

GLOBE

L'INSTITUT

Prix international
Edgar de Picciotto
2022

DOSSIER

The Weaponisation
of Economics

GENEVA
GRADUATE
INSTITUTE

L'ÉDITORIAL

- 2 L'âge du courage – *Marie-Laure Salles*

L'INSTITUT

- 3 Michael Sandel Receives the 2022 Edgar de Picciotto International Prize
4 New Partnership in Peaceteach
5 Launch of the Tech Hub – *Interview with Jérôme Duberry*
6 La Fabrique de la paix, the Institute's New Innovation Lab – *Interview with Tamara Pironnet*

L'ACTUALITÉ

- 7 Multilateralism and African Agency – *Ueli Staeger et Dêlidji Eric Degila*
8 *Dobbs*, Abortion and Reproductive Inequality – *Nicole Bourbonnais*
9 "2 Degrees of Human Nature": A Search for Climate Leadership – *Tim Flannery*
10 Gamechanger for Northern Europe – *Jussi Hanhimäki*
11 L'adhésion de l'Ukraine à l'Union européenne : une périlleuse urgence – *Cédric Dupont*
12 Racism as the Missing Link of International Peace – *Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou and Davide Rodogno*

LE DOSSIER – THE WEAPONISATION OF ECONOMICS

- 16 The Danger of Safe Spaces – *Rui Esteves*
18 Risky Interdependence: The Impact of Geoeconomics on Trade Policy – *Joost Pauwelyn*
20 A New Page in Global Sanctions Practice: The Russian Case – *Erica Moret*
22 The Politicisation of Commodities' Trade – *Giacomo Luciani*
24 Sanctions against Russia and the Role of the United Nations – *Thomas Biersteker*
26 A Renewed Neocolonial Scramble for Resources? – *Gilles Carbonnier and Rahul Mehrotra*

LA FORMATION CONTINUE

- 28 New Executive Master in International Relations – *Interview with Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou*
29 New Partnership between the Geneva Graduate Institute and the International Institute for Management Development

L'ENSEIGNEMENT

- 30 The Institute Welcomes Eight New Professors
32 ANSO@10: Celebrating a Decade of Anthropology and Sociology at the Institute – *Julie Billaud*
33 Teaching as Collective Knowledge Production – *Janne Nijman*
34 Le professeur émérite Marcelo Kohen candidat à la Cour internationale de Justice
35 From Ukraine to Switzerland – *Interview with Daryna Abbakumova*
36 Intégrer l'action, la recherche et l'enseignement – *Rencontre avec Dominique Rossier*

LES ÉTUDIANTES

- 37 Where the Water Runs Deep – *Interview with Students from the Water Initiative*
38 Students Learn about Career Opportunities with the World Bank Group
39 La gouvernance du loup en Suisse : du réensauvagement à la cohabitation – *Hugo Brandom*
40 How Lyrical Singing Helped Me Find My Voice – *Lara Twerenbold*
41 Ask a Librarian – *Pierre-André Fink*

LES ALUMNI-AE

- 42 1927–2027 | Our Alumni-ae, Our History: 100 Years of Leadership
43 Interview with Ting Fang
44 Meet Brindusa Burrows

LA RECHERCHE

- 45 Nouvelles publications

L'ÉDITORIAL

L'âge du courage

Marie-Laure Salles
Directrice



L'INSTITUT

Michael Sandel Receives the 2022 Edgar de Picciotto International Prize

« *Rodrigue, as-tu du cœur ?* »

C'est en fait de courage qu'il s'agit dans ces mots qu'un père, Don Diègue, adresse à son fils, Don Rodrigue, dit le Cid. Cette métonymie célèbre de Corneille est construite sur une étymologie commune aux deux termes, le latin *cor*.

Notre monde est en apnée. Face à l'incertitude radicale qui s'impose, nous retenons notre souffle. L'esprit du temps est aux tensions paradoxales – richesses et inégalités ; connaissances et désinformation ; connectivité et solitude structurelle. L'humanité est comme un colosse aux pieds d'argile ; en abîmant, voire en détruisant notre biotope, nous produisons nous-mêmes notre inexorable fragilité et cette angoisse existentielle qui est le parfum de l'époque.

Que faire ? Ces derniers temps, semble-t-il, la plongée en apnée est devenue un sport à la mode, sinon un mode de vie. Comme un retour aux fondamentaux – ne plus respirer pour réapprendre à respirer, regarder non pas tant autour de soi qu'à l'intérieur de soi. Mais l'apnée n'a de sens que si on la contrôle, si on ne cède pas à la tentation de se laisser couler, de se laisser engloutir.

Cette apnée collective sera alors salvatrice si nous savons l'utiliser pour nous questionner en profondeur et mobiliser notre courage pour remonter plus serein·e·s et plus fort·e·s, prêt·e·s à affronter le monde du temps non suspendu. Après tout, c'est bien aussi dans les périodes exceptionnelles que tout devient possible ! Et le courage est donc la clé...

Courage n'est pas témérité. L'acte fougueux d'un jeune Icare s'envolant vers sa chute inéluctable relève plus de la démesure et de l'hubris que du courage. Tel que Platon

ou Aristote le définissent, le courage est une « fermeté réfléchie ». Avoir du courage, ce n'est pas ignorer le risque, le danger ou la peur mais savoir vivre et agir malgré tout, en les maîtrisant de manière réfléchie. Le courage est, par nature même, une affaire de cœur – c'est en assumant nos émotions et nos vulnérabilités humaines que nous l'affirmons. Mais le courage est aussi une passion. Pour Platon comme pour Confucius, le vrai courage ne peut être qu'au service de l'intégrité, de la justice et du bien commun. Le courage est tourné vers l'autre plus que vers l'ego ; il est une vertu éminemment sociale et profondément humaine et humaniste. Le courage peut être aussi simple que d'exprimer sa fragilité et sa gratitude, et donc son humanité. Les larmes de Roger Federer n'entachent en rien sa force, son leadership, sa capacité à agir et à influencer, sa légitimité... bien au contraire, sans doute !

Nous pouvons et nous devons augmenter nos réserves collectives de courage. Pour les philosophes, et c'est la bonne nouvelle, le courage est une vertu qui se travaille, s'acquiert, se déploie, s'approfondit. C'est en posant de manière régulière et répétée des actes de courage que nous devenons courageuses et courageux. Voici donc un défi à la hauteur des enjeux du jour – un défi qui se doit, qui plus est, d'informer l'ambition pédagogique de notre maison commune, l'Institut !

On 22 September, Michael Sandel delivered the opening lecture of the new academic year, entitled "The Tyranny of Merit: Can We Find the Common Good?". He argued that to overcome the crises that are upending our world, we must rethink the attitudes toward success and failure that have accompanied globalisation and rising inequality. The event was also the occasion to award Professor Sandel the 2022 Edgar de Picciotto International Prize.

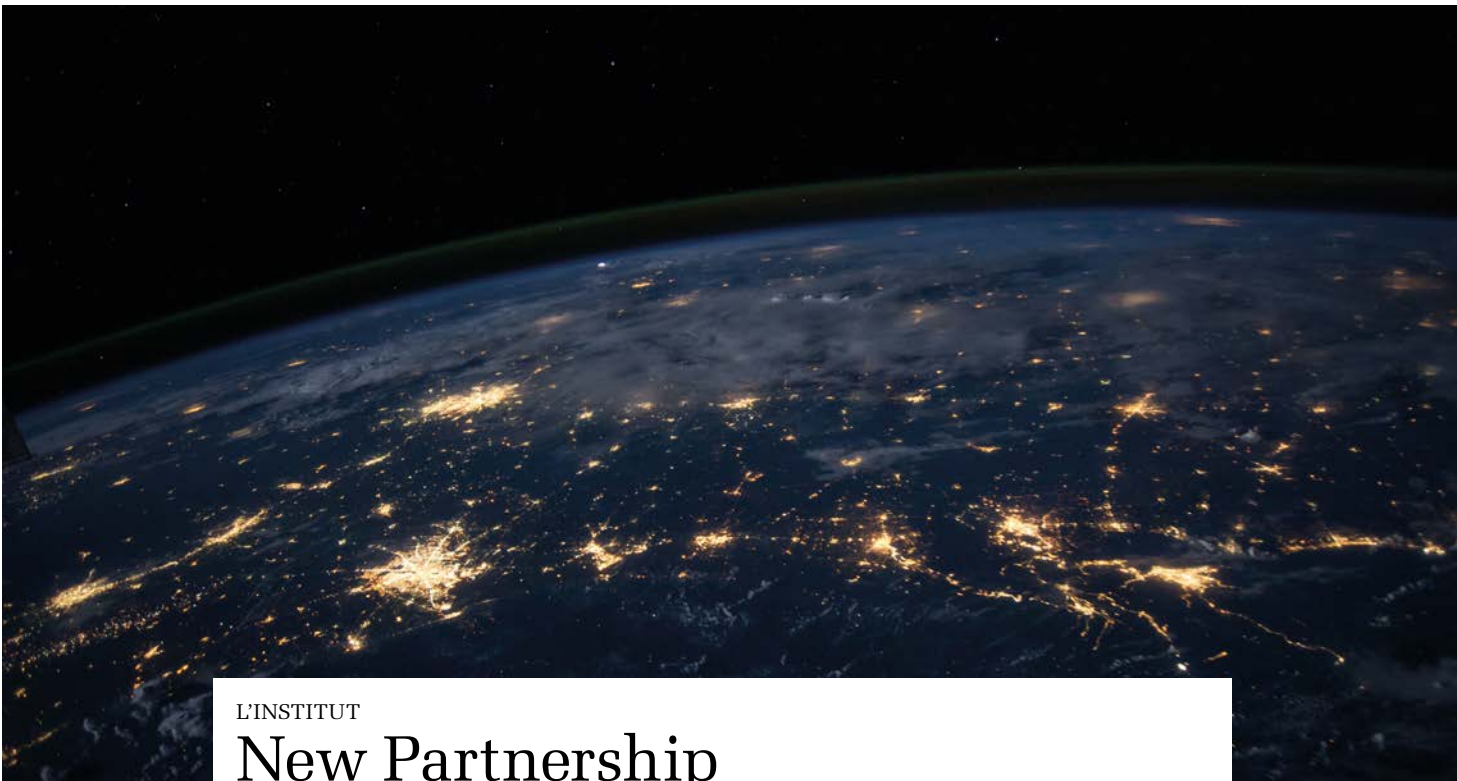
"Professor Michael Sandel is one of the world's most distinguished political philosophers", said Marie-Laure Salles, Director of the Institute. "When put together, his many books and contributions lift our veil of ignorance on structuring pillars of our contemporary society – freedom, markets, justice and more recently merit. His apparent time- and space-less exploration of philosophical concepts brings to light, in reality, their historical and geographical contextualisation and re-contextualisation – and is a strong commentary on our contemporary society and its ills. Through the years, he has built a powerful toolbox for the critical assessment of our current life and institutional choices. And in the process, he has made it possible to envision and explore alternatives and to enter the path of a realist utopia that the urgency of our challenges is clearly calling for. It was a great chance for our community to start the new academic year with such a broad and systemic commentary on the world as it is and as it could be. The kind of political philosophy that is deployed by Michael Sandel is profoundly aligned with our own intellectual identity at the Institute – critical thinking, integrated transdisciplinarity, and a constructive projection towards common good challenges and a better world."

Michael Sandel teaches political philosophy at Harvard University. His latest book, *The Tyranny of Merit: Can We Find the Common Good?*, was named best book of the year by *The Guardian*, *Bloomberg*, *New Statesman*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *Le Point (Paris)*, and *New Weekly* (Beijing). He has been a Visiting Professor at the Sorbonne and delivered the Tanner Lectures on Human Values at Oxford. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The Edgar de Picciotto International Prize was created as a tribute and token of thanks to Edgar de Picciotto who, along with his family, gifted a generous contribution for the realisation of the Edgar and Danièle de Picciotto Student Residence, which houses students coming from all over the world to study at the Institute. The Prize, awarded every two years, is intended to reward an internationally renowned academic whose research has contributed to the understanding of global challenges and whose work has influenced policymakers.

The prize was awarded the first time in 2012 to Amartya Sen, 1998 winner of the Nobel Prize for economics, in 2014 to Saul Friedländer, Emeritus Professor at the University of California Los Angeles and recipient of the 2008 Pulitzer Prize, in 2016 to Paul Krugman, winner of the 2008 Nobel Prize in Economics, in 2018 to Joan Wallach Scott, Emerita Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University, and in 2020 to Saskia Sassen, Robert S. Lynd Professor of Sociology at Columbia University.

Beth Krasna, Chairwoman of the Foundation Board, gives the 2022 Edgar de Picciotto International Prize to Michael Sandel. 22 September 2022. Boris PALEFROY



L'INSTITUT

New Partnership in Peacetech

Nasa/Unsplash

On 19 May 2022, the Geneva Graduate Institute and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Lausanne (EPFL) signed an agreement to create the Swiss PeaceTech Alliance, which brings together complementary knowledge needed to build capacity internationally in the field of PeaceTech. The Institute is proud to further announce that the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform (GPP) has joined the alliance.

Building on Switzerland's long tradition as a neutral actor engaged in peace promotion, the new alliance responds to the pressing unmet needs at the intersection of peace and technology. Our ambition is to stimulate peace innovation through concrete tech-based solutions (tech to peace), and the promotion of peacebuilding and peacemaking principles in the design and development of tech innovations (peace to tech).

"The technological turn is creating unprecedented transformations in our societies, politics, economies and even in our individual and collective identities. It is essential that responsible technologies be developed by design and incorporate principles of human rights, sustainability and peacebuilding", said Marie-Laure Salles, Director of the Geneva Graduate Institute.

To do so, the Graduate Institute and EPFL are leveraging their recognised academic excellence in both social and computer sciences, and engaging with the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform and a critical mass of peacebuilding experts to build new knowledge and develop innovative practice in PeaceTech, with a critical eye on sustainability and the long-term effects of technology in peace and conflict.

"There is increasing conviction within the international community that peace, sustainability and equity are in tight interdependence", argued Marie-Laure Salles.

"Expertise and leadership in the hard sciences and technology are of course needed to create technological innovations for PeaceTech. But for PeaceTech to be applied effectively, strong knowledge in the social sciences is also indispensable", said Martin Vetterli, President of EPFL. "Our two institutions are each recognised world leaders in our areas of excellence – EPFL for technology and the Geneva Graduate Institute for expertise in world affairs, international relations and development."

The EPFL EssentialTech Centre and the Geneva Graduate Institute serve jointly as coordinators for operational capacity, connecting experts from both institutions and beyond, building an interdisciplinary reference group to support PeaceTech initiatives worldwide.

