reviewed, open-access ejournal on global development and international cooperation.
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ARTICLES

Editor-in-chief: Gilles **Carbonnier**

This issue of *International Development Policy* presents original articles on

- interactions between international standards, indigenous rights and development in Latin America;
- managing oil and gas resources at the local level, with examples from East Africa and Latin America;
- Sudan's attempt to turn gold mining into a successful economic lifeline;
- a critical overview of the architecture and financing of climate change adaptation.

The full text is available in open access on → <https://poldev.revues.org/2199>

DÉCADENCE, EMPIRE ET GUERRE LE MILITARISME MORALISATEUR DES NÉOCONSERVATEURS AMÉRICAINS

Manuel **Dorion-Soulié**

Les néoconservateurs se distinguent des autres impérialistes américains par un militarisme moralisateur: ils prônent l'empire et la guerre pour sauver les États-Unis de la décadence. Ils croient être les héritiers d'une pulsion expansionniste traditionnelle, mais ils ignorent la profonde rupture que leur impérialisme crée en regard de l'antimilitarisme républicain.

Cet ouvrage relate l'évolution intellectuelle du néoconservatisme des années 1960 à nos jours. Il propose une interprétation originale de l'influence de Leo Strauss sur le mouvement, ainsi qu'une comparaison avec les ancêtres de l'impérialisme américain tels que l'amiral Alfred Thayer Mahan. Il se termine par une analyse du défi néoconservateur à la culture stratégique américaine: la tradition militaire américaine ne correspond pas aux exigences de l'impérialisme néoconservateur. L'objectif de l'auteur est de replacer le néoconservatisme dans l'histoire longue de l'impérialisme américain et d'expliquer comment le constat de décadence effectué par les premiers néoconservateurs a engendré, au XXI^e siècle, le désir d'exporter la démocratie par l'établissement de garnisons permanentes aux quatre coins de l'empire.



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Couverture: PHILIPPINES, Cavite City. Marines and Navy sailors stand at attention next to rigid-hulled inflatable patrol boats during the navy's founding anniversary celebration. 25 May 2015. AFP/Ted ALJIBE.

p. 36: UN photo Marco CASTRO.

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