

GLOBE

L'INSTITUT

Nouvelles mission
et vision
pour l'Institut

DOSSIER

Decolonisation:
A Past That Keeps
Questioning Us



THE
GRADUATE
INSTITUTE
GENEVA

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

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A Rise in Humanity

Felwine Sarr was invited to the Opening Lecture of the 2021–2022 Academic Year on “A Rise in Humanity” on 22 September 2021. He is a humanist, philosopher, economist and musician, and holds the Anne-Marie Bryan Chair in French and Francophone Studies at Duke University.



“To take care and to repair the living is necessary for us because through this gesture, we repair and preserve ourselves.”

Felwine SARR

→ <https://youtube.com/watch?v=PfGagObam4Y&t=2s>

Ré-enchanter l'Humain – Vers un impératif catégorique ?

Marie-Laure Salles

Directrice

Il était une fois la modernité prométhéenne...


La croissance économique, qu'elle nommait progrès ou développement, était son horizon. La technologie était son arme, la solution définitive, le révélateur d'un projet fondateur – celui du contrôle. L'humanité prométhéenne affirmait sa projection de supériorité, de domination, en poussant toujours plus loin les frontières de ce projet : contrôle de la terre, contrôle des autres espèces, contrôle de la nature et de ses ressources, plus récemment contrôle de l'espace et, hubris ultime, contrôle de notre condition humaine. Ou la fin de la mort comme frontière ultime ! Paradoxalement, l'humanité prométhéenne développait donc ces dernières années un projet dont l'aboutissement logique aurait dû être sa propre annihilation – l'apothéose transhumaniste comme moyen de dépasser la faiblesse, les limites, les erreurs, l'irrationalité, l'inutilité, la mortalité de l'espèce humaine.

Prométhée semblait invincible sur sa lancée... lorsqu'un organisme invisible au nom presque poétique a imposé une rupture non anticipée. Une fois n'est pas coutume, l'on pourrait presque envisager, presque espérer, que cette rupture ait sur le long terme un effet salutaire. Les dix-huit derniers mois ont largement qualifié et montré les limites du projet de contrôle de la modernité prométhéenne. Il nous faut réinvestir la relation d'interdépendance étroite qui nous lie à la terre, à la nature, aux autres espèces mais aussi les uns aux autres si nous voulons assurer la survie de notre propre espèce. Nous avons pris conscience aussi pendant cette période, en profondeur et dans notre chair, que le progrès et le développement ne peuvent en aucun cas se réduire à la croissance économique. La santé, la paix, l'équité, mais encore l'accès à

l'éducation, à la culture et au lien social, sont, doivent être, des dimensions constitutives, au même titre que le bien-être économique, de notre projection vers un monde de progrès. Nous avons pu mesurer, enfin, la puissance de l'outil technologique dans sa version digitale, son utilité indéniable. Mais nous avons aussi pris conscience, plus que jamais, de son autre visage – celui qui peut questionner et menacer nos démocraties, vider de sens nos liens sociaux, nous isoler même (au-delà des apparences projetées par les réseaux sociaux), et nous emprisonner dans un monde d'(auto)-contrôle virtuel qui au bout du compte nie notre Humanité.

Et si la crise que nous traversons était une opportunité – celle d'affirmer l'urgence d'un nouveau projet collectif dont l'horizon serait de ré-enchanter l'Humain ? Ces derniers mois, nous avons mobilisé toutes nos parties prenantes à l'Institut pour construire une nouvelle charte que nous vous présentons dans ces pages. Cette charte devient notre boussole commune et elle pointe exactement dans cette direction. Comme le propose Felwine Sarr, qui a prononcé cette année notre conférence de rentrée, nous nous devons d'aller vers A RISE IN HUMANITY. L'Institut, c'est indéniable, a un rôle à jouer dans l'affirmation collective de cet impératif catégorique !





Pionnier dans l'exploration des enjeux mondiaux,
l'Institut œuvre pour la paix, l'équité et la soutenabilité.

L'INSTITUT

Nouvelles mission et vision pour l'Institut

Notre monde est en pleine mutation et notre modèle universitaire en transition. Les enjeux complexes de cet environnement en redéfinition créent l'opportunité d'une réflexion en profondeur sur l'identité et la raison d'être de l'Institut. C'est dans cet esprit que Marie-Laure Salles, directrice de l'Institut, a initié dès son arrivée en septembre 2020 un projet collectif qui a permis d'engager une réflexion avec toute la communauté de l'Institut en vue de faire émerger une vision, une mission, des valeurs et des principes qui soient à la fois en cohérence avec l'identité historique de l'Institut et adaptés aux enjeux du monde contemporain. Ce processus a abouti à la nouvelle charte de l'Institut, qui sera déclinée dans tous les domaines de l'Institut.

De ce travail est née la vision partagée d'un Institut qui se projette comme le creuset de communautés diverses et ouvertes sur le monde, engagées pour un monde de paix dont l'assise aujourd'hui est l'équité, la soutenabilité (*sustainability*) et le réenchantement de notre humanité.

Dans la continuité de ce travail de projection identitaire et stratégique, l'Institut a mis en place trois initiatives d'orientation : l'Initiative genre, diversité et inclusion, l'Initiative soutenabilité et l'Initiative arts et culture.