L'INSTITUT

Launch of the Tech Hub

Interview with Jérôme Duberry, Managing Director

You were recently appointed Managing Director of the Tech Hub, which was inaugurated in October. Can you tell us more about the hub and its goals?

This competence hub on digital technologies will progressively structure different kinds of activities around two main objectives: (i) support research, teaching and dialogue on and with digital technologies at the Institute, and (ii) forge and express the Institute's unique voice on these questions. Even though we will focus our efforts mainly on digital technologies, we are willing to explore other technologies that might be relevant for international relations.

Given the permeability of our societies to technological innovations, their dual use and the rapid pace of their development, it is essential to include a diversity of stakeholders in the design of technologies. While for too long it was the domain and prerogative of digital and data scientists, social sciences and humanities have a huge role to play when it comes to reflecting on the social, environmental and economic dynamics that frame and construct the development of digital technologies, as well as their regulation and governance.

Our goal is to support teaching and research projects – exploring the opportunities these technologies present and the dangers they pose – in order to contribute to a future where technologies serve people and respect the environment and human rights.

What is the main digital challenge in an academic institution like ours and, more generally, in the academic world?

In the wake of the recent pandemic, it is important to reflect on how to best integrate digital technology into higher education. We must avoid moving from "all online" to "all in-person". What content can be delivered through video capsules? What online platforms can enable students to co-create in groups and remotely? What learning should take place as a discussion, role-playing or participatory process in the classroom?

At the Institute, the challenge is to identify the learning needs of all members of the community. To this end, a working group composed of members of the Research Office, the Library and the Direction of Studies as well as researchers have met in the fall to build a digital skill referential for the Institute.

In addition, it is critical to position the Institute on these issues through the research already conducted on cybersecurity, lethal autonomous weapons, internet



governance, digital health, digital trust, digital economy, the future of work, fintech and crypto-currencies, artificial intelligence (AI) and humanitarian law, and AI and peace negotiations, among others. The Institute has also developed expertise in using digital technologies as new research methods, including computational social science methods and big data analysis. This should allow us to be more present on these issues in International Geneva and beyond.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/tech-hub

La Fabrique de la paix, the Institute’s New Innovation Lab

Interview with Tamara Pironnet,
Managing Director

You manage La Fabrique de la paix (The Fab) since September. Can you explain the concept behind The Fab?

The Fab aims to be a creative and safe space that promotes and showcases collaborative solutions for the world of today and tomorrow.

Who is this space for and what are its objectives?

The space is primarily dedicated to students and staff (in the broad sense) of the Institute, but it is open to all. The Fab will work towards three objectives.

First, it will aim to spark curiosity and innovation at the Institute, providing a safe space to do things differently. Key amongst these will be a series of events, co-organised with the Tech Hub and other partners, which explores alternative futures from different angles.

It will also seek to nurture ideas and skills, accompanying innovative projects from their creation through to their implementation and beyond. This we aim to do through ideation workshops, skills training, networking opportunities, etc.

Finally, The Fab will aim to connect the Institute with itself and with others, as innovation often emerges from discussions and exchanges with new and diverse people.

Why was such a space necessary for the Maison de la paix?

While the Institute has fantastic conference halls, meeting rooms and a Library, it was lacking a space where informal conversations, collaboration and creative work could happen.

What is your line-up for this academic year?

We are super excited with our initial line-up of events. We launched The Fab through a fun treasure hunt on 15 September followed by a reception at The Fab. Then, during welcome week we had a range of different “days”:

- 20 September: GISA and Student Initiatives day
- 21 September: Research Day (Research Office and Research Centres)
- 22 September: Mentorship and Buddy day
- 23 September: Policy Relevance Day (platforms, joint centres and more)

The Futures event series kicked off on 5 October with an event on “Futures of Art”, where the audience had the opportunity to engage with Chimer, an artificial intelligence



device that creates art! Our second Futures event will be in November – Diversity Month – and will encourage students and staff to create a science fiction-inspired artwork exploring what the future of diversity could be.

More details on upcoming events and workshops are available on our website, where you can also find information on how to book spaces, co-organise events with us, etc.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/fab

Multilateralism and African Agency

Ueli Staeger

Research Associate, Global Governance Centre

Délidji Eric Degila

Professor of Practice,
Interdisciplinary Programme and International Relations/Political Science



At a time when global multilateralism struggles to deliver in the face of old and new challenges, African multilateralism charts a path of its own.

Africa is rising – so goes a new narrative in media and politics for more than a decade now. With demographic trends, natural resource wealth and diversified partnerships, Africa seemed to have it all lined up. The compounded economic, nutritional and geopolitical repercussions of recent global events make it all the more important for African countries and citizens to pool their efforts to build a prosperous, healthy and safe Africa. A critical challenge is to ground such optimism on inclusive and sustainable development strategies, beyond the “data mirage” of development in numbers only.

African agency can be understood as Africa’s own capacity to pursue its goals. Collectively and at the level of states, the concept captures how Africa can relate to the structure of the international system in an agentic and active way, without shifting into postcolonial modes of dependence.

If global multilateralism faces multiple challenges currently, African multilateralism in some areas is a welcome source of optimism. Regional integration is an ambitious goal pursued by states from all corners of the continent. Under the banner of “speaking with one voice”, African states pursue collective political, economic, and diplomatic agency.

Western audiences sometimes struggle with the realisation that African agency (through organisations such as

the African Union) is not necessarily fully aligned with liberal norms. As scholars have pointed out repeatedly, exercising African agency is as focused on African-led processes as on African-set goals.

This quest for African agency is illustrated by a recent extraordinary summit of the African Union on humanitarian affairs, unconstitutional changes of government, and terrorism. African heads of states and governments not only reaffirmed the importance of these challenges but also contributed to specific African-led norm-setting in this regard.

Pursuing African agency sometimes lays bare differences of appreciation between Africa and its partners. Normative differences on issues such as coups d’état are, however, also very common beyond Africa. Therefore, an African Union that seeks African agency does not preclude itself from partnerships. Rather, these partnerships will need to cater more explicitly to an eye-to-eye pursuit of areas of common interest. Doing so will allow Africa to free itself from its so-called subaltern status.

Supporting African multilateralism means holding space for Africa without imposing ideas, and a *sine qua non* condition to get rid of colonial mindset relics. Partnerships with the United Nations, European Union, and many other actors harbour a considerable potential to enhance African agency, but only if Africa’s right to a different path finds its way into those partnerships.

ETHIOPIA, Addis Ababa. Ethiopia's Foreign Minister Demeke Mekonnen and African Union Commission Chairperson Moussa Faki Mahamat attend African Union Executive Board meeting held as part of the 39th African Union Summit. 14 October 2021. Minasse WONDIMU HAILU/AFP



L'ACTUALITÉ

Dobbs, Abortion and Reproductive Inequality

Nicole **Bourbonnais**
Associate Professor, International History and Politics; Co-director of the Gender Centre

On 24 June 2022, the United States Supreme Court issued its decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson*, removing the right to abortion and sending shockwaves around the world. What happens now?

We can say with some certainty that the ruling will not achieve its presumed aim: to end the practice of abortion. Research has illustrated time and again that reducing abortion rates is more successfully achieved through sexual education, comprehensive reproductive healthcare and social support for families. Even then, there will be cases where abortion is the best option, due to a whole host of circumstances too personal to be regulated by the broad dictates of the state.

In countries where abortion is illegal or heavily restricted, the most commonly observed impact, instead, is an increase in reproductive inequality. Those who can afford to pay for elite private clinics or to cross borders to access services continue to have safe, medically supervised abortions. Those who cannot may turn to untrained practitioners, increasing the risk of complications. Even accessing safer methods of self-managed abortion – like the medical abortion pill – puts one at risk of criminal prosecution. As we might expect, the burden of this inequality falls most heavily on those who already face marginalisation and/or state surveillance, including people of colour, LGBTQ communities, people with disabilities and people with low income.

Abortion is thus not only a question of reproductive rights, but also of women’s rights, human rights, public health and social justice. In glossing over this reality, the *Dobbs* decision

sets a dangerous precedent on an international scale. That the United States is a major donor to sexual and reproductive health services internationally makes this development all the more troubling.

Still, we should not overestimate the ability of the United States to influence what happens elsewhere. In recent years, donors from other countries have explicitly committed themselves to supporting abortion internationally. Domestic activist movements have also propelled an overall trend towards liberalisation of abortion laws in the last 50 years, most recently in Ireland, Thailand, Colombia and Argentina. Just a week after the *Dobbs* decision, Sierra Leone’s president announced at the 10th Africa Conference on Sexual Health and Rights that his government had unanimously backed a bill to decriminalise abortion in the country, stressing the importance of the reform “at a time when sexual and reproductive health rights for women are either being overturned or threatened”.¹

One can only hope that the *Dobbs* decision will fuel a broader discussion around abortion, one that moves beyond philosophical debates to address the complex realities of sex, reproduction and inequality. In the meantime, people will suffer.

Gayatri MALHOTRA/
Unsplash



L'ACTUALITÉ

“2 Degrees of Human Nature”: A Search for Climate Leadership

Tim **Flannery**
Fondation Segré Distinguished Visiting Professor

2 Degrees of Human Nature is a documentary made by Totem Films that investigates political leadership (and the lack of it) in addressing climate change. Its world premiere was on 9 May at the Geneva Graduate Institute and originates from my own quest to understand how climate leadership emerges, and why it is sometimes successful, and at other times fails.

The film is a personal story that, in its search for climate leaders, ranges from the jungles of the Solomon Islands to the pavilions of the Glasgow climate summit. Successful climate leaders are extremely diverse, but they have a few things in common, one being that they did not start out seeking leadership, but rather came to it because of their realisation of or awakening to the issue, and the dire need for action.

Climate leadership occurs at all levels, from villages to national parliaments, and on to global forums such as the Conference of the Parties (COP). But leadership is most successful where leaders are in direct contact with their constituents, and least successful in venues such as the Australian Federal parliament, where leaders are physically isolated in their own “echo chamber”, and where lobbyists have far greater access than voters.

One of the key attributes of successful climate leadership is empowering others. At its best (such as that of Scotland between 2010 and 2020), a diverse constituency for change is built and an ambitious target is set. Setting a target is crucial as it empowers all to play a role in achieving it. Other successful models exist.

At the village level in the Solomon Islands, the establishment of the Baru Conservation Alliance (BCA – a legally established, community-controlled entity with its own board, CEO and bank account) has been responsible for

the establishment and management of the first protected biodiversity reserves in the mountains of Malaita Island. Before the establishment of the BCA reserves, forest loss through illegal logging and attrition through traditional use had accelerated.

Successful climate leadership can even arise among conservative political parties, or ideologically divided societies. Australian politics has for decades been riven by media-dubbed “climate wars”, in which the conservative political parties have taken minimal action to address climate change, not to mention that many conservative members of parliament are outright climate denialists.

Yet Matt Kean, the conservative treasurer of New South Wales (Australia’s most populous state), has implemented a climate policy that will cease coal burning for energy use in the state by 2030. Kean is a highly skilled politician who ensured that his energy legislation passed with support from all major political parties (a feat unique in the state’s recent political history). He represents a new generation of conservative politicians that is in touch with electoral concerns about the environment. In the documentary he describes his motivation.

Matt PALMER/
Unsplash

¹ “Sierra Leone Backs Bill to Legalise Abortion and End Colonial-Era Law,” *The Guardian*, 6 July 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/jul/06/sierra-leone-backs-bill-to-legalise-abortion-and-end-colonial-era-law>

Gamechanger for Northern Europe

Jussi M. Hanhimäki
Professor and Head of the Department of International History and Politics



The Russian invasion of Ukraine made possible the once unthinkable. Within months, Finland and Sweden launched negotiations to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). On 5 July, the accession agreements were signed. By the end of the summer, most of the 30 NATO countries had concluded their national ratification processes. Barring a major surprise, the two Nordic countries will formally join the Organization in 2023.

Finland and Sweden's NATO membership is a proverbial gamechanger on several levels. For the two countries, it marks an end to long periods of non-alignment; for Russia, it represents a major setback in efforts to undermine the Western Alliance's unity. For the long-term future of European – and global – security, the effects are less clear and depend only in part on how the Ukraine conflict unfolds.

The remarkable fact about Finland and Sweden is the rapidity of the change. Before 24 February, joining NATO had not enjoyed majority public support in either country: non-alignment had served both countries well. Sweden had escaped participation in both World Wars. Finland had managed to retain its democracy and Western orientation throughout the Cold War largely thanks to the country's repeated acknowledgement of Moscow's security concerns. Both joined the European Union in the 1990s and prospered economically. Both cooperated with NATO but declined to take the decisive step towards membership.

Literally overnight, however, the Russian invasion of Ukraine made non-alignment appear a risky proposition. Leading figures of all political persuasions in both countries shifted rapidly towards supporting NATO membership; the public felt the same way.

For Russia, the forthcoming NATO enlargement is a self-inflicted wound. Russia pushed Sweden and Finland to embrace the collective security that NATO membership provides. Russian leaders warned of the consequences and turned off electricity supplies and natural gas deliveries to Finland. It only strengthened Helsinki's resolve. Putin's Russia was hardly intent on unifying "the West", but that is exactly what happened.

What this all means for the future of European security is unclear. The lengthy Finno-Russian border will undoubtedly become a potential source of geopolitical tension, hence complicating possible efforts to improve NATO-Russia relations in the future. In the long term, as Europe moves to radically reduce its reliance on Russian energy imports, a major structural incentive for future cooperation diminishes.

We are unlikely to be headed towards a new Cold War. But the rapid transformation of Finnish and Swedish security policy is symptomatic of a fundamental shift in the calculations that have informed European and global security since the late twentieth century.

BELGIUM, Brussels. (L-R) Finnish Minister of Defence Antti Kaikkonen with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and Swedish Minister of Defence Peter Hultqvist at the extraordinary meeting of NATO Ministers of Defence. 16 March 2022. NATO/Flickr

L'adhésion de l'Ukraine à l'Union européenne: une périlleuse urgence

Cédric Dupont
Professeur, relations internationales/science politique



Le 23 juin 2022, lorsque le Conseil européen confère à l'Ukraine, seulement quatre mois après la demande formelle de cette dernière, le statut de candidate à l'adhésion à l'Union européenne, l'histoire semble s'emballer après trois décennies d'un graduel arrimage économique de l'Ukraine à l'UE.

La coopération étroite permise par l'accord d'association de 2017 ne pouvait plus servir de subterfuge à une perspective d'appartenance à un projet politique fort. Cette perspective arrive bien tard au vu des conséquences géopolitiques du rapprochement économique de l'Ukraine avec l'UE, et non sans effort pour trouver une autre solution en remettant au goût du jour l'idée d'un second cercle à connotation politique, appelé «communauté politique européenne», qui permettrait une «socialisation politique à deux sens» en attendant une éventuelle adhésion.