S'appuyant sur la vision et les principes de la charte, elles ont pour objectif d'inscrire et de déployer les thématiques qu'elles portent dans tous les domaines et aspects de l'Institut – à la fois comme questions de recherche et objets pédagogiques et d'enseignement, mais aussi comme projets d'engagement dans notre vie quotidienne, à Genève et dans le monde.

Composées de personnes impliquées et voulant faire progresser ces différentes thématiques dans l'Institut, ces initiatives comprennent des représentants et représentantes de toutes les parties prenantes internes – le corps enseignant et étudiant, les centres de recherche concernés, l'administration et la direction. Elles ne sont pas des groupes de travail fermés. Leur dynamique principale est au contraire d'entraîner et d'encourager de manière large les projets autour de ces thématiques portés par les différentes parties constituantes de la communauté de l'Institut.

Chaque initiative proposera un plan stratégique pluriannuel, se donnera des objectifs à court terme motivants et relativement faciles à mettre en œuvre parallèlement à des objectifs à long terme plus ambitieux, mesurera la progression et l'impact sur les objectifs donnés, préparera un rapport annuel et assurera la communication autour de leurs réalisations.

The New Graduate Institute Charter

VISION

A pioneer in the exploration of global issues, the Graduate Institute opens creative spaces for diverse communities and fosters the understanding and engagement essential to a peaceful, equitable and sustainable world.

MISSION

Located in the heart of International Geneva, we produce and share academic knowledge and expertise on international relations, development issues, global challenges and governance. Through a combination of scientific excellence, transdisciplinarity, and critical thinking, we nurture students and professionals to become decision makers open to the world. We equip them with the competences, confidence, and sense of responsibility necessary to drive positive transformation.

PRINCIPLES

Excellence		Peace
Independence		
Critical Thinking	for	Equity
Diversity		
Engagement		Sustainability



L'INSTITUT

Message de Rolf Soiron

Président du Conseil de fondation de 2014 à 2021

« Chers et chères membres, amis et amies de l'Institut,

En juin dernier, après onze années au Conseil de fondation, dont huit à la présidence, j'ai passé le bâton à Beth Krasna.

Né en 1945 dans une famille qui, comme tant d'autres, avait beaucoup souffert de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, j'ai vécu une jeunesse marquée par la découverte des horreurs dont témoignaient les survivants et survivantes. Notre responsabilité nous semblait claire: il fallait éviter que cela ne se répète. À cet égard, ce n'est pas un hasard si ma thèse de doctorat, soutenue en 1972, traitait de la sécurité collective et la politique extérieure de la Suisse à la fin de la Grande Guerre. En fouillant les archives de la Société des Nations et de la Confédération, j'avais souvent rencontré le nom d'une personnalité qui avait considérablement influencé la position suisse et servi de lien avec le centre du pouvoir américain: William Rappard, dont bien des gens se souvenaient encore à l'époque. Ce même William Rappard qui a fondé l'Institut de hautes études internationales en 1927.

Aussi, lorsque Roger de Weck m'a proposé en 2009 de rejoindre le Conseil de fondation de l'Institut, j'ai eu l'impression que la boucle se fermait. La présidence qui suivit peu après a été une grande responsabilité. Certes, ce n'est pas le Conseil qui est à l'origine de l'excellence de la recherche, de l'enseignement et de la réputation de l'Institut, mais c'est lui qui veille à l'efficacité des structures et à l'intégrité des procédures. Il entérine la nomination des nouveaux enseignants et enseignantes, choisit la Direction, veille à l'équilibre financier et, enfin et surtout, défend l'indépendance institutionnelle. En toute modestie, je suis très soulagé que nous ayons, durant mon mandat, accompli ces tâches plutôt bien!

Parmi les nombreux sujets qui nous ont occupés, je citerai les grands projets immobiliers et leur financement, l'intégration dans le réseau universitaire suisse, les relations avec l'Université de Genève et, bien évidemment, l'évolution des subventions publiques. Mais le défi le plus important aura été sans aucun doute la succession de Philippe Burrin. Je suis heureux que nous ayons su déceler les qualités de Marie-Laure Salles pour le poste crucial de directrice – et que nous soyons parvenus à la convaincre de l'accepter.

Je peux dire sans exagérer que, grâce à vous toutes et tous, l'Institut figure aujourd'hui dans le peloton de tête des institutions académiques comparables. Je vous en félicite et souhaite de tout mon cœur que cela continue, non seulement parce qu'il m'est devenu cher, mais avant tout parce que le monde a besoin de ses contributions intellectuelles et de celles des jeunes qu'il forme année après année.

Portez-vous bien! »

L'INSTITUT

Meet Elettra Ronchi

New Foundation Board Member



service I also held academic positions in the United States and France. To the Board I intend to bring my academic and international policy experience, and my understanding of the challenges facing our global community.

What is your take on the digital transformation in higher education and at the Institute?

The transition to a digital era concerns education perhaps more than any other sector of our economies. Providing students with the right digital skills and tools is a prerequisite to keeping up with the ever-increasing digital transformation. In this respect, in developing its digital strategy, I believe the Institute should aim for three objectives: digital innovation for new teaching/learning environments to maximise educational outcomes and outreach; prepare students with the right digital skills and complementary competencies for the disruptive impact that automation and artificial intelligence will have on our economies and societies; and promote innovative institutional partnerships and cross-disciplinary research for an inclusive, human-centred and "green" digital transformation.