Il est certes trop tôt pour présumer du futur de cette communauté politique européenne mais pour l'Ukraine l'objectif ne peut être que l'adhésion à l'UE, notamment par la garantie d'assistance mutuelle (article 42.7 du Traité sur l'UE) qu'elle amènerait. Or la route vers cet objectif est certainement encore très longue. Elle devra d'abord passer par une phase d'assimilation de l'acquis communautaire, qui, lorsqu'elle aura été jugée suffisante par les instances communautaires et chacun des États membres, ouvrira la phase de négociation d'adhésion. Cette phase durera le

temps nécessaire à la clôture des trente-cinq chapitres thématiques qui structurent les traités d'adhésion. Outre les difficultés juridiques, administratives et économiques, ce processus est continuellement sujet à des accrocs politiques. En témoignent en particulier les enlisements des processus pour l'adhésion de la Turquie, reconnue comme candidate à l'adhésion en 1999 avec ouverture des négociations en 2005, et pour celle de la Macédoine du Nord, reconnue comme candidate en 2005 avec ouverture des négociations en juillet 2022.

Si les conditions autour du processus d'adhésion de l'Ukraine semblent plus favorables – urgence créée par la guerre, appartenance indiscutable à l'Europe, absence de conflit territorial avec d'autres États membres –, les différentes instances communautaires ont clairement écarté la possibilité d'un processus accéléré. Car si l'urgence d'un ancrage politique est claire, la mise en place d'un État de droit et d'une reconstruction économique n'en reste pas moins indispensable. Cela pourrait justifier l'établissement de la communauté politique européenne, mais au risque toutefois d'être perçu comme un recul des promesses d'adhésion faites jusqu'ici. La gestion des attentes et des exigences des uns et des autres sera donc cruciale avec comme enjeu la stabilité du continent européen.

UKRAINE, Kiev. Le président ukrainien Volodymyr Zelenskyy (D) et la présidente de la Commission européenne Ursula von der Leyen font des déclarations après leurs entretiens à Kiev. 11 juin 2022. Sergei SUPINSKY/AFP

Racism as the Missing Link of International Peace

Mohammad-Mahmoud **Ould Mohamedou**

Deputy Director and Professor, International History and Politics

Davide Rodogno

Head of the Interdisciplinary Programme and Professor, International History and Politics

Pawel
CZERWINSKI/
Unsplash

During the twentieth century, the architects of international peace failed to lead on a serious attempt to end racism. At the end of World War I, following on the creation of the League of Nations, there had nonetheless been attempts by some nations, such as Japan. These attempts were doomed since the colonial empires, Western and non-Western, were anchored in discrimination.

The peace architects, including US president Woodrow Wilson, were partaking in segregation, as would, inevitably, the international organisation – as illustrated by the Mandate system. The end of World War II and the creation of the United Nations did not, unfortunately, mark a rupture away from this reality. The relationship between racism and war, and therefore between peace and the end of racism, remained unaddressed – the notion itself, silenced.

European colonialism had not however spoken its last word, and institutionalised racial segregation would continue in the United States until the 1960s, and in more pernicious ways much later to this day. Decolonisation was marked by apartheid in South Africa and in Rhodesia, and by conflicts between local populations, whose past and racialised identity had been ‘invented’ by colonisers – with devastating consequences in the Sudan or Rwanda. Migratory movements towards the former imperial metropolis were “dealt with” by way of discriminatory policies impacting not so much peace amongst nations but within them.

Racism thus became the object of often abstract UN tools. It was debated during decolonisation but only in discrete ways. It was raised by some countries, notably the United States, but only selectively. In 1919, 1945, after 1989 and in the wake of 2001, the planetary character of racism was largely ignored. Today, racism continues to be presented and studied as a national or local problem warranting specific solutions, including in academia.

The international dimension of racism remains invisible, as well as its consequences on peace. Too rarely is racism incorporated in conventions on global health, the environment, finance, gender and human rights when it ought to be both a central and transversal theme, particularly when it comes to lasting peace. To remedy that, a paradigm shift is necessary.

The trajectory of the Black Lives Matter movement corroborates the idea that such change has not yet taken place. In spite of the appropriation of the movement around the world, internationalisation of the racism problem has not

been put on the global agenda. The attention paid to the problem by the international community was short-lived and the movement is losing steam. Is the international situation to blame – the pandemic, war in Ukraine, climate change? What seems to enjoy historical continuity, however, is the invisibilisation of the international dimension of racism, in particular the relationship between racism and war, hence racism and peace.





DOSSIER

THE WEAPONISATION OF ECONOMICS

The liberal idea of trade as a constituent element of peace has underpinned the development of globalisation, particularly since 1945. The emergence in the early 21st century of a more multipolar world succeeding the US hegemony, the financial crisis of 2007 and the corollary decline of liberalism and multilateralism seem to have ushered, however, a regain of mercantilism in international economic relations. Economic nationalism is increasingly finding expression in trade wars, export controls, sanctions, predatory international regulations, fiscal encroachments, and an accelerating struggle for dwindling natural resources such as oil, gas, timber, minerals, and water.

A new nationalist era thus seems to be in the making, placing the economy at the service of the state, and sovereignty above economic self-interest. States are increasingly left to fend for themselves, with multilateral mechanisms losing traction and international economic relations becoming more toxic. Analysts have observed a “weaponisation of the economy” that may ultimately trigger a “balkanisation” of the world economy (Mikael Wigell).

The Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated many of these trends as a series of governments have implemented protectionist measures to shield domestic industries. The war in Ukraine has pushed this logic of economic nationalism to new heights, marked by an unprecedented string of sanctions, embargoes and retaliations that disrupt the global trade of commodities and supply chains, with potentially devastating consequences such as rising food and resource prices and inflation, all of which may disproportionately hit poor and developing countries. Such noxious outcomes may further jeopardise the green and digital transitions as it may become increasingly difficult to source necessary components for solar, wind and hydropower as well as batteries.

The following Dossier aims to grasp these transformations in the international economic system in their manifold manifestations. It asks: Does this rampant mercantilism represent a temporary hiatus or, on the contrary, a more durable impairment of the hitherto prevalent liberal paradigm based on assumptions of growth, cooperation and peace?

Dossier produced by the Research Office and based on *Global Challenges* (no. 12, 2022), a series of dossiers designed to share with a wider public the ideas, knowledge, opinions and debates produced at the Geneva Graduate Institute.

→ <https://globalchallenges.ch>

TURKEY, Istanbul. A general view of the Silivri Underground Natural Gas Storage Facility where work continues to increase the capacity of the facility, Turkey's first and the largest natural gas storage facility in Europe. 23 October 2022. Mahmut SERDAR ALAKUS/AFP

THE DANGER OF SAFE SPACES

Rui Esteves

Professor, International History and Economics

UNITED STATES,
New York.
The Wall Street
"Crash".
29 October 1929.
Leemage/AFP

Last May, the secretary-general of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, declared to the World Economic Forum that "freedom is more important than free trade". These words, referring to the ongoing Ukrainian war, are in stark contrast with what Nobel Peace Laureate Norman Angell had identified in 1909 as the futility of war. In his influential book, *The Great Illusion*, Angell noted that industrial countries had become so economically interdependent that a war among them would harm both victors and defeated. With hindsight, we know that Angell failed to predict the World Wars, but the appeal of his logic lives on.

In 1945, the Allies set out to create a new international order to promote economic growth and peace. That these two aims were seen as connected was a tribute to Angell's ideas and justifies the multilateral architecture vested in the three international organisations inaugurated then: the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Multilateralism has been a key foundation of the world economic order since 1945 and all the more since the fall of the Berlin Wall, when the former Soviet-bloc nations rejoined the world economy. One hundred years after Angell's book, US political commentator Thomas Friedman recovered his theory of how economic interdependence (now called globalisation) prevented conflict. Friedman observed that no two countries where McDonald's was present had fought a war with each other. He later revised this "golden arches theory", stating that no two countries part of a major global supply chain ever fought. The invasion of Ukraine has put to rest Friedman's two metaphors of conflict prevention. But the trillion-dollar question is whether the return of geopolitical rivalry will also terminate the international liberal order.

Over the last two years, the pandemic and the Ukraine war exposed the fragility

of international interdependence to shocks. The logic of economic efficiency behind the intricate cross-border supply chains now appears threatened by considerations of strategic or social resilience. Nations are no longer happy with relying on foreign countries, especially rivals, for key economic or strategic inputs (vaccines, semiconductors, energy). Reshoring or friend-shoring are now on the rise, often with government support, as in the case of the US CHIPS Act, the banning of Chinese tech companies in the West as in India, and China's "Made in China 2025" goal. Moreover, deeper political and social forces are pushing against "hyperglobalisation", perceived as contributing to relative national decline, massive inequality and environmental collapse.

Judging by Google's Ngram tool, the interest in the topic of deglobalisation (and its correlates: protectionism, nationalism, reshoring, etc.) has been growing since the 2010s, especially after 2016. While the timing is unsurprising, it also reminds us that globalisation has received its last rites far too often.

Optimists note that by most measures, globalisation has been steady if not increasing, despite the COVID shock. More importantly, globalisation is changing under what economist Richard Baldwin called the "third unbundling". Two previous globalisation waves dramatically reduced the costs of moving goods in the 19th century and ideas in the late 20th. Today's version is reducing the costs of moving people, if not physically at least virtually. From call centres to telehealth, a fast-rising share of manual work and professional services is performed remotely. COVID's large-scale teleworking trial only accelerated this trend. Available evidence shows global IP traffic has increased markedly in 2020 and is expected to more than treble from 230 exabytes in 2020 to 780 exabytes by 2026, according to the United Nations

Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). More sanguine optimists, such as science-fiction author Neal Stephenson and Mark Zuckerberg, expect virtual reality technologies to complete the unbundling.

And yet, history shows that even the deepest economic ties can break down suddenly. The first wave of globalisation, fostered by new technologies such as the steam engine and the telegraph, collapsed with the Great Depression. A world organised in a complex trade and finance network, connecting a Western European core to a number of peripheries, quickly gave way to a series of regional blocks split by political hegemony or economic dependency. British colonies rallied around imperial trade preference, proclaimed in 1932 at the Ottawa Conference, while other nations dependent on British trade and finance joined the sterling area. Latin American countries similarly joined the dollar area and Southeast Asia integrated more with Japan. This regionalisation trend not only changed the architecture of economic activity but also sapped the possibilities for international political cooperation envisaged with the creation of the League of Nations.

In his book *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, John Maynard Keynes reflected on the myopia of the self-contented European who saw the prewar international order as "permanent, except in the direction of further improvement" and for whom "the politics of militarism and imperialism, of racial and cultural rivalries, of monopolies, restrictions, and exclusion, . . . were little more than the amusements of his daily newspaper, and appeared to exercise almost no influence at all on the ordinary course of social and economic life, the internationalization of which was nearly complete in practice". In our current search for safer economic spaces, are we falling for the same oversight?

"But the trillion-dollar question is whether the return of geopolitical rivalry will also terminate the international liberal order."

RISKY INTERDEPENDENCE: THE IMPACT OF GEOECONOMICS ON TRADE POLICY

Joost Pauwelyn

Professor and Head of the Department of International Law; Co-director of the Centre for Trade and Economic Integration

Until recently, cost efficiency was the main driver of international trade. Firms scoured the globe for cheap inputs and production sites. Driven by profit maximisation, they set up global value chains connecting friendly and not-so-friendly countries. Underlying fears of ideological differences, conventional thinking held, would be flattened over time, while “interdependence” would gradually make major frictions, let alone military conflict, impossible or too costly. Facilitated by the World Trade Organization (WTO) and free trade agreements, this latest phase of “globalisation” climaxed roughly between 1990 and 2015. It was characterised by unseen (though not always equally distributed) levels of prosperity, lifting millions of people out of poverty.

Four key factors, however, changed this propitious outlook. Two are structural: (1) competition with communist China’s “state capitalism”; (2) climate change and other sustainability imperatives, including worker rights. Two are, hopefully, more transient: (1) the COVID-19 pandemic and (2) Russia’s war in Ukraine.

Together, these factors constituted a wake-up call signalling that “interdependence” also bears risks and that it may be “weaponised” in contexts of unfair competition (economic, environmental or social), supply shortages (be it of protective gear or natural gas), security threats or sanction regimes.

How are nations responding to these new realities? One knee-jerk

reaction is, not surprisingly, economic nationalism and calls for reshoring and self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency, however, would be a very costly, if not impractical solution (especially for smaller countries). And even then, success in crisis would be far from guaranteed (what if the “national champion” producing masks has a supply problem?).

A more nuanced reaction focuses on diversification and resilience, and on making supply chains more secure and sustainable. How does this reflect on the WTO and trade agreements?

“Self-sufficiency, however, would be a very costly, if not impractical solution (especially for smaller countries)”

At the WTO, multilateral agreement has become excruciatingly difficult. Positive outcomes at the WTO’s Ministerial Conference in June 2022 did, however, illustrate that it is not impossible. Yet, rather than further “liberalising” trade, the focus is on “managing” trade and its impacts: new rules on fisheries subsidies, incremental solutions on pandemic response and food security.

What about free trade agreements (FTAs)? The European Union (EU) interprets the need for “diversification” as a clarion call for more and deeper FTAs. In recent months, the EU concluded an FTA with New Zealand and started FTA negotiations with India. The United States (US), in contrast, is moving away from traditional FTAs with market access as the goal. It embarked instead on amorphous new frameworks of cooperation and exchange such as the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) or the EU-US Trade and



values (“friend-shoring” rather than off-shoring to the cheapest bidder).

The most tangible response has, however, come from domestic trade policy. Not surprisingly, the US has utilised its economic power and interconnectedness to impose crippling sanctions and export controls on both China and Russia. It is also offering massive support to boost key domestic industries such as semiconductors (CHIPS Act) and electric vehicles (Inflation Reduction Act).

The response from the EU has been somewhat more surprising. Naturally inclined towards multilateral cooperation, the EU has instead intervened with a wide-ranging list of “unilateral” instruments. Besides sanctions on Russia, the EU has adopted or proposed new tools to (1) respond to geopolitical challenges, e.g. foreign investment screening, enhanced export controls and a new anti-coercion instrument, (2) level the economic playing field, e.g. a new foreign subsidy instrument and international procurement initiative, and (3) address “imported” sustainability problems via e.g.