Why did you decide to join the Institute's Foundation Board?

I have known and respected the Graduate Institute's educational mission for many years and particularly its role in offering unique learning and research opportunities on the most crucial policy issues affecting our economies and societies. The Institute is transitioning into a new phase under the dynamic leadership of its recently appointed director, Marie-Laure Salles, who has set out to develop a new strategic vision aimed at strengthening the Institute's interdisciplinary profile, and further consolidating its reputation nationally and internationally. In accepting to join the Board, I saw an opportunity to bring my contribution to this strategic process, and at a crucial juncture for multilateralism and global governance, which the COVID-19 pandemic has further exposed and highlighted.

What will you bring to the Board and the Institute?

The Board is fully engaged with the Director in her strategic reflection. Towards this, I bring the experience accumulated over more than two decades as international-policy analyst at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. As Head of Unit under the Digital Economy Policy Division, I contributed to shaping the Organisation's broad digital agenda, particularly on ehealth, privacy and data governance. Before joining the international civil

M. Rolf Soiron a quitté le Conseil de fondation qu'il avait rejoint en 2010 avant d'en devenir le président en 2014. M^{me} Beth Krasna lui a succédé à la présidence en juillet dernier et M. Charles Beer a repris la vice-présidence. Deux nouveaux membres sont entrés au Conseil: M^{me} Elettra Ronchi, Head of Unit à la Division for Digital Economy Policy de l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques, et M. Alessandro Curioni, IBM Fellow, vice-président d'IBM Europe et Afrique et directeur d'IBM Research Lab à Zurich.

Protecting Afghan Refugees Is a Collective Responsibility and Europe Must Take Its Share

Vincent **Chetail**

Professor of International Law and Director of the Global Migration Centre



Once again, mass hysteria is taking over migration. Politicians and mass media tell us: the hordes of Afghans are coming. Haunted by the so-called migration crisis of 2015, European leaders are determined to “protect the EU external borders” and to “prevent uncontrolled large-scale illegal migration movements”. They are already preparing to stop Afghan refugees, even before the latter have actually left their country and reached Europe.

This prophecy lacks rationality and calls for a more nuanced narrative. The most alarmist prediction was advanced by the German Interior Minister, with five million people fleeing Afghanistan. Let’s imagine, as pure fiction, that all of them could reach Europe; they would represent 1.1 percent of the EU population. Yet, as they did so during the last four decades of war and turmoil, the vast majority of the 39 million Afghans will remain in their own country.

Protecting those who flee persecution by the Taliban regime is a legal obligation for any state, including European ones, as reminded by the UN Refugee Agency and the EU Commission. Preventing illegal migration has nothing to do with refugee protection. Afghan refugees have the right to seek asylum and to be protected against *refoulement*. This is law, not charity. Asylum processing also requires security checks, for the refugee definition under the Geneva Convention excludes terrorists.

Protecting Afghan refugees is not only a legal duty; it is also a moral imperative, not least because many European countries joined the US invasion and military occupation. They are partially responsible for the current chaos and failure in supporting the establishment of a truly democratic state in Afghanistan.

The moral duty of Europe is triggered by the longstanding imbalance between neighbouring countries and European ones in responsibility sharing of refugees. In December 2020, 90 percent of Afghan refugees were hosted in only two neighbouring countries: Pakistan with 1.4 million and Iran with 800,000 registered refugees and around 2.6 million undocumented Afghans. By comparison, their number in Europe remains small and unequally distributed, with 129,000 in Germany, 45,000 in France, 31,000 in Sweden and 15,000 in Switzerland. Providing assistance to neighbouring countries hosting Afghan refugees is crucial and urgent but not sustainable in the long term.

It is time for Europe to take its share. The panic spread by politicians distracts attention from the real issues at stake. It also paves the way for populism, xenophobia and electioneering. With elections looming in Germany and France, politicians are repeating the same mistake of 2015 in preparing the ground for a populist backlash.



L'ACTUALITÉ

Afghan Women, Serial Wars and Imperial Violence

Julie **Billaud**

Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology

The Taliban’s speedy takeover of Afghanistan has raised global concerns about the plight of Afghan women. To understand this context, we need to step back from the dominant narratives of “progress” and “women’s emancipation” that have accompanied the foreign presence in the country.

The tragic scenario currently unfolding is a repetition of an earlier episode that took place during the Cold War, when the Red Army invaded Afghanistan in 1979 using similar Orientalist representations of women in need of rescue, while the West funnelled aid to the most extreme insurgent groups.

The West did not “abandon” Afghanistan, but like the Russians in 1989, Western troops were defeated in another imperialist war. As a result of these serial wars, women have suffered from multiple forms of violence, which cannot solely be assigned to the Taliban.

For the past two decades, the violence Afghans have endured has manifested itself in NATO bombings, houses raided by US special forces and CIA-funded militia groups, mass arrests, torture and terrorised communities. But it also took more insidious forms.