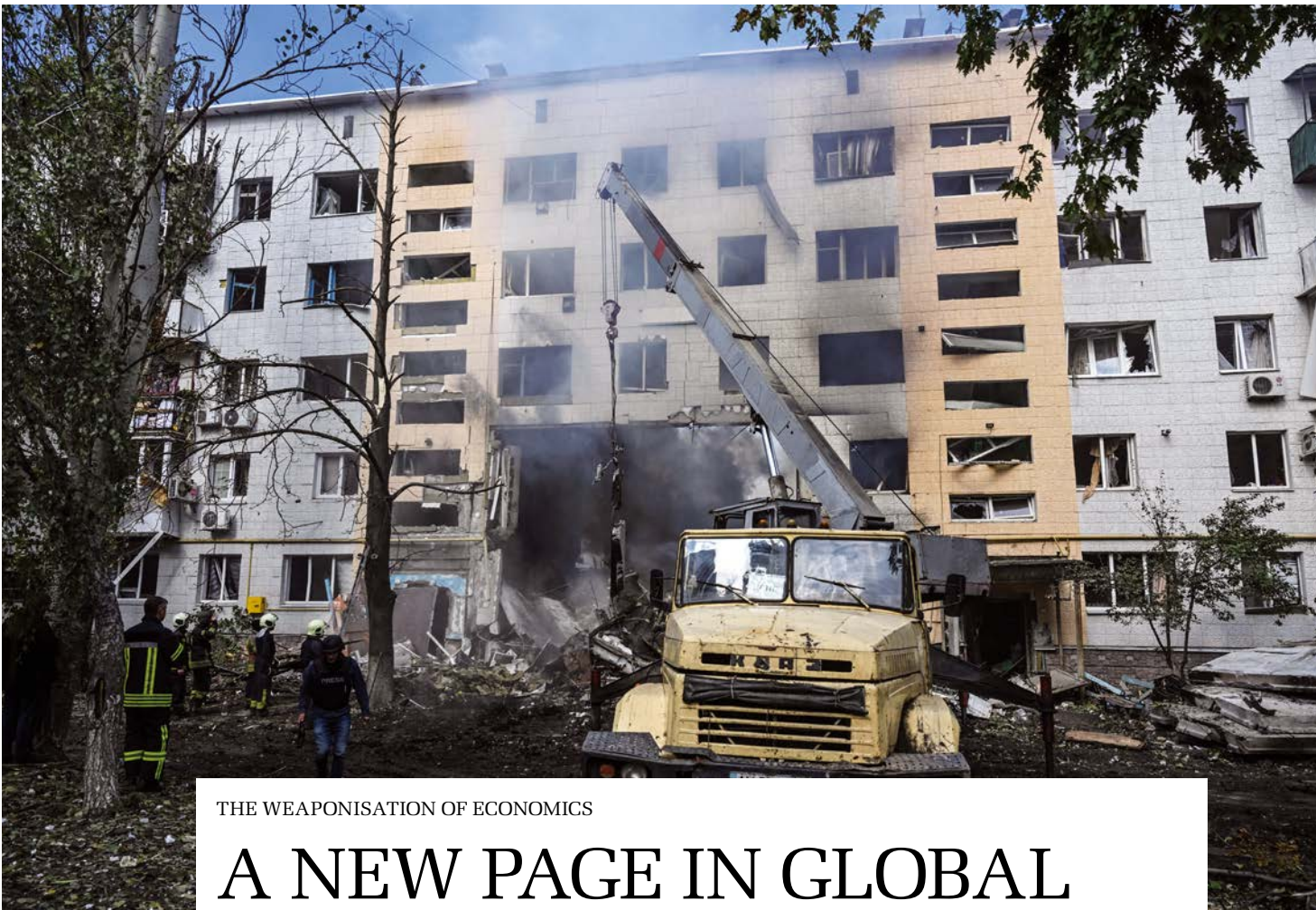
a carbon border adjustment mechanism (CBAM), deforestation and forced labour initiatives, and a new directive, imposing corporate sustainability due diligence. Here as well, the focus is not so much on free trade and market access, but on resilience, security, reciprocity and sustainability. Rather than global “value” chains, centred on efficiency, what may emerge are global “values” chains cemented between like-minded countries who feel they can trust each other.

This systemic gear-shifting by the EU from multilateral cooperation (where progress has stalled) to constructing a toolbox of unilateral interventions (a more “assertive” and “autonomous” trade policy) is no doubt of historical importance. The question remains how other countries will react, and especially whether it will be a stimulus for more international cooperation or rather a contribution to more economic and regulatory fragmentation. Another open question is whether these new EU instruments will actually be effective or remain “paper tigers” with high compliance costs

for firms (especially EU firms) without tangible impact on the ground.

In any event, when interested in bold, new initiatives on trade in response to the ongoing, multifaceted crisis, turn to Washington DC and, especially, Brussels; not Geneva.

JAPAN, Tokyo. (L-R) Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida, US President Joe Biden and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi attend a starting event for the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework. 23 May 2022. The Yomiuri Shimbun/AFP



UKRAINE, Bakhmut. Firefighters extinguish a fire after a flat was hit by a missile strike in the Donetsk region amid the Russian invasion of Ukraine. 15 September 2022. Juan BARRETO/AFP

THE WEAPONISATION OF ECONOMICS

A NEW PAGE IN GLOBAL SANCTIONS PRACTICE: THE RUSSIAN CASE

Erica Moret

Senior Researcher at the Graduate Institute's Global Governance Centre and at the Geneva Centre of Humanitarian Studies
Coordinator of the Geneva International Sanctions Network
and Managing Researcher of the Graduate Institute's Sanctions and Sustainable Peace Hub

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has wreaked havoc and devastation on Ukraine and its people, while posing one of the largest threats to European security and stability since the Second World War. Shockwaves from the war have reverberated around the world, impacting on financial markets, energy prices, supply chains and food security. This has served to exacerbate an already perilous situation for many countries struggling to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic.

Sanctions – an ever popular, yet polarising and contested, instrument of foreign and security policy – sits at the forefront of the West's response to the Russian aggression in Ukraine. Unsurprisingly, sanctions have not been adopted through the United Nations (in light of Russia's permanent membership of the UN Security Council [UNSC]) and are instead employed autonomously by a coalition of over 30 countries, including those in the European Union (EU) and the G7.

International sanctions imposed against Russia are broad-ranging and can now be considered among the strictest sanctions regimes in the world. Measures imposed by the United States, the European Union and allied countries include asset freezes, travel and visa bans, diplomatic restrictions, prohibitions on the provision of funds and restrictions on access to capital markets – intended to erode Russia's industrial base (including in relation to its financial sector and its ability to make use of

the financial messaging system SWIFT). They also feature measures targeting Russia's energy and transport sectors, export and import bans and restrictions on steel, cement, gold, advanced semiconductors, oil and coal. There is also a tightening and extension of sanctions on dual-use goods – that is, technologies and other items that can have both civilian and military applications.

Together, these measures seek to target sensitive sectors in Russia's military industrial complex, limit its access to crucial advanced technologies, degrade the government's ability to fund and orchestrate its war efforts in Ukraine, and place pressure on elites surrounding President Putin. In many ways, they resemble sanctions used elsewhere but they are unusual in other ways.

First, they were agreed by an international coalition of countries and organisations with unrivalled speed. In a matter of weeks, a complex set of overlapping sanctions regimes and expanded measures relating to export controls were agreed and adopted by over 30 countries.

Second, this is the first time in recent history that a major G20 economy, a permanent member of the UNSC and a leading energy supplier has been targeted through such sweeping sanctions, including central bank restrictions.

Third, is the mass voluntary boycott of Russia by over a thousand international firms, which formerly accounted – by some estimates – for some 40% of Russia's GDP. Such moves amplify the impacts of the sanctions and deal a highly symbolic, as well as material, blow to the Russian Government.

Fourth, the measures are also unusual in relation to a new, and more institutionalised, use of international coordination on their design and enforcement. An example is the joint Russian Elites, Proxies and Oligarchs (REPO) Task Force, composed of the G7, Australia and the EU, which serves to coordinate financial sanctions against kleptocrats' assets.

Fifth, relates to transatlantic novel discussions on the legality of whether seized oligarchs' assets could be used to support Ukraine's reconstruction or humanitarian response.

Sixth, this marks a rare instance where the target of the sanctions is capable of retaliating in a plethora of devastating ways. Russia's hybrid arsenal includes agricultural import and export control, halts to gas supplies and the use of hybrid warfare such as cyber-

sanctions proliferate around the world on many levels, raising a plethora of new considerations, including legal challenges, debates on efficacy and ethics, and the need to mitigate unintended consequences. In the Russian context, sanctions' use extends way beyond current multilateral export control regimes and exemplifies new forms of cross-border collaboration, not seen since the end of the Cold War. While Ukraine's future remains uncertain, and much

“In a matter of weeks, a complex set of overlapping sanctions regimes and expanded measures relating to export controls were agreed and adopted by over 30 countries.”

attacks, disinformation campaigns, electoral interference and other destabilising actions. Russia has also made documented use of chemical weapons in Europe (against residents of a fellow member of the UNSC in the United Kingdom), not to mention the Kremlin's ramping up of nuclear threats. That Western countries, and particularly those in close proximity to Russia in Europe, are still prepared to make use of such sweeping measures against a formidable adversary shows how seriously they view the threat and the immense strategic weight they afford sanctions as a policy instrument at the current time.

With the return of war on European soil, sanctions have entrenched themselves as the foreign and security policy tool of choice for many. Their use is part of a wider trend which has seen

rests on support from the international community, one thing is sure: the sanctions response against Russia marks a new page in global sanctions practice.



THE WEAPONISATION OF ECONOMICS

THE POLITICISATION OF COMMODITIES' TRADE

Giacomo Luciani

Adjunct Professor, Interdisciplinary Programme

CHINA, Xinhua.
A farmer dries rice
at a rice field in Yilaxi
Township of Yongji
County, northeast
China's Jilin Province.
17 September 2018.
AFP

The tendency towards the politicisation of economic relations is not new, but the Russian invasion of Ukraine marks a turning point. For the past half-century, the dominant narrative has been that closer economic interdependence would consolidate peace, and eventually also support democratisation and respect of human rights. Facts have validated this narrative until approximately the turn of the century, but in the last 20 years things have been moving in the opposite direction. Authoritarian regimes have only selectively adopted international norms, while testing the will of liberal democracies to defend their principles – in the belief that short-term economic interest and disunity would allow their infringement of norms to remain unpunished.

We now see that pursuing economic interdependence with countries whose

governments are cheating on the rules is not a wise strategy. As many (most) commodity-exporting countries are ruled by authoritarian regimes, the politicisation of international trade inevitably impacts relations between industrial countries, which are primarily liberal democracies on the one hand, and commodity exporters, on the other hand. China occupies a special position, as a predominantly industrial country which, however, has come to dominate the production and refining of key metals, and is ruled by an increasingly authoritarian regime.

Two key considerations are weighting on the redefinition of trade patterns. The first is the extent to which exports of commodities generate a large producers' rent that becomes an essential source of funding for authoritarian regimes. Importers underpin

the generation of the rent, and cannot be indifferent to seeing the money utilised to pay for policies that run against their interests or values.

In this respect, commodities greatly differ from each other. Oil has historically generated vast rents, as the cost of production in some countries is just a tiny fraction of the price that the commodity commands on international markets. In normal times and until very recently, natural gas has been the poor relative to oil, as transportation costs are much higher, and the price obtainable for equivalent energy content much lower. Nevertheless, the export of natural gas has been so important for certain countries that their fiscal capacity significantly rests on the revenue generated. The Russian government's revenue, in particular, has been highly dependent on taxation of exports of oil and,

to a lesser extent, gas (roughly 50% of total revenue).

In contrast, coal and metals or agricultural products mostly generate much smaller rents. The margin of manoeuvre that they allow to governments of the countries producing them is limited – so that, while corruption, exploitation of workers (including children), and local violence or conflicts may be frequent, these countries rarely become a threat for their neighbours.

The great difficulty that the European Union faces today with its dependence on Russian gas is that gas has an immediate impact on the well-being of millions of citizens that rely on it for heating and cooking, and cannot easily switch to an alternative in the short term. Gas is also essential to guarantee uninterrupted power generation in line with demand in most countries, and is a key raw material in many industries, including some, such as

“...dependence on imports of cereals and vegetable oils may be much more problematic – which is why many countries protect domestic food production against foreign competition...”

The second consideration is the extent to which potential supply interruptions may have a direct and widespread impact on the importing country's economy and the well-being of its citizens. This depends, on the one hand, on the uses of the imported commodity, and, on the other hand, on the potential for accessing alternative sources. The latter in turn is a function of the diffusion of the commodity and of transport logistics.

Fertilisers, whose continuing activity is essential for entire sectors, e.g. agriculture. Alternative sources of gas are available, but limitations in transport infrastructure prevent a rapid reorientation of trade flows. The latter point is not true for oil, which is why reducing dependence on Russian oil is much easier than reducing dependence on Russian gas. Nevertheless, a protracted interruption of oil exports from a major

producer can potentially inflict major damage on importing economies.

For other commodities, notably metals, the dependence is “strategic” in the sense that non-availability would cause the interruption of production in some industries, notably those related to the production of gear for the electricity sector (cables, batteries, generators, motors, etc.). But the electricity sector does not *consume* metals and would be able to continue generating power with limited problems. This means that the negative economic consequences of a disruption in access to metals would be significant and growing in time, but not immediately paralysing, in contrast to oil and gas. In this respect, dependence on imports of cereals and vegetable oils may be much more problematic – which is why many countries protect domestic food production against foreign competition, at least to some extent, for security reasons.

It is reasonable to expect that concern for security of supply will translate into voluntarist policies to reduce dependence on any one exporting country, and favour trade with politically aligned or “acceptable” partners. This will likely mean diverting from relying on least cost, most competitive suppliers, for the sake of diversification and security of supply. Trade will be politicised, if not weaponised in an aggressive sense; and we will rediscover political classifications like WOCA (World Outside Communist Areas), which were commonplace until some thirty years ago.

SANCTIONS AGAINST RUSSIA AND THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Thomas Biersteker

Honorary Professor, International Relations/Political Science

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) was designed to prevent major powers from abandoning the organisation, as they had its predecessor, the League of Nations. Giving the veto to five permanent (or non-elected) members effectively removes them from consequences when their actions, or those of their client states, come under review. This means that globally binding resolutions imposing restrictive measures cannot be applied to the permanent members by the Security Council, since they will invariably veto them.

This does not mean, however, that the Security Council has no role.

“Imposing sanctions is not just a “Western” practice, however.”

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has been taken up in a number of special sessions of the Council over the past months. A recent UN General Assembly (UNGA) resolution requires that countries using the veto must come before the UNGA to explain their rationale for the veto, and Russia complied with the measure.