During my fieldwork in Afghanistan in 2007, I observed how women’s empowerment programmes, inspired by liberal feminist views and totally disconnected from the social, material and cultural reality in which Afghan women’s lives are embedded, invited them to become self-driven, autonomous subjects in charge of their own life.

The language of empowerment was not acquired by women but instead bestowed upon them, as women’s NGOs were established and behaviours governed according to the standards and priorities of international aid agencies. In reaction to this brutal military-humanitarian occupation, Afghan nationalism was reformulated and the humanitarian “gift” of empowerment quickly turned poisonous for women.

Forced to reiterate constantly their adherence to Islam and encouraged by international agencies to take part in public life and become visible, women’s room for manoeuvre remained extremely precarious. Progress was always fitful and mostly cosmetic, especially for rural women who barely witnessed any reconstruction and were caught in the middle of the fighting.

The symbolic violence of aid, far from being anecdotal, is indeed what has contributed to fuelling Islamic fundamentalism and its misogynist vision of women’s place in society since the Cold War.

The Taliban should therefore not be considered as Middle Age misogynist monsters but rather as modern Franksteins created by the West. Acknowledging Afghan women’s suffering requires accounting for the colonial legacies that have historically maintained them as second-class citizens, and the serial wars that have left the country poverty stricken, aid dependent and deeply traumatised.

AFGHANISTAN. Afghan women walk by Northern Alliance troops waiting for orders before heading to Kunduz, on the frontline between Khanabad and Taloqan. 25 November 2001. Jean-Philippe KSIAZEK/AFP

From Geneva to Kabul: Russian-American Relations after the 2021 Biden-Putin Geneva Summit

Jussi Hanhimäki

Professor of International History and Politics



SWITZERLAND, Geneva. US President Joe Biden (R) and Russian President Vladimir Putin shake hands as they arrive at Villa La Grange for the start of their summit, 16 June 2021. Saul LOEB/POOL/AFP

It may seem like the June 2021 Geneva Summit was a very long time ago, but at least the leaders had met. Some form of diplomacy, including the return of the respective ambassadors to Moscow and Washington as well as discussions about nuclear weapons, soon followed. Russian-American relations were on track.

At the time, Joe Biden's claim that "America is back" had appeared true enough. Prior to meeting Putin in Geneva, the American president had colluded with G7 leaders in Cornwall, as well as NATO and EU principals in Brussels. After four years of Donald Trump's divisive rhetoric, further exacerbated by the COVID pandemic in 2020, "the West" appeared united once again. The handshake in Geneva seemed to seal this return to a kind of normalcy with the United States' president lecturing his Russian counterpart about the rules of international relations.

Three months later, things may seem very different. Joe Biden's ability to reclaim the United States' traditional leadership role in international affairs is seriously in doubt. There has been no obvious progress in solving many of the big controversies that were on the agenda in Geneva. Worst of all,

from the perspective of the Biden administration's international credibility, the Taliban has returned to power in Afghanistan.

The scenes at Kabul airport – reminding many of the 1975 evacuation of Saigon – were deeply humiliating to the United States. Two decades of US-led nation-building ended in a desperate scramble to evacuate foreign and Afghan nationals that might fall prey to the new regime. Meanwhile Russia (and China) kept its embassy operational and appeared poised to benefit.

The end of American (and Western) involvement in Afghanistan was demeaning. But for the Russian-American relationship, the impact is unlikely to be particularly significant. In fact, the Taliban victory is unlikely to change the fundamental direction of Russian foreign policy.

Moscow has its own complicated history with Afghanistan that makes this no grand geopolitical opportunity. While Putin may be delighted to see the United States (and NATO) humiliated, the terrorist strikes near Kabul airport in late August were a portent of chaotic times to come at Russia's doorstep.

In the end, the Russian-American relationship has never been one of mutual trust and cooperation, but neither are we on the cusp of a new Cold War. The tragic events in Afghanistan will do little to change the fundamental pattern of a relationship between Moscow and Washington that continues to be marked by a significant asymmetry in economic power and persistent disagreements across a host of seemingly unresolvable issues.

The two countries that possess 90 percent of the world's nuclear arsenal are destined to maintain an uneasy coexistence for the foreseeable future.



L'ACTUALITÉ

The Decades of Our Discontent

Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou

Professor and Chair of the Department of International History and Politics
and Director of Executive Education

The post-9/11 world has not established new international rules as much as it has reinvigorated, expanded and normalised global patterns of control.

At the close of two full decades after the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States, lasting changes in the configuration of global affairs have cemented. It is a historical commonplace to stress the transformative nature of given periods – particularly so at the occasion of the twilight of centuries or after lengthy conflicts, such as the Cold War. "9/11" was, however, an unambiguously watershed moment.

The wars that followed Al Qaeda's attack on New York and Washington – in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Sahel, East Africa and the Levant –, as well as the so-called Global War on Terrorism, cost the lives of half a million people and ushered a new era characterised primarily by the militarisation of international relations. Many of the early givens can today be dismissed – witness the US Saigon sequel in Kabul. Round the world, this pattern solidified, in time coming full circle to enable a similar martial logic in domestic spaces. Succumbing to the normalisation and routinisation of securitisation, the world gradually became used to the tropes of a fetishised security language that had successfully used disorder to generate a new order.

By the early 2010s – as a new generation was being socialised into them – the defining contours of the emerging new era were fast coalescing. Amidst the simmering

strategic cacophony, brutality and societal dislocation, an era of irresolution and perplexity was forging ahead. On its face promising safety and personal empowerment, the new tech-driven, neoliberal grammar-of-things was in reality increasingly dispossessive.

These were then the staccato years of war, terrorism, financial crisis, migration emergency, humanitarian disaster, social protest, neo-authoritarianism and pandemic, all woven in a patchwork of moral quagmires and entangled ethical knots. Gone were the positive creative transgressions and sense of renewal of the 1990s in pursuit of good governance, human security and political liberalisation.

To be sure, the concomitant steely determination of many round the world in the name of the environment, gender equality, democratic accountability, global health, racial justice and human rights has been present with increasing urgency, and a measure of success. In hindsight, however, global politics have problematically become contaminated by an all-pervasive and self-justifying authoritarianism now too easily lodged in the interstices of policy.

What the 2020s hold next is unclear. To a large extent, the COVID-19 pandemic ended the post-11 September era. The next phase opens on sites of destabilisation and the ruins of toxic mistrust. All the same, such estrangement merely ushers a challenge of recreation and mutual building, which can be taken up, away from the violent tribalised world we inhabited these past two decades.

■ Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou is the recipient of the 2021 Global South Distinguished Scholar Award of the International Studies Association (ISA).

MALI, In-Tillit. Soldiers of France's Operation Barkhane patrol the village at the launch of the G5 Sahel force on 1 November 2017. Daphné BENOIT/AFP



L'ACTUALITÉ

Sustainable Agriculture's Promise and Perils

Shaila Seshia Galvin

Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology

Although sustainable agricultural practices trace long and diverse histories, a novel feature of increasingly mainstreamed contemporary sustainability programmes is the emphasis on standards and certification. These have grown rapidly in the last 10 years, and as the International Trade Centre's Sustainability Map shows, there are now well over 200 sustainability standards for food and agricultural commodities alone.

When it comes to smallholder producers in the Global South, the promise of sustainable agriculture lies in the way it appears to hold out the possibility of realising both social or ecological benefits as well as income generation opportunities for small producers. But despite the potential benefits that sustainable agriculture is supposed to offer smallholders, sustainability standards and certification must contend with a range of challenges and issues in order for this promise to be more fully realised.

My own research in the northern Indian state of Uttarakhand, among smallholder farmers who participated in a programme to develop commercial organic agriculture, revealed some of the critical, everyday challenges that producers face.

Their socioeconomic position, as well as the agroecological conditions and wider agrarian economy in which they are located, exerted a strong and differential influence on their ability to participate in, and benefit from, commercial, certified, organic agriculture.

In seeking to "reimagine, recreate and restore" agroecological systems in ways that bring benefits and opportunities for smallholder producers, it is therefore important to develop an attunement to the range of experiences that differently positioned smallholders have with sustainability standards and certification.

This involves recognising the ways in which these initiatives have important local ramifications not only for agricultural practices but for agrarian relations, governance and institutions. It also requires focused attention on the tensions that arise when smallholder systems must contend with commercially oriented sustainability standards and certification programmes requiring farmers to produce standardised commodities in high volumes.

For sustainable agriculture to heed the call of the UN Decade on Ecosystem Restoration to "reimagine, recreate, restore", these challenges indeed call for considerable re-imagination and re-creation – perhaps, most of all, of standardisation processes and practices themselves.



L'ACTUALITÉ

UE-Suisse: quel futur après l'abandon de l'accord-cadre?

Cédric Dupont

Professeur de relations internationales/science politique

Les relations entre la Suisse et ses pays voisins pourraient se résumer à la quête d'un savant dosage d'intégration et d'indépendance. Depuis les premières tentatives d'association dans les années 1960, ce dosage a progressivement évolué vers davantage d'intégration, au risque d'irriter la frange, parfois majoritaire dans l'isolement, des gardiens de la sacro-sainte indépendance nationale, avec comme conséquences des sanctions périodiques de la politique européenne des autorités fédérales. Si l'enlèvement actuel des relations découlant de l'arrêt des négociations en vue d'un accord-cadre n'est donc pas le premier soubresaut des relations entre la Suisse et l'Union européenne, il se démarque des précédents par le fait que c'est le Conseil fédéral qui a tiré la prise, ne pensant pas pouvoir soumettre au vote un accord qui répondrait aux demandes émises par les plus vocaux opposants, les syndicats et le parti de la droite dure, l'UDC. Le Conseil fédéral se retrouve ainsi dans une situation de responsable principal et non pas de victime d'un vote populaire qui lui permettrait de continuer à entretenir un certain crédit de confiance auprès de ses interlocutrices et interlocuteurs européens.