As a result of the UN’s inability to apply sanctions on permanent members of the Security Council, countries have for decades designed and imposed sanctions of their own, with varying degrees of coordination. The United States (US) has been the most active when it comes to imposing sanctions, adopting a large number of country and thematic sanctions regimes and making the largest number of individual designations (of individual persons and entities). The European Union (EU) has developed its autonomous sanctions regimes significantly over the past three decades and currently has more sanctions regimes in place

(but fewer individual designations) than the US. Other countries have joined in with their own sanctions regimes, including the United Kingdom (UK)—since Brexit—, Canada, Australia, Japan, South Korea and Switzerland. Imposing sanctions is not just a “Western” practice, however. Not only have Japan, South

Korea and Singapore participated in applying sanctions on Russia, but Russia, China and India, not to mention regional organisations like the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), have a long history of using sanctions as an instrument of foreign policy or regional peace-making. They may declare their opposition to sanctions in general terms, but virtually everyone uses them.

The most robust informal coordination of sanctions to date preceded, and immediately followed, the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022. Russia began amassing significant numbers of troops on the Ukrainian border in November 2021. With more than three months before the invasion to consider restrictive measures, there was an unusual degree of planning and pre-coordination by the US, EU and UK. They were joined by other states concerned about the precedent being created by Russia, cumulatively involving countries with economies accounting for more than half of the world’s economic activity. That being said, there has been a great deal of hyperbole and misleading commentary in discussions of the sanctions on Russia, which mainly revolve around three myths.

The first and most misleading myth is that the sanctions are “unprecedented” in content, scale, and scope. This suits the discourse of political leaders in the US and Europe, but there is nothing that has been imposed on Russia that has not been applied to other countries under sanctions.



There are still many areas where trade with Russia is allowed. Banking channels have remained open, and Europe continues to buy more oil and gas from Russia than China and India. The UN sanctions on North Korea are more extensive in scope than the Russia sanctions, and Iran has been under more sweeping sanctions from the US, including the application and enforcement of secondary sanctions. What is unprecedented in the case of Russia, however, is the amount of voluntary disengagement from Russia by civil society actors across the globe, but that is another subject.

The second myth is to describe the sanctions as “economic warfare”. The war metaphor is over-used, as scholars analysing the “war on drugs” and the “war on terror” can attest. The sanctions literature has long distinguished between economic sanctions and economic warfare. The countries currently sanctioning Russia are not in a declared war with Russia; they are applying restrictive measures to

achieve political goals. In a declared war, industrial production of military equipment could be targeted and all trade with the adversary embargoed; that would be economic warfare.

The third myth relates to Switzerland. According to a common trope in many news commentaries, neutral Switzerland’s application of restrictive measures or alignment with the EU is a break with the past, but there is nothing new or extraordinary about it — as the leaders of Belarus and Myanmar well know. Switzerland has been applying restrictive measures in pursuit of Swiss foreign policy goals and coordinating closely with the EU for decades.

The UN has been engaged in normative signalling about violations of international law following Russia’s invasion, including by Secretary-General Guterres at this year’s General Assembly meeting. Other agencies of the UN have been actively involved in inspections of Ukraine’s nuclear facilities and providing humanitarian relief to those affected by the war. But when it comes to sanctions,

the UN has been constrained by its institutional design. This has enabled informal multilateral action by a coalition of like-minded states. The variation in their specific measures will create avenues for evasion, but their informal multilateralism is a response to design features of the UN Charter itself.

UNITED STATES, New York. Members of the United Nations (UN) Security Council attend a meeting at the UN headquarters concerning new sanctions on North Korea. 11 September 2017. Kena BETANCUR/AFP

“While the global impetus towards greening the economy and sustained growth in large emerging economies are new, the ensuing scramble for strategic commodities sourced in poorer countries is not.”

THE WEAPONISATION OF ECONOMICS

A RENEWED NEOCOLONIAL SCRAMBLE FOR RESOURCES?

Gilles **Carbonnier**

Professor, Development Economics

Rahul **Mehrotra**

Research Fellow, Development Economics

BOLIVIA, Uyuni Salt Flat. Aerial view of the new state-owned lithium extraction complex, in the southern zone of the Uyuni Salt Flat. 10 July 2019. Pablo COZZAGLIO/AFP

The third great scramble for natural resources is underway to power the green economy and the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Investing in renewable energy and e-vehicles entails a rush on cobalt, lithium, rare-earth and other strategic minerals. With population growth and diet diversification in South Asia and Africa, we also witness a steady growth in demand for agricultural products. Renewed big power competition, finally, has triggered a return of resource

nationalism, pipeline politics and the securitisation of critical supplies.

The first global scramble for resources saw early industrial powers such as the Netherlands, Great-Britain and France carving up foreign territories for colonial exploitation. The Cold War gave rise to the second great scramble whereby the East and the West competed to secure political and trading allegiances from newly independent states whose economy has often been heavily reliant

on commodity exports. As a result, many emerging economies are heavily skewed toward commodity exports and suffer from price and revenue volatility, lack of economic diversification, violent rent-seeking, and environmental degradation, i.e., the resource curse syndrome.

What is different today? While the global impetus towards greening the economy and sustained growth in large emerging economies are new, the ensuing scramble for strategic commodities

sourced in poorer countries is not. Are we therefore simply witnessing a form of veiled neocolonialism whereby stronger economic powers keep exploiting resource-rich developing countries? Will commodity exporters again be forced to take side in the face of renewed big power competition and the fragmentation of global supply chains and financial markets? To address such questions, we draw insights from a six-year research project on commodity-trade-related illicit financial flows. Our research investigates how resource-rich developing countries can reduce the erosion of their natural resource wealth accruing from undervalued commodity exports and enhance their capacities to mobilise domestic revenues required to invest in sustainable development.

We study commodity trade between resource-rich countries in Africa and Asia and trading hubs like Geneva, Singapore or Dubai. Overall, there remain significant weaknesses in trade governance and regulatory oversight. As an example, a share of gold exports from Ghana to major trading hubs are under-priced, resulting in a significant loss of tax revenue for the African country. Similarly, in Laos, foreign mining interests have exploited most remaining metal and mineral deposits for economic powerhouses in the region with little transparency over export valuation and royalties paid. Commodity exporters too often lack the capacity to effectively deal with complex transfer pricing issues and properly value trade transactions between affiliates of the same multinational group.

In major trading and financial hubs, importers are often exempt from detailed reporting on transfer prices and benefit from tax incentives that may encourage illicit financial flows. Typically, corporate tax ranges between 10% and 15% in trading and financial hubs compared to 25–35% in resource-rich developing countries. Weak reporting requirements and monitoring capacities aggravate

tax-base erosion in commodity-exporting countries, replicating a form of neocolonial exploitation whereby citizens do not draw benefit from their natural wealth. Global tax reforms envisaged under the OECD/G20 to levy fair taxes in consumer countries may be appropriate to deal with tech companies and the e-economy but not for the commodity sector where the issue is taxing where extraction rather than consumption takes place. We therefore propose to introduce simplified taxation methods that are suited for countries with weaker administrative capabilities. For instance, relevant global reference prices that are readily available for many commodities could be used to value trade in natural resources.

At the global level, value chain disruptions and high price volatility hinder the capacity of poorer commodity-dependent states to implement sound fiscal and budgetary policies. As illustrated by the knock-on effects of the conflict in Ukraine, commodity price volatility and supply disruptions have dire consequences in terms of global food and energy security. In addition, these states have a weaker ability to navigate an increasing number of sanction regimes that, at times, bar the use of the usual services offered by a Western-dominated financial system. They may also have a weaker ability to resort to alternative financial networks, such as China's Cross-Border Interbank Payments System. Competing financial systems may in turn spur increased trade frictions by increasing compliance requirements and operational costs that disproportionately penalise traders in poor countries. In this context, competing grand schemes like China's Belt and Road Initiative and the G7-led Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment may offer additional development finance and trade opportunities to resource-rich developing countries but also come with renewed risks of economic and political dependency.

To conclude, the scramble for resources will not benefit people in poorer resource-rich countries without multilateral arrangements that strengthen global tax governance and effectively curb illicit financial flows. For now, trends point towards a hardening of competing spheres of influence vying to control strategic resources and trading routes. To paraphrase an apocryphal quote, “We live in interesting times.” Yet those who are least equipped to enjoy them will once again be the ones worst affected, unless we collectively chart a different course.



LA FORMATION CONTINUE

New Executive Master in International Relations

Interview with
Mohammad-Mahmoud
Ould Mohamedou,
Deputy Director,
Director of Executive
Education and Professor,
International History
and Politics

The Institute's Executive Education programme has recently launched an Executive Master in International Relations. What are its objectives and strengths?

The Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) in International Relations (IR) allows participants to acquire in-depth, up-to-date academic knowledge on contemporary international affairs and the ability to apply that knowledge practically. The course stands at the heart of the Institute's Executive Education Programme. It allows participants to benefit from the near-century-long expertise of the Institute, which was set up in 1927 to train practitioners of global affairs, making it the oldest school in Europe dedicated to international relations. Against the background of this pedigree, the MAS in IR offers flexibility in taking the ECTS credit-gaining core course on international relations and completing the requirements with a selection from seven other main courses offered – on negotiation and policy-making, advocacy, environmental governance, development policies, conflict and fragility management, gender and development and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) investing, as well as shorter courses on geopolitics, diversity and digital transformation.

As Director of this new course, can you tell us more about the five-day core course in international relations?

The core course of the Master in Advanced Studies is the cornerstone of the MAS in IR degree. Anchored in the five academic disciplines taught at the Institute – Anthropology

and Sociology, International Economics, International History and Politics, International Law and International Relations/Political Science – the course provides modules on each of these disciplines' outlook on international affairs. These modules are taught by senior professors from the faculty of these disciplinary departments, allowing participants a first-rate exchange with renowned specialised scholars. We delve into theories of international relations, the role of law, anthropological approaches, international organisations and multilateralism, development and international economics, global health and contemporary security challenges. In addition, the course features a session on diplomacy, as well as a workshop on the methodologies of international affairs.

What skills do professionals need in order to face challenges in their careers, and how does the Institute help them acquire those skills?

The MAS in IR is designed specifically to empower current and future professionals to become both knowledgeable and efficient in their engagement with today's complex, fast-paced and ever-changing global affairs. We place emphasis on critical thinking and applied policy skills. The personalised and modular journey is also strengthened by the fact that the master's topics are aligned with the contemporary themes of the SDGs, making the learning all the time focused on solving current issues.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/executive-education/programmes/international-relations



LA FORMATION CONTINUE

New Partnership between the Geneva Graduate Institute and the International Institute for Management Development (IMD)

On 29 August a new partnership was signed between the Geneva Graduate Institute and the International Institute for Management Development (IMD) at the occasion of an event attended by alumni from both institutions. Its aim is to develop synergies and join the institutions' expertise in international relations and leadership.

The strategic partnership means that selected courses and/or electives will count towards each institution's respective programmes. This will enable faculty from both institutions to participate in each other's activities as well as pursuing the development of a joint programme focused on leadership and international relations, in addition to the development of joint publications and events.

"Today, great strategic leadership calls for a nuanced understanding of geopolitics and complex global challenges. Through this new partnership with IMD, at the Geneva Graduate Institute, we are looking forward to harnessing our complementarities. Preparing a generation of responsible decision-makers for a radically uncertain environment implies a mix of critical thinking and engagement that our two institutions, together, are well equipped to nurture", said Marie-Laure Salles, Director of the Institute.

"From the climate emergency to the economic disruption caused by the war in Ukraine and soaring tensions in the Taiwan Strait, geopolitics are increasingly impacting business decisions. Through this partnership, we can draw on the thought leadership and academic excellence offered by both IMD and the Geneva Graduate Institute to equip leaders from all backgrounds with the cross-disciplinary skills needed to move towards a more prosperous, sustainable and inclusive society," said Jean-François Manzoni, President of IMD.

To celebrate this new partnership, during the official signing ceremony a panel discussion took place on the future of geopolitics and diplomacy in turbulent times.

■ **IMD is an independent academic institution with Swiss roots and global reach, founded over 75 years ago by business leaders for business leaders. Since its creation, IMD has been a pioneering force in developing leaders who transform organisations and contribute to society. Based in Lausanne and Singapore, IMD strives to be the trusted learning partner of choice for ambitious individuals and organisations worldwide.**

IMD President
Jean-François
Manzoni and
Geneva Graduate
Institute Director
Marie-Laure Salles

The Institute Welcomes Eight New Professors

Assistant Professor,
International Relations/
Political Science with a
courtesy appointment
in the Anthropology and
Sociology Department
and Academic Director
of NORRAG
**PhD, Columbia
University**



CHANWOONG BAEK

Before joining the Graduate Institute, Chanwoong Baek was Postdoctorol Fellow at the University of Oslo's Faculty of Educational Sciences. His current research critically assesses the claims made about “evidence-based policymaking” from a comparative and international perspective. In particular, he examines the social dynamics of legitimacy and power on the local, national and global levels, employing both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Assistant Professor,
Anthropology and
Sociology, and Pictet
Chair in Finance and
Development
PhD, Brown University



KRISTEN MCNEILL

Kristen McNeill’s research interests centre on social drivers of economic and financial behaviours, gender inequalities, and international development, using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. She completed a PhD in Sociology at Brown University, as well as an MPA from New York University and a BA from McGill University. Her current research in the context of micro-lending examines how nominally gender-neutral processes governing access to financial resources can be profoundly gendered in practice.

Assistant Professor,
International Law
**PhD, Melbourne Law
School, University of
Melbourne**



NEHA MISHRA

Neha Mishra was previously Lecturer in Law at the Australian National University and Postdoctoral Fellow at the National University of Singapore. Her PhD thesis, which investigates how international trade agreements apply to cross-border data flows, was awarded the 2019 Harold Luntz Graduate Research Prize for the best thesis in Melbourne Law School, and the 2020 University of Melbourne Chancellor’s Prize for Excellence in the PhD Thesis. Neha has also held visiting research positions at the Max Planck Institute in Luxembourg and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Neha is a dual qualified lawyer and has previously worked with top-tier law firms in India and the UK.

Assistant Professor,
International Relations/
Political Science
**PhD, Stanford
University**



CHRISTIANA PARREIRA

Christiana Parreira’s research focuses on the role of local political institutions and actors in governance, looking primarily at post-conflict contexts in the Middle East and North Africa. Her forthcoming book project examines how local governments and elections facilitated predatory state-building practices in Lebanon. In other research, she examines determinants of governance quality and distributive outcomes in Lebanon, Iraq, and elsewhere in the Global South. Before joining the Graduate Institute, she served as a Postdoctoral Associate in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University and a Predoctoral Associate at the Harvard Kennedy School’s Middle East Initiative.

Assistant Professor,
International Law
PhD, Louvain University



ALICE PIRLOT

Alice Pirlot will be joining the Geneva Graduate Institute in February 2023. She was previously a Senior Research Fellow in Law at the Oxford University Centre for Business Taxation and a Research Fellow of the National Belgian Fund for Scientific Research (FNRS) at the University of Louvain. Alice’s main expertise lies at the intersection between tax, environmental, EU and international trade law. Her publications cover a wide range of topics, including carbon border adjustment measures, the taxation of the energy sector, and the interactions between tax policy and the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

Adjunct Professor,
International Law
**PhD, Pompeu Fabra
University**



NEUS TORBISCO-CASALS

Neus Torbisco-Casals is Senior Research Fellow at the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy and a faculty member at the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights. She is also Associate Professor of Law at Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona. She has been a Postdoctoral Researcher at Queen’s University, Canada, and the London School of Economics, UK; a Hauser Fellow at New York University School of Law; and a Visiting Professor at Harvard Law School. Neus’s primary research areas are human rights, cultural diversity and identity claims; minority and indigenous peoples’ rights; antidiscrimination law and policy; and gender and race equality.

Assistant Professor,
International Relations/
Political Science
**PhD, The New School
for Social Research**



MICHELLE D. WEITZEL

At The New School, Michelle Weitzel trained in comparative politics and international relations and specialised in the political systems of the Middle East and North Africa. Prior to joining the Institute, she was a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Basel (2020–2022). Her research centres on violence, conflict, critical security studies, and affect and emotions in politics. Her current book project, entitled “Sound Politics: Affective Governance and the State”, draws on case studies in Palestine, Israel, Algeria, France and Morocco. In other research, she looks at the intersection of time, perception and mobility.

Assistant Professor,
Anthropology and
Sociology
**PhD, University of
Cambridge**



UMUT YILDIRIM

Umut Yildirim is an anthropologist working at the intersection of political, medical and environmental anthropology with an ethnographic perspective from the Armenian/Kurdish region in Turkey. Her research is available on platforms such as *Jadaliyya* (2022), *Current Anthropology* (2021, 2023 forthcoming), and *Anthropological Theory* (2019). Previously, she was affiliated with the Center for Near Eastern Studies, UCLA; the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology at Freie Universität Berlin; and the Institute for Cultural Inquiry (ICI) Berlin. She also taught political anthropology at Bilgi, Bogaziçi and Sabanci Universities in Istanbul, Turkey.

L'ENSEIGNEMENT

ANSO@10: Celebrating a Decade of Anthropology and Sociology at the Institute

The Geneva Graduate Institute's Department of Anthropology and Sociology (ANSO) celebrated its 10th anniversary during the 2021–2022 academic year. Professor Julie Billaud walked us through the department's achievements, learning, innovations and future.

Within ANSO's decade of learning and sharing, what has the department achieved?

What we are primarily celebrating this year is the very existence of anthropology and sociology at the Geneva Graduate Institute, two disciplines that were not as well represented 10 years ago. We are proud to have been able to assert the relevance of our disciplines for international studies and to have attracted so many students willing to study the "international" from a grounded perspective.

What can future students look forward to learning from our master and doctoral programmes in anthropology and sociology?

The department offers a wide range of courses that address global issues, using the unique theoretical insights and methods of anthropology and sociology. Our master and PhD programmes prepare students to carry out their own empirical research and help them develop critical perspectives on how global problems are experienced differently around the world.

Have there been innovations within the learning/teaching processes that have evolved the curricula from 2011 until now?

A few years ago, the department abandoned its initial focus on "development" and was renamed "the Department of Anthropology and Sociology" so as to better capture the full scope and diversity of research carried out by its faculty



and students. Indeed, ANSO contributes to transversal debates on globalisation from the vantage point of various geographic locations.

What makes studying transnational processes at ANSO unique is the possibility of immersing oneself in International Geneva and interacting with the various actors involved in global governance. Students not only learn in the classroom or the Library, but also through socialisation in the surrounding international environment.

Interdisciplinarity is another major strength of the Institute, and it enables ANSO researchers to engage in broader scholarly discussions, extending beyond those of their specific comfort zones.

What is ANSO most looking forward to in the coming decade?

In the coming decade, we are looking forward to further strengthening our teaching and research activities in the domains that we consider our main areas of expertise. We are committed to continuing to experiment with research methods and theories, and to reinforcing the intellectual dynamism that characterises our relatively small but nevertheless dynamic community.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/anso

L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Teaching as Collective Knowledge Production: Examining International Law's Past to Reimagine Its Future

JANNE NIJMAN

Professor, International Law



staff will develop further their lawyering skills with us at the legal office or in court, but we want them to come to us with a sense of how the law develops, how it plays out, how it is mobilised and contested." When we critically discuss texts by Vitoria, Grotius, Hobbes, Feichtner or Koskenniemi, we do not engage with texts written by and for philosophers, but with texts produced by legal advisors and practitioners. Vitoria was a 16th century advisor to the Spanish king on the colonisation of the Americas. Hugo Grotius was a corporate lawyer for the first part of his professional life. Koskenniemi emphasises that he is writing as an international lawyer coming from practice. Theory and practice are inseparable and this is clearly visible when dealing with international law's past.

My interest in the history of international law and institutions has been driven increasingly by a certain dissatisfaction, and I recognise this with many of our students. However, I am convinced that we should stay away from an attitude of cynicism and nihilism, especially with such talented students as ours. We all know how easy it is to go on that path. Fortunately, being in Geneva precisely invites *re-imagination*. Past and present international law and institutions may be given to us, but they may not be as "given" as we perceive them to be. Seeing their contingency makes us aware of human agency, of how our thinking and choices matter. Doing history creates space for the re-imagination of international law that benefits from collective knowledge production.

Teaching at the Geneva Graduate Institute is a great privilege. It is intellectually rewarding as well as personally enriching. The diversity in nationalities and backgrounds that our students bring to class paired with their high academic level allows for graduate seminars to be spaces for a genuine exchange of (world) views and experiences, and for collective knowledge production.

This is all the more true in a course on history and theory of international law, which studies international legal thought since the 16th century. For one, when discussing primary and secondary texts in class, the students and I examine how the conceptual legal toolbox is developed through time, often with a view to legitimising forms of colonisation and domination. Together, we contextualise historical legal texts, examine the political issues at stake and question our own and each other's often deeply rooted assumptions, beliefs and understandings of international law. This requires the classroom to be a trusted space: I am always moved by how carefully students listen to each other and how respectfully they engage with one other.

Dealing with international law's past is not merely a theoretical exercise. Practitioners often tell me: "Our new

Le professeur émérite Marcelo Kohen candidat à la Cour internationale de Justice (CIJ)



Vous êtes de nationalité argentine et avez enseigné le droit international à l'Institut durant 27 ans. Pourquoi vous présentez-vous à l'élection à la CIJ comme candidat du groupe national argentin de la Cour permanente d'arbitrage ?

Les candidatures à la CIJ ne proviennent pas des gouvernements, mais des groupes nationaux de la Cour permanente d'arbitrage, qui sont constitués par des juristes de chaque pays. L'élection du 4 novembre vise à désigner le juge qui complètera le mandat du juge Cançado Trindade, décédé en mai dernier. Il s'agit d'assurer la représentation de l'Amérique latine. Le groupe national argentin a été le premier à me nommer pour ce poste, mais bien d'autres ont suivi, en provenance de différents continents.

Parmi les diverses responsabilités que vous avez exercées, quelles sont celles qui sont un véritable atout pour votre candidature ?

Dans mon activité universitaire, j'ai enseigné le règlement juridictionnel des différends internationaux pendant des décennies et écrit abondamment sur la CIJ en général et sur un grand nombre de ses décisions en particulier. Comme avocat et conseil de différents États, j'ai comparu devant la Cour à plusieurs reprises. Comme membre de tribunaux internationaux d'arbitrage, j'ai rempli la fonction juridictionnelle du tiers impartial qui doit décider conformément au droit. J'ai été l'un des fondateurs de la Société latino-américaine de droit international et son premier

directeur général. Enfin, comme membre de l'Institut de droit international, et son secrétaire général depuis 2015, j'ai participé à beaucoup de travaux portant sur le règlement des différends et la fonction judiciaire. Cela m'a aussi permis d'avoir une connaissance personnelle de bon nombre de juges de la Cour, ce qui est un atout précieux car les membres de la Cour doivent agir dans le respect mutuel et la collégialité.

Quelle est votre expérience de travail à la CIJ et sur quels types de dossiers avez-vous travaillé ?

J'ai participé à une douzaine d'affaires devant la Cour portant sur des questions très diverses de droit international comme des différends territoriaux et maritimes, la protection de l'environnement, l'interprétation des traités, la responsabilité des États et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes – autant de questions sur lesquelles j'ai également enseigné à l'Institut.

Comment voyez-vous le futur de la CIJ ?

Pendant longtemps, seules des questions mineures étaient portées devant la Cour. Aujourd'hui, des questions d'importance fondamentale y arrivent. En période de crise des relations internationales à tous les niveaux, le recours à la fonction juridictionnelle apparaît comme un outil essentiel. Garantir la primauté de la règle de droit est la seule véritable manière de régler les différends et de faire face aux nombreux défis de la société internationale.

Cet entretien a été mis sous presse avant l'élection à la CIJ du 4 novembre.



From Ukraine to Switzerland

Interview with Daryna Abbakumova, Visiting Professor and Researcher

Daryna Abbakumova, PhD, is Associate Professor of the International Law Department at Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University in Kharkiv, Ukraine. She is Visiting Professor and Researcher at the Department of International Law under a grant from the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF).

What are some of the challenges you faced in coming to Switzerland and also in leaving Ukraine?

Moving to a new country is always a challenge. It is important to understand that Ukrainian citizens are not refugees, they don't have such a status. According to Directive 2001/55/EC, implemented by the EU Council on 4 March 2022, Ukrainians are granted "temporary protection", not refugee status. Switzerland follows the same approach. There is a big difference between these statuses, both in the process of obtaining rights and in the rights granted to the persons concerned.

I think the main challenge faced by all Ukrainians leaving the country was queuing at the border, as millions of people fled from Russian shelling.

What are some of your activities at the Geneva Graduate Institute?

With the SNSF scholarship, I have the opportunity not only to conduct research, but also to develop and teach two courses within the Department of International Law. The first course is called "Diplomatic and Consular Law".

The second is related to Russian military aggression against Ukraine in terms of international humanitarian law and international criminal law. Issues related to Russia's war against Ukraine are now topical not only for my country and for Europe, but for the whole international community.

As a researcher and now as a scholar at risk, has being forced to flee your home altered your research perspectives?

Yes, of course. Previously, my academic interests included the law of international organisations and the protection of human rights. Now the focus will shift to aspects related to international humanitarian law, international criminal law and bringing Russia as well as its top leaders to international criminal responsibility.

What is something you would like people to know about the current war in Ukraine?

It is very important that people around the world understand that Russia has committed and continues to commit a full-scale military aggression against a European democratic country – Ukraine. Now, the Ukrainian military forces are showing great courage and resistance. Ukraine effectively defends not only itself, but also European borders, European values and Europe as a whole. This war is not only against Ukraine, but also against the whole of Europe and the entire civilised world.

Intégrer l'action, la recherche et l'enseignement

Rencontre avec Dominique Rossier, chargée d'enseignement



Dominique Rossier est responsable pour l'Afrique francophone du programme académique de formation continue en politiques et pratiques du développement. Elle a été récemment nommée présidente de la Fédération genevoise de coopération (FGC).

Pouvez-vous nous en dire plus sur votre parcours ?

Je suis juriste et urbaniste de formation. Après une expérience professionnelle à Genève – j’ai participé à l’élaboration de l’Image directrice du quartier des Grottes – je suis partie vivre en tant que coopérante dans différents pays sahéliens. J’ai travaillé dans des cabinets techniques dans le domaine de l’aménagement du territoire et je me suis spécialisée dans la conduite des processus participatifs. Dès mon retour en Suisse, j’ai repris des études de développement à l’Institut et, parallèlement, je me suis engagée comme bénévole à la FGC. Je me suis toujours sentie à l’aise à l’Institut, car j’ai pu valoriser toute mon expérience de terrain dans le cadre de mon enseignement, en particulier dans le programme « politiques et pratiques du développement » (DPP), qui réunit chaque année un public de professionnels expérimentés.

Vous avez travaillé bénévolement de nombreuses années à la FGC, notamment en qualité de coprésidente de la commission technique. En quoi cette expérience contribue-t-elle à nourrir votre enseignement ?

Pendant mes huit ans à la coprésidence de la commission technique, j’ai pu prendre connaissance et analyser des projets en lien avec les principaux défis de la coopération au développement. Les échanges avec les organisations

membres de la FGC qui déposent les projets ont été particulièrement riches et stimulants. Toute cette expérience a été la bienvenue pour enrichir mes cours. J’ai toujours senti l’importance et l’intérêt d’intégrer l’action, la recherche et l’enseignement. Les étudiant·e·s sont intéressé·e·s par la mise en relation de la théorie avec des situations concrètes, qui reflètent les problématiques qu’ils et elles rencontreront dans leur vie professionnelle.

Quels sont les priorités et les défis actuels de la coopération internationale ?

Les défis sont immenses et amplifiés par les situations de crises sécuritaires, politiques et climatiques des pays concernés. Deux défis me semblent particulièrement importants. Le premier est de contribuer à une meilleure appropriation des politiques et des activités du développement par les acteurs du Sud. Nous progressons dans cette direction, mais il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour consolider cette *ownership*. Notre rôle est d’appuyer des dynamiques existantes et de nous aligner sur les priorités et les agendas de nos partenaires. Le second défi concerne la cohérence de nos actions en matière de coopération de manière générale. L’objectif est de servir le développement avec comme boussole les objectifs de développement durable qui peuvent nous réunir et nous servir de référence pour harmoniser nos stratégies.

Where the Water Runs Deep

Interview with Students from the Water Initiative



The Geneva Graduate Institute counts a number of student initiatives addressing a variety of global challenges. One such, the Water Initiative, aims to raise awareness about water-related issues and connect students to the larger international discussion on life’s most precious resource.

What is the Water Initiative?

Created in 2018 by a group of passionate students, the Water Initiative aims to raise awareness about water-related issues and provide students and young professionals a platform to exchange ideas as well as research and career opportunities in the field of water governance, water diplomacy and natural resource management.

The initiative is a platform where knowledge and research around water are disseminated and discussed through different approaches and disciplines, ranging from panel discussions and workshops to art installations. We also act as a bridge to a wide network of professionals and academics in national and international water governance.

What has the Initiative achieved in its history?

The initiative has significantly advanced in creating awareness about water-related issues and developed networks with different universities and organisations external to the Institute.