D'une certaine manière, on pourrait y voir le mérite de la clarté, avec l'admission que la voie bilatérale est une impasse politique, qu'on ne peut à terme continuer à faire croire à l'externe et à l'interne qu'on arrivera à ménager la chèvre et le chou. Mais ce n'est pas vraiment ce qui ressort de la communication du Conseil fédéral à l'UE

lorsqu'il « souhaite qu'il soit possible de développer un agenda commun sur la base des accords bilatéraux actuels ». Pas question donc d'impasse politique, les accords bilatéraux multiples restent la base des relations avec les voisins européens. Mais que fait-on lorsque ces voisins veulent, avant de renforcer les accords existants, les intégrer dans un tout dynamique? Soit on revient à la table de négociation, soit on se satisfait des accords existants. La première option aurait un prix politique interne et externe et aboutirait à un accord aux termes certainement moins favorables que l'accord paraphé en 2018. La seconde mènerait à une érosion des avantages conférés à la Suisse par les traités bilatéraux actuels suite à un fossé entre les cadres réglementaires européens et suisses. Le Conseil fédéral ne pourra pas tergiverser très longtemps. S'il choisit la première option, il doit se préparer à une campagne de ratification dure et s'y plonger corps et âme. S'il choisit la seconde option, il devra se préparer à soutenir les milieux qui feront face aux discriminations européennes, avec une incidence budgétaire notoire dans un contexte déjà très expansionniste. Difficile de voir à ce jour un Conseil fédéral prêt pour l'une ou l'autre de ces options.

SUISSE, Zermatt. Le Cervin vu depuis Zermatt et le drapeau de la Confédération suisse. iStock/MistikaS

DECOLONISATION: A PAST THAT KEEPS QUESTIONING US

Today, we observe a renewed interest in the theme of decolonisation in at least three interrelated fields. First, activists from Black Lives Matter or Rhodes Must Fall have urged politicians and the general public to stop ignoring the legacy of colonialism in Western societies, where colonial artefacts are still visible and often celebrated in street names, statues or museal objects. Second, in the world of international governmental and non-governmental organisations, professionals in fields such as humanitarianism, global health and development have started to revisit their way of working by interrogating the persisting inequalities between practitioners coming from the Global North and South within these social worlds. Third, in the academic world, a new generation of scholars has called on all disciplines to reflect upon their teaching tools as well as epistemological and methodological assumptions which may reflect biases inherited from the colonial origins of their disciplines. Calls to decolonise our mental and material worlds have thus flourished.

Still, the apparent newness with which the latest academic and political discussion on decolonisation has been portrayed by certain political commentators shouldn't be taken at

face value. Issues such as the lingering of Eurocentrism, continued oppression of indigenous people, the pitfalls of cultural universalism, the ongoing influence of colonialism, or, more generally, the need to confront the darker side of Western modernity, have long been discussed by scholars and activists since decolonisation – and even before. If the global conversation fails to register the historical depth of these debates, it will partake in a collective amnesia about the colonial past, and may contribute to delegitimise the academic scholarship accumulated for the last fifty years on these topics.

The aim of the following essays is therefore to put decolonisation into historical perspective and to provide fresh analytical insights into its epistemologies and methodologies as well as its practical application and consequences in various fields, including the study of domestic politics and international affairs, humanitarianism, gender relations, and the impact that digitalisation may have on our contemporary societies. These essays thus invite us to invent productive ways of diversifying existing knowledge systems so as to advance social and historical justice through innovative approaches to decolonisation.

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DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, Santo Domingo. Statue of Bartholomew Columbus on Calle el Conde street in the colonial city centre. March 2020. nantonov/iStock



DECOLONISATION: A PAST THAT KEEPS QUESTIONING US

VARIETIES OF DECOLONISATION

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MOZAMBIQUE, Maputo. Youth celebrate with Mozambican national flags during the celebrations for the 40th anniversary of Mozambican independence from Portugal at the Machava stadium. 25 June 2015. ADRIEN BARBIER/AFP

It was never any secret that many of the most renowned institutions of higher learning, particularly in Britain and the United States, owe their existence to slaving and colonial fortunes. Nor that the public figures they celebrate in stone, brick and metal, and in a dozen other ways, had owned and traded in slaves, colonised continents, presided over genocidal colonial policies, or been guided by white supremacist beliefs. Yet the Rhodes Must Fall movement that broke through this silence did not erupt in the West, but at the University of Cape Town in 2015, whence it spread to British and US universities. Black Lives Matter has lent fresh momentum to such campaigns

and propelled them beyond the walls of academia.

Scholars have likewise long been aware of the parochial character of the social sciences and the humanities. The epistemic inequalities they embody and reproduce through their disciplinary and institutional configurations are equally well-known. Yet no reckoning with the racial, colonial, gender and other forms of bias and discrimination in academia would have been possible, as Black Lives Matter freshly reminds us, without the struggles around the world for freedom and equality, particularly since the 1950s.

It is useful to bear this lesson in mind for navigating the currents of

intellectual decolonisation at a time when the air seems so thick with it. Anticolonial projects and aspirations to decolonise have a long history. Two of the three landmark historical events that arguably ushered in the modern political era, namely the US Declaration of Independence and the Haitian Revolution, were anticolonial. Yet their starkly contrasting trajectories and fortunes, not to mention the seeming paradox of how relations between Haiti and the United States unfolded over the next two centuries, encapsulate the complex history of anticolonialism and decolonisation.

Anticolonial struggles and decolonisation movements have unarguably

transformed the world. They have, even in their failures, continued to fire our imaginations. Their dreams inspire awe. Yet bracketing the United States and Haiti serves to draw attention to the breadth of anticolonial movements, and the range of experiences, perspectives and agendas they can mobilise or represent. However, one consequence of such breadth is that while the possibilities may appear boundless at particular moments, the actual outcomes often reflect a grimmer reality of conflicts within anticolonial movements. Rarely are these conflicts only internal. The colonial power usually looms large over them, fostering, deepening or leveraging such conflicts to cement alliances with “moderate” anticolonialists, prolong its own influence and embed itself more deeply within postcolonial structures and dispensations. When such conflicts turn violent, the poetry of anticolonialism can yield to an oppressive prose of postcolonial state-making that absorbs and reproduces the “bifurcations” of its colonial progenitor.

Fissures and fractures in postcolonial world-making have a direct bearing on projects for decolonising the world of ideas, academia in particular. Intellectual decolonisation presents a two-fold challenge, on the one hand subjecting white, Western, colonial or other exclusionary knowledge traditions and modes of knowing to critical scrutiny, and on the other recovering and revaluing knowledge traditions and modes of apprehending the world suppressed by colonialism and other forms of domination. Though the former remains daunting, critical approaches

“The project to decolonise the world of ideas will be self-defeating if it is not democratic.”

developed in the last few decades do at least suggest some ways to navigate this challenge.

The second challenge is deeper and more complex. There is much greater awareness now of lively knowledge traditions beyond the West, and their inherent adaptability and dynamism. While Western interest in the study of indigenous philosophies is far from new, the growing interest of indigenous (i.e. non-Western) scholars in their own societies’ intellectual traditions is bound to challenge disciplinary boundaries and methods, and revive thorny questions about meaning, commensurability, and the nature and scales of the universal.

There are few easy answers to such questions. A partial clue may lie, however, in the domain of representation, which remains in any case an indispensable benchmark for social knowledge. The project to decolonise the world of ideas will be self-defeating if it is not democratic, since it otherwise risks producing new despotisms of thought and belief. Western colonialism was not the first power to suppress other systems of thought and belief, nor is it likely to be the last. India, for instance, has a long history of Brahminical campaigns to erase or absorb resistant

belief systems on the margins of the caste or *varna* order. All major world religions and religions aspiring to that status share similar histories. Yoke them, or other similarly powerful ethnocentric beliefs, to ethno- or religious nationalism and the nation-state, and frame the resulting claims into an anticolonial narrative. Presto, you would have repackaged an exclusionary, majoritarian political ideology as a decolonised belief system well enough to dupe unsuspecting theorists of “decoloniality”. The moral? Who speaks for (and as) the decolonising subject will be pivotal to democratic struggles for intellectual decolonisation. They will in turn be our best hope for negotiating questions of meaning, commensurability and universality in a respectful spirit in any future democratic republic of ideas.

DÉCOLONISATION : UN MOT TROP SIMPLE POUR UNE HISTOIRE COMPLIQUÉE

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La décolonisation est un objet historique complexe à appréhender. La connotation idéologique du terme nous incite à en avoir une compréhension évolutionniste et normative qui tient pour naturelle l'aune de l'État-nation et du nationalisme en l'associant à l'anticolonialisme. Or, ce dernier n'a pas forcément été nationaliste ni n'a eu nécessairement pour fin l'indépendance d'un État-nation. Une bonne part des

Canada, en Australie, en Afrique du Sud, sans qu'il y eût pour autant décolonisation de la masse des « indigènes ». Il faut aussi tenir compte des situations où la décolonisation s'est effectuée en l'absence d'un parti nationaliste dominant – comme au Congo belge ou en Angola – ou sur fond de répression du principal parti nationaliste – comme au Cameroun – ou encore dans le creuset d'une lutte fratricide au sein de guerres de libé-

secondaire », les théoriciens marxistes de « sous-impérialisme ». Le Viet Nam a colonisé le Cambodge (1806-1846); le Japon Taiwan (1895-1945), la Corée (1905-1945) et la Mandchourie (1931-1945). L'Indonésie a annexé la Papouasie occidentale en 1962. La décolonisation du Xinjiang n'est pas à l'ordre du jour chinois.

De même, des Européens ont connu l'assujettissement colonial : en Irlande, à Chypre, dans le Dodécanèse. Venise (en Méditerranée orientale) et l'Aragon (en Sicile) ont été les prototypes du colonialisme au sens moderne du terme, dès le Moyen Âge. Aujourd'hui, les Allemands et Allemandes des *Ostländer* parlent de leur *Kohlonisation*, sans doute avec quelque excès.

Le terme générique de « décolonisation » peine à rendre compte de cette diversité de scénarios sans que l'on sache toujours s'il est pertinent de l'utiliser. Quid par exemple de l'accession à l'indépendance des républiques soviétiques d'Asie centrale ?

En revanche, l'on comprend mieux, désormais, que la décolonisation ne constitue une césure radicale ni dans les anciennes colonies ni dans les anciennes métropoles. Les études postcoloniales ont raison de nous le rappeler mais restent prisonnières d'une vision binaire de la colonisation, sous la forme d'une opposition entre colonisateurs et colonisés, en minimisant l'appropriation dont la greffe occidentale a fait l'objet de la part des

leaders politiques de l'Afrique occidentale française aspiraient à la fin de la colonisation dans un cadre fédéral, voire impérial rénové et républicain. La création du Pakistan n'était pas non plus une fatalité, et d'ailleurs celui-ci s'est scindé en deux.