The initiative has: undertaken joint research on infrastructural violence in the water systems; worked with the Geneva Peace Week to encourage conversations around water and peace; forged collaborations with external organisations such the Global Shapers

Community, organised lake clean-ups around Lake Geneva; and more.

The initiative has also provided opportunities for young professionals to meet and greet practitioners from international organisations in the form of career coffee chats. This is a wonderful space for students to connect to recruiters and project managers on a one-on-one basis and ask for career advice.

What’s next for the Water Initiative?

We have a vision to reach out to many educational and professional organisations for collaborations and so be able to provide a platform to the students to exchange and advocate their ideas and opinions in International Geneva. Continuing our long-standing relation with the Global Shapers and the Swiss Water Partnership Youth, we want to undertake long-term student-led projects in the upcoming semesters.

Why is creating awareness around water so important?

Even if all the countries achieve their stated targets of the Paris Agreement, we will still bear the risk of becoming four degrees warmer by the end of the century. Water is survival and any disturbance can lead to climate catastrophes, which could jeopardise the lives of billions of species and humans on the planet.

The water crisis is the root cause of several environmental problems and it must be addressed by increasing youth engagement in policy processes and implementation.

→ www.ourgisa.com/waterinitiative

Tim MARSHALL/
Unsplash



LES ÉTUDIANT·E·S

Students Learn about Career Opportunities with the World Bank Group

This year, the Geneva Graduate Institute's Career Services had the privilege of organising an on-campus visit from the World Bank Group (WBG), which presented their Young Professionals Program (YPP) to our students. YPP gives young professionals from around the world a starting point for a career within the World Bank Group, which includes the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA).

Valma Aguilar, YPP Manager, Iman Kadir, Communications and Outreach Specialist, and Marietou Toure Diack, Recruitment Analyst/Coordinator, were present on behalf of the WBG.

"The best part about meeting students was learning about their dynamic work/internship experiences in Geneva", noted Iman Kadir. "The Geneva Graduate Institute's location and proximity to international organisations provide great opportunities for students to contribute to the development agenda."

Online, the session was joined by Beulah Chelvah, a Young Professional, Natal Donnalioia from Cinfo Switzerland and David Lügt, a recent master graduate in International Law and former Career Services Student Assistant who is now Social Media Consultant for the World Bank and who moderated the online questions.

International Economics Professor Cédric Tille also attended the presentation.

"Such events are very important and they provide our students with a complete view of the organisation", he said. "While students on the job market clearly benefit the most,

the presentation also provides students at an earlier stage of their work with knowledge of an institution that they may not have considered at first. Having alumni of the Institute present was a plus."

The WBG spent the following two days meeting with students individually. With the help of Patricia Arnold, Senior Coordinator for the Centre for Finance and Development (CFD), the group selected 30 students for one-on-one meetings. During the meetings, a WBG representative made individualised recommendations to the students' future applications.

"The most valuable part for me was the one-on-one discussions with the representatives", said master student Obiananma Agbim. "With a hard copy of my essay draft and CV, the WBG representative was able to work through those documents and offered constructive feedback."

The visit was a great success and both the students and the WBG were pleased with the outcome.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/career



LES ÉTUDIANT·E·S

La gouvernance du loup en Suisse: du réensauvagement à la cohabitation

Hugo Brandam, étudiant de master en études du développement

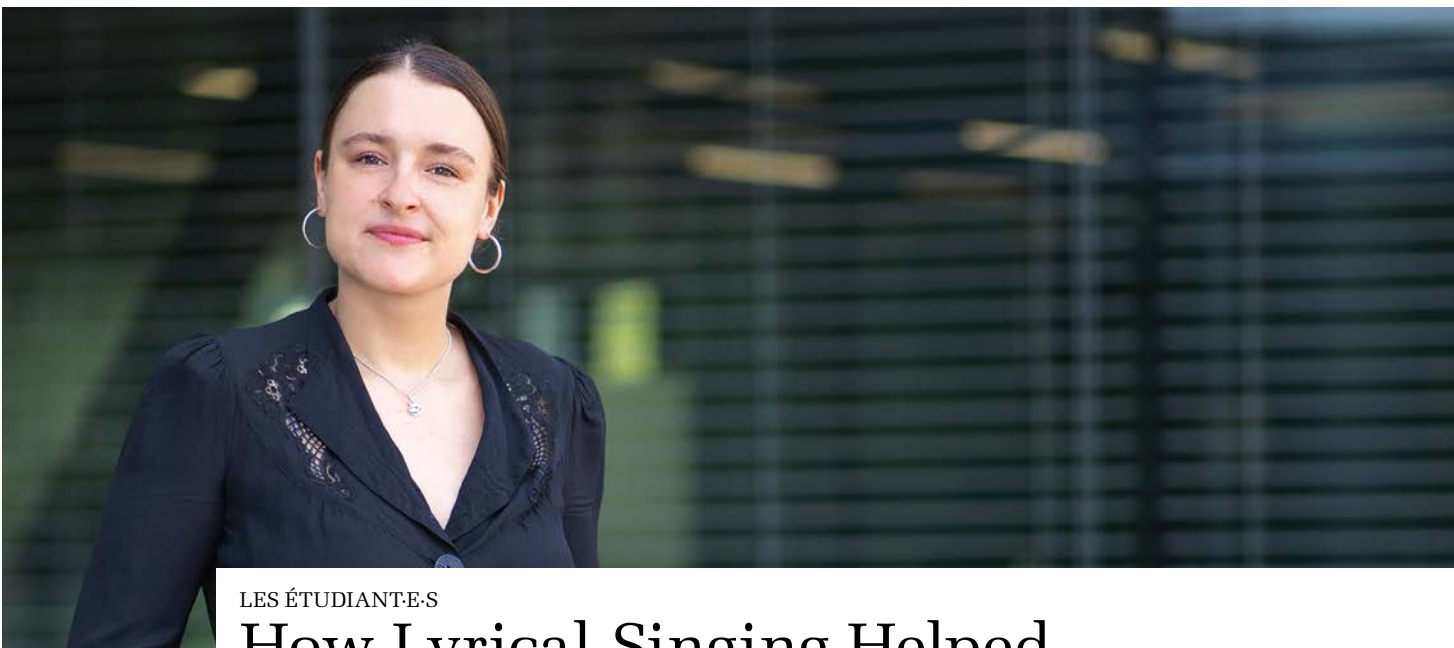
Au cours de mon enfance et de mon adolescence, j'ai été élevé dans deux territoires ruraux français où vivent les loups: les Hautes-Pyrénées et le Vaucluse. Mon arrière-grand-père était berger de troupeaux de bovins au village de Beyrède, et j'ai baigné dans la culture du monde rural entre agriculture et industrie. Je crois avoir hérité de ma famille, et plus particulièrement de mon père, une attention particulière envers la nature et le vivant qui nous entoure. Écrire ma thèse de master sur les problématiques occasionnées par le loup dans le système pastoral était une manière de rendre hommage à cet héritage tout en découvrant le territoire dans lequel j'étudie depuis maintenant deux ans.

Depuis la fin du XX^e siècle, la Suisse fait face à un conflit de conservation nouveau: le retour du loup gris. Alors que la Confédération arbitre entre les activités du système pastoral et la protection de l'espèce, les dommages sur les animaux de rente ne cessent de s'accroître dans les alpages. Devant ce constat, j'ai décidé d'utiliser le territoire du Jura vaudois comme étude de cas pour analyser la gouvernance du loup en Suisse comme un enjeu public d'ordre socio-économique, culturel et politique selon les différents processus décisionnels, acteurs, normes et contextes sociaux.

L'objectif était de participer à une meilleure compréhension du conflit dans le Jura afin de mettre en lumière les bonnes pratiques qui mènent à la cohabitation entre l'humain et le loup en Suisse. Pour cela, je me suis formé auprès de l'Organisation pour la protection des alpages (OPPAL) pour assister les bergers et bergères à la surveillance nocturne de troupeaux bovins près du col du Marchairuz et de la vallée de Joux. Équipé de jumelles thermiques et d'un kit d'effarouchement, j'ai passé huit nuits à effrayer les loups – en binôme

tout de même! J'ai ainsi pu m'entretenir directement avec toutes les parties prenantes du conflit et me rendre compte qu'une «voie du milieu» était envisageable entre les pro-loups et anti-loups.

Le loup représente bien plus qu'un simple problème de conservation. Il est devenu symptomatique de la difficulté des sociétés contemporaines occidentales à intégrer les risques et aléas naturels dans leur système de développement. La mise en place d'une cohabitation pérenne entre l'humain et le loup pourrait servir d'exemple et conduire à l'inculcation de nouvelles pratiques et comportements afin de cohabiter avec d'autres espèces anciennement considérées comme nuisibles, telles que l'ours. L'évolution des mentalités et des politiques publiques pour la résolution de conflits de conservation offre ainsi de l'espoir pour s'adapter aux problématiques que pose le changement climatique et limiter le réchauffement de la planète à 1,5 °C.



LES ÉTUDIANT·E·S

How Lyrical Singing Helped Me Find My Voice

Lara Twerenbold, Second-Year Master Student in International Affairs

“What is possible in art becomes thinkable in life.” – Brian Eno

Growing up, I was a very shy kid, which is not necessarily the first thing that comes to mind when you think of a singer. Whenever I met new people, I would withdraw and observe what was happening from a safe distance. I felt most comfortable in places I already knew with people I had known for a long time.

But from an early age I also had a strong interest in the world, in how it worked and what it looked like outside the four walls of my home. The more I learned about how the world works, the injustices that characterise it, the more I realised that I wanted to make a difference and help make the world a better place for everyone. And the older I got, the clearer my vision became of what this world should look like and how I would contribute to making this utopia become a reality. Consequently, choosing to study international affairs was an easy decision for me.

Yet, how was I supposed to enter the field of international affairs given my fear of being judged and speaking in front of strangers? It is partly thanks to my musical training that I overcame this fear and learned to approach new challenges with enthusiasm and open-mindedness. As an artist, you are at your most vulnerable when you display your voice on a stage in front of hundreds of strangers, just as you are also vulnerable when you stand up for what you believe in. In both instances, you are showing a very personal side of yourself, your ideas and your values. Whether you are singing on stage or fighting for your beliefs, it is your voice that shines through.

You may wonder how lyrical singing and international relations go together, but for me, I could not do one without the other. Music makes you dream. It can transcend borders and bring people together. The emotions and passion released through music know no boundaries and have the power to touch people from all walks of life and all corners of the world. In music, a more connected, joyful world is possible, so why wouldn't it be the same in reality?

My singing has helped me find my voice, literally. Not only have I learned to speak in front of strangers and advocate for a world I believe in, but I have also recognised a beauty in our world that gives me hope for my work in international affairs. At the same time, my studies at the Institute and my understanding of the world have helped me become a better artist, one who understands the power music can hold. Whether I am on stage as a singer, or speaking about my field of study, I have found that my voice is both vulnerable and powerful at the same time; a voice that may one day help make the world a better place, whether on an operatic or international stage.



LES ÉTUDIANT·E·S

Ask a Librarian

With 4,500 square metres of space available to the public, not to mention its vast array of books, documents, periodicals and archives, and films, the Library is central to research and academics at the Geneva Graduate Institute. Pierre-André Fink, Deputy Head of the Library, explains what makes our Library unique and how it provides a key element to students' success.

What sets the Institute's Library apart from those at other universities?

The Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Library is a modern library with a unique and elegant architecture. Specialised in international and development studies, it is located in the heart of International Geneva, close to major international organisations and, in particular, to the UN library, which is a key partner.

Why are libraries like ours so important for students?

Our Library is a place of knowledge and exchange. Its thoughtful and comfortable design makes it a calm and pleasant place that favours concentration and study. In addition to a rich and varied collection, we offer face-to-face or online learning workshops (Zotero, open access, research data) to help develop the students' information literacy.

We have also co-designed, with the University of Geneva, a specific programme for PhD students to strengthen their digital skills. This gives them the opportunity to learn about tools such as nodegoat, NVivo, Python, or be introduced to network analysis with Gephi.

Since the Library collaborates directly with the professors, research centres and student initiatives, it offers collections and services that respond to their specific needs. This not only

is in line with the mission of the Institute, but it also supports students' intellectual, critical and analytical development to help them succeed.

What resources can students hope to find?

The Library offers valuable collections that reflect the disciplines taught at the Institute and the research subjects.

In 2020, our Library joined the Swiss Library Service Platform (SLSP), which includes 490 Swiss academic libraries. Thanks to this important network and its swisscovery catalogue, users have access to over 40 million books, periodicals, journals and non-book materials, as well as over 3 million electronic articles.

We also offer a varied collection of films, graphic novels and board games, and lend recording equipment to make podcasts, for example.

Finally, we are in charge of institutional archives and special collections, which are important sources for interested researchers. In this way, the Library guarantees access to the past, present and future of the Institute, which will celebrate its centenary in 2027.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/library



LES ALUMNI-AE

1927–2027 | Our Alumni·ae, Our History: 100 Years of Leadership

SWITZERLAND, Geneva. Patricia Espinosa, former Executive Secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), with students at the inauguration of the Hall of Fame during the annual Alumni Reunion of the Geneva Graduate Institute. 17 September 2022. Éric ROSET

From Nobel and Pulitzer Prize winners to diplomats, United Nations Secretary-Generals, presidents, entrepreneurs, field workers, professors, researchers and more, the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies has been giving its students the foundational means to positively impact the world since 1927.

Established following World War I and with a desire to increase diplomacy worldwide, the Institut de hautes études internationales (HEI), or the Graduate Institute of International Studies, would be the first institution of its kind entirely dedicated to the study of international affairs.

In 2008, HEI merged with the Institut universitaire d'études du développement (IUED), which was formed in 1961 to tackle questions of decolonisation. Formerly known as the Geneva African Institute, IUED examined development issues through an interdisciplinary lens, applying anthropology, ecology, development economics and political sociology, while linking theory with practice.

Now, with the integration of both international and development studies under one roof, the Geneva Graduate Institute is a pioneer in the exploration of global issues, opening creative spaces for diverse communities and fostering the understanding and engagement essential for a peaceful, equitable and sustainable world.

Since its beginnings in 1927 until now, the Institute has grown an international network of over 20,000 alumnae and alumni, who are using the tools they learned during their studies to find solutions to some of the world's most complex issues, rewriting the future for not only their own generation, but for those to come. As in the words of author Margaret Atwood, "in the end, we'll all become stories".

During the annual Alumni Reunion, held on 17 September 2022, the Institute unveiled its inaugural Hall of Fame, which serves as an audio-visual collection of some of the Geneva Graduate Institute's most illustrious former students.

Certain alumnae and alumni included in the Hall of Fame were present for the unveiling and participated in a discussion revisiting their stories and lifetime achievements. They included: Ms Micheline Calmy-Rey, former President

of the Swiss Confederation; Ms Yan Lan, Managing Director of Lazard Bank; Mr Jacques Moreillon, former Director General of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); Ms Patricia Espinosa, former Executive Secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC); and Mr Abdulqawi Yusuf, former President of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Ms Jessica Byron-Reid, Director of the Institute of International Relations at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, moderated the panel.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/alumni

LES ALUMNI-AE

Interview with Ting Fang

Protection Delegate,
International Committee of the Red Cross
(ICRC) in Nigeria and Co-Vice-President
of the Alumni·ae Association

Could you briefly trace your career path?

On the eve of the Global Financial Crisis, I began my first job in eastern China as an elevator engineer. Disappointed by corruption and fuelled by the financial stimulus, I left my job and signed up to become an HIV/AIDS prevention volunteer in Malawi, where I immediately fell in love with development work and decided to study at the Institute.

While studying in Geneva, I was lucky enough to intern at the World Trade Organization and a climate-focused think tank. However, upon graduation I had little success in entering the humanitarian world – with which I felt a calling. Following advice from Jacques Forster, former Director of the Institute, I headed to Yemen to gain exposure, learn the language and look for career opportunities.

A year in Sanaa, the Yemeni capital, brought me abundant friendships, know-how in humanitarian work and a bit of Arabic. I left the country before the full-fledged war began in 2015 and moved to Beijing, rebooting my career exploration. After two experiences remotely related to international development, on engineering for the Belt and Road Initiative and globalisation research, I was pulled back to the "Geneva orbit", where I joined the ICRC in 2017, first in Beijing and now in Nigeria



How did your studies at the Geneva Graduate Institute help you in your career?

First, I am grateful to the Institute for my admission – several programmes that I applied for did not accept students with an engineering background. The academic formation at the Institute not only enabled my career switch but also afforded me membership to a global network of over 20,000 alumni and alumnae.

Secondly, I appreciate the wide range of courses and the freedom to shape one's own learning at the Institute. Its interdisciplinary philosophy helped me approach the complex world in a comprehensive manner.

Finally, one is totally transformed simply by being immersed in such a diverse, cosmopolitan student body; I believe I learned as much from my peers as from my professors. Upon leaving the Institute, I found I was much better at respecting differences, conducting constructive debate and putting trust in humanity and collaboration – qualities that have been tremendously helpful for operating effectively in an international, rapidly changing and collaborative environment like the ICRC.

What advice could you give our students?

- Do not be afraid to take risks as long as they are in line with your passion, curiosity and belief.
- Planning for the future is generally good, just do not overthink.
- Career "derailment" happens. Keep calm, focus on solving problems (or find alternative paths).
- Step out of your comfort zone, and develop diversity in your career and competencies.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/alumni



LES ALUMNI-AE

Meet Brindusa Burrows

Founder & CEO of Ground_Up Project,
Visiting Lecturer at the Geneva Graduate Institute
and Member of the Alumni-ae Association

Could you briefly trace your career path?

Since graduating in 2005, I have always followed the public good purpose as a guide to my work. I built international experience working in business and corporate affairs, international inter-governmental organisations and global think tanks, and as a founder and entrepreneur. I was an Associate Director at the World Economic Forum, where I designed and led a multi-country programme for financing the green economy under the G20. For the past eight years I have been running my own company – Ground_Up Project – where we help small and mid-size (SMEs) impact enterprises from emerging markets prepare for and meet with international investors.

In 2014, I created a research centre that provided fundraising capacity building for climate-focused small businesses in multiple locations around the world, as part of a programme with the University of Oxford, UAT Barcelona, IASS Potsdam and Global Climate Forum in Berlin.

In recent years, I advised the development of the first sustainability strategy for the International Olympic Committee. I am also an adviser for the Romanian Business Leaders Foundation and an Advisory Board member of the Swiss Economic Forum Circular Economy Community.

Since last year, I have also been a Visiting Lecturer at the Geneva Graduate Institute, where I teach an introductory, practical course on sustainable development goal (SDG) finance in the fall semester for the Master in International and Development Studies (MINT) programme.

How did your studies at the Geneva Graduate Institute help you in your career?

Today the Institute covers a wide range of courses and degree pathways on international relations and sustainable development. At the time, I was lucky enough to pursue those two degrees independently, not knowing they would eventually come together under the same roof!

I was greatly influenced by my professors, in particular Urs Luterbacher, who ultimately inspired me to choose a career focused on addressing the critical systemic issue of climate change. I owe him a debt of gratitude for opening my eyes to this issue at a time when climate change rarely made the headlines.

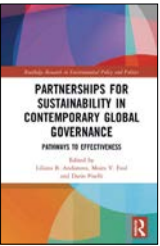
What advice could you give our students?

Take advantage of your time at the Institute to sharpen and practice your critical ability. When you go out in the professional world, carry this healthy dose of thinking independently, hold yourself responsible and ask from others that they do the same. The world is changing at a very fast pace and much of the old paradigm needs to change. You – as us all – are each individually responsible for doing the right thing in the world and taking action for our collective future.

→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/alumni

LA RECHERCHE

Nouvelles publications

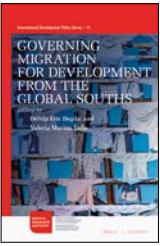


Routledge.
2022. 308 p.

Partnerships for Sustainability in Contemporary Global Governance: Pathways to Effectiveness

Edited by Liliiana B. **Andonova**,
Moira V. **Faul** and Dario **Piselli**

This book investigates the goals, ideals and realities of sustainability partnerships and offers a theoretical framework to help disentangle the multiple and interrelated pathways that shape their effectiveness. Partnerships are ubiquitous in research and policy discussions about sustainability and are important governance instruments for the provision of public goods. While partnerships promise a great deal, there is little clarity as to what they deliver. If partnerships are to break free from this paradox, more nuance and rigour are required for understanding and assessing their actual effects. This volume applies its original framework to diverse empirical cases in a way that could be extended to broader data sets and case studies of partnerships. The dual contribution of this volume, theoretical and empirical, holds promise for a more thorough and innovative understanding of the pathways to partnership effectiveness and the conditions that can shape their performance. The broad range of crosscutting analyses suggest important practical implications for the design of new partnerships and the update of existing initiatives.



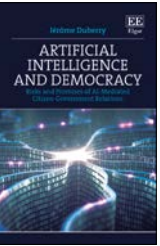
International Development Policy | Revue internationale de politique de développement,
No. 14 (Graduate Institute Publications,
Brill | Nijhoff), 2022.
Online and in print.

Governing Migration for Development from the Global Souths

Edited by Dêlidi Eric **Degila**,
and Valeria Marina **Valle**

In the last two decades, the prevailing opinion in developed countries is that migration flows have reached the “borderline” in the context of a populist rise discourse. However, migration can also be a key driver for development. This edited volume analyses the nexus between migration and sustainable development and how it is a key avenue of global governance. It provides perspectives through case studies from the Global South(s) focusing on the challenges and opportunities of governing migration on multiple levels: the subnational, national, regional and international. It explores existing and new policies and frameworks in terms of their successes and best practices and looks at them through the lens of additional challenges, such as those brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic, the rise of nationalisms and an increase in xenophobia. It also takes the “5 Ps” approach to sustainable development (people, planet, prosperity, peace and partnerships) and assesses how migration policies serve sustainable development in a rapidly evolving context.

→ <https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/4544>
→ <https://brill.com/view/title/63268>



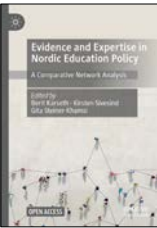
Edward Elgar
Publishing.
2022. 256 p.
Available in
open access.

Artificial Intelligence and Democracy: Risks and Promises of AI-Mediated Citizen–Government Relations

Jérôme **Duberry**

This insightful book explores the citizen-government relation, as mediated through artificial intelligence (AI). Through a critical lens, Jérôme Duberry examines the role of AI in this relation and its implications for the quality of liberal democracy and the strength of civic capacity. In his analysis of AI, Duberry covers three key objectives: illustrating where and how AI is used in the context of citizen-government relations; highlighting the specific risks of using AI for citizen-government relations; and calling for a dedicated framework for assessing AI in these contexts. The author assesses the promises and pitfalls of AI at various levels of the citizen-government relations, including citizen participation, civic technology and political communication. Employing empirical findings from in-depth case studies and interviews with 40 experts in the field, he stresses the burgeoning need for an innovative, human-centric management of AI in the citizen-government relation based on risk assessment that prioritises equality, freedom, human rights and popular sovereignty.

Nouvelles publications

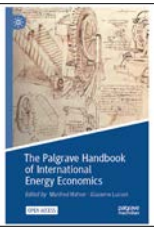


Palgrave Macmillan.
2022. 429 p.
Available in
open access.

Evidence and Expertise in Nordic Education Policy: A Comparative Network Analysis

Edited by Gita **Steiner-Khamsi**,
Berit **Karseth** and Kirsten **Sivesind**

This open access book explores how policymakers draw on national, regional and international expertise in issuing school reform within five Nordic countries. In an era of international comparison, policymakers are expected to review best practices, learn from experiences from elsewhere and apply international standards propelled by international organisations. Do they do so? What counts, for them, as evidence and expertise? The chapters draw methodologically on bibliometric data, network analysis, document analysis and expert interviews. They show compellingly how governments use “evidence” strategically and selectively for agenda setting and policy decisions. This book will be of interest and value to scholars of policy, specifically within the Nordic region, and international and comparative education. Chanwoong Baek, Assistant Professor of Comparative and International Education in the Department of International Relations/Political Science and Academic Director of NORRAG, authored and co-authored some chapters in the book.

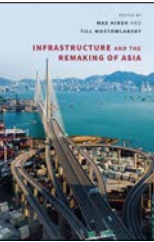


Palgrave Macmillan.
2022. 836 p.
Available in
open access.

The Palgrave Handbook of International Energy Economics

Edited by Manfred **Hafner**
and Giacomo **Luciani**

This handbook aims to provide the reader with a background to understand the economic/technological parameters that constrain and shape the future of energy. It is divided into four sections. The first (“Economics of Energy Production and Distribution”) covers the different sources of energy and the economic characteristics of the technologies needed to meet energy demand. The second (“Economics of Energy Trading and Price Discovery”) explains the functioning of energy. The third (“Global Energy Trends”) focuses on global themes such as the macroeconomics of the energy transition, subsidies, access to energy, or the impact of digitalisation. The last section (“Energy and the Economy”) comprises regional chapters devoted to China, Russia, the MENA, Sub-Saharan Africa, North America and Europe.

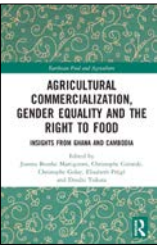


University
of Hawaii Press.
January 2023.
288 p.

Infrastructure and the Remaking of Asia

Edited by Max **Hirsh**
and Till **Mostowlansky**

This book offers a new understanding of how technological innovation, geopolitical ambitions and social change converge and cross-fertilise one another through infrastructure projects in Asia. The volume powerfully illustrates the multifaceted connections between infrastructure and three global paradigm shifts: climate change, digitalisation and China’s emergence as a superpower. Drawing on fine-grained analyses of airports, highways, pipelines and digital communication systems, the book investigates infrastructure both “from above”, as perceived by experts and decision makers, and “from below”, as experienced by middlemen, labourers and everyday users. In so doing, it provides groundbreaking insights into infrastructure’s planning, production and operation.

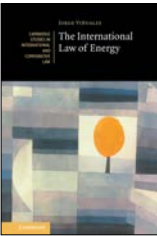


Routledge.
2022. 272 p.

Agricultural Commercialization, Gender Equality and the Right to Food: Insights from Ghana and Cambodia

Edited by Joanna **Bourke**
Martignoni, Christophe **Gironde**,
Christophe **Golay**, Elisabeth **Prügl**
and Dzodzi **Tsikata**

Strategies for agricultural commercialisation have often reinforced and exacerbated inequalities, been blind to gender differences and given rise to violations of the human rights to food, land, work and social security. While there is a body of evidence to trace these developments globally, impacts vary considerably in local contexts. This book considers these dynamics in two countries, Cambodia and Ghana. Profoundly different in terms of their history and location, they provide the basis for fruitful comparisons because they both transitioned to democracy in the early 1990s, made agricultural development a priority, and adopted orthodox policies of commercialisation to develop the sector. The chapters bring into relief multiple dimensions shaping the outcomes of processes of commercialisation, including gender orders, food cultures, policy translation, national and subnational policies, corporate investments and programmes, and formal and informal legal norms. In doing so, the volume also provides proposals to advance rights-based research on food security.



Cambridge University
Press. 2022. 578 p.

The International Law of Energy

Jorge **Vinuales**

The world’s energy structure underpins the global environmental crisis and changing it will require regulatory change at a massive level. Energy is highly regulated in international law, but the field has never been comprehensively mapped. The legal sources on which the governance of energy is based are plentiful but they are scattered across a vast legal expanse. This book is the first single-authored study of the international law of energy as a whole. Written by a world-leading expert, it provides a comprehensive account of the international law of energy and analyses the implications of the ongoing energy transformation for international law. The study combines conceptual and doctrinal analysis of all the main rules, processes and institutions to consider the past, present and likely future of global energy governance. Providing a solid foundation for teaching, research and practice, this book addresses both the theory and real-world policy dimension of the international law of energy.

**GENEVA
GRADUATE
INSTITUTE**

INSTITUT DE HAUTES
ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES
ET DU DÉVELOPPEMENT
GRADUATE INSTITUTE
OF INTERNATIONAL AND
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Éditeur: Institut de hautes études internationales et du développement
CP 1672 – CH-1211 Genève 1 | Tél.: +41 22 908 57 00 | graduateinstitute.ch

Responsable d'édition: Sophie Fleury, sophie.fleury@graduateinstitute.ch

Relecture: Katherine Orell et Nathalie Tanner

Mise en pages: Alexandre Alvarez

Crédits photographiques:

Couverture: CHINA, Nantong City. A crane vehicle loads imported soybeans onto a cargo boat at the Port of Nantong. 6 August 2018. XU Congjun/AFP

Impression: Jullierat Chervet

© Geneva Graduate Institute, November 2022 | **ISSN:** 1662-8497



EXECUTIVE PROGRAMMES

Advocacy in International Affairs

Starts on 26 April 2023

“ This course provides a unique framework that combines academic teaching, case studies, and practical advice. A focus on topics such as crisis management and stakeholder engagement ensures that we are well equipped to design and implement impactful advocacy campaigns. ”

More at

www.genevainsstitute.ch/advocacy



**GENEVA
GRADUATE
INSTITUTE**

**EXECUTIVE
EDUCATION**