À l'inverse, un nationalisme colonial donna naissance à des déclarations d'indépendance, comme en Amérique latine ou en Rhodésie du Sud, ou à des *dominions*, comme au

tion nationale – comme en Angola, au Zimbabwe, en Algérie, en Érythrée, en Indochine.

Par ailleurs, le colonialisme n'a pas été l'apanage des seuls États occidentaux. Le Raj victorien a étendu une domination indienne de type colonial en Malaisie, en Birmanie, dans le Golfe et en Afrique orientale, que remettra en cause l'indépendance des États successeurs de l'Empire britannique. Les historiens parlent alors d'« empire



PÉROU, Cusco.
Peinture murale
dans le centre de la
ville, représentant
des indigènes en
combat contre
les conquistadors
européens. 18 avril
2009. traveler1116/
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seconds et l'ambivalence qui s'en est ensuivie. Elles s'enferment dans une sorte de calvinisme tropical qui fait de la colonisation une prédestination, surdéterminant l'histoire ultérieure des colonies et de leur métropole.

Un autre débat, à l'initiative du courant indianiste des *subaltern studies*, a précisément trait à la reproduction de l'hégémonie coloniale après la décolonisation au sein même des sociétés d'Afrique ou d'Asie, une reproduction dont le nationalisme serait le vecteur. Telle était la crainte de Frantz Fanon qui demandait aux « damnés de la terre » de « ne pas singer l'Europe », de renoncer aux « mimétismes nauséabonds », de refuser la « création d'une troisième Europe » après celle des États-Unis. Frantz Fanon avait intellectuellement raison, et eut politiquement tort. La violence contemporaine s'inscrit dans cette logique de récusation d'une domination qui procède directement,

aujourd'hui encore, de l'appropriation par les sociétés colonisées, et notamment par leurs élites, de la forme étatique occidentale, de son *épistémè*, de son rapport au capitalisme. Ainsi du djihadisme au Sahel.

Or, celui-ci, dans sa dimension agraire, nous invite aussi à ne pas distraire la continuité paradoxale de la décolonisation de la continuité qu'a souvent représentée la colonisation elle-même par rapport aux sociétés politiques antérieures. Notamment lorsque l'occupation européenne a permis aux catégories sociales dominantes d'étendre leur ascendant grâce aux ressources de l'État et de l'économie moderne comme au Maroc, dans le nord du Nigeria ou dans le Pendjab. Mais aussi quand des groupes subalternes des sociétés anciennes ont investi le moment colonial pour opérer une véritable révolution au détriment des dominants d'hier, comme à Zanzibar en 1964. Il va sans dire que ce

sont généralement des scénarios intermédiaires qui ont prévalu.

La vieille périodisation entre le précolonial, le colonial et le postcolonial ne résiste pas à l'examen. L'événement de la décolonisation doit être lu à la lumière de ces continuités tissées de discontinuités. Bergson aurait parlé de « compénétration des durées » dont la mémoire traumatique de l'esclavage et de l'occupation coloniale est un « souvenir du présent », une « fausse reconnaissance », celle dont nous parlent assez mal les études postcoloniales. Pour autant il ne faut pas oblitérer l'intensité de cet événement de la décolonisation, en relativiser l'importance. Il a mis en forme une revendication de la dignité, une soif d'émancipation qui ne sont jamais éteintes, quelles que soient les expressions parfois déroutantes ou choquantes qu'elles empruntent de nos jours et les désillusions qui ont succédé à l'euphorie de l'indépendance.



DECOLONISATION: A PAST THAT KEEPS QUESTIONING US

DECOLONISING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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BENIN, Ouidah. A motorcyclist drives past the statue in front of the Zomachi memorial. As Western cities see statues of slaveholders and colonialists toppled, Ouidah is restoring its own monuments from the painful era. 4 August 2020. Yanick FOLLY/AFP

The modern-day academic study of international politics was born out of a political concern to make sense of a set of issues besetting Western colonial and imperial states. This genealogy is crucial in understanding the evolution throughout the twentieth century of many historical and social sciences fields concerned with the study of international affairs. The incipient concerns were centrally those of [colonial administration and imperial rule](#).

International law has long been conceived as a project of codification of rules followed by imperial powers as they interacted with one another – and the same could be said of conventional diplomatic history. Anthropology and sociology have entertained a deep connection with colonial administration from their early days onward, especially in the interwar period. This founding and formative orientation built around the requisites

of regulation and command still pervades scholarship in international relations (IR) and political science. The colonial (or segregation in the case of the United States) context accounts, additionally, for the discipline’s active [avoidance of racial issues](#).

Today, international politics remains largely taught and conceived by a variety of disciplines as the province of the ins and outs of power-, sovereignty- and capital-driven interaction amongst

states and state-derivative organisations and structures – thus intellectually and globally curbing the notion’s nomothetic realm. To wit, when not wholly ignored, criticism of [the imperial core of each discipline](#) has tended to be associated with the angling of postcolonial studies, or located in peripheral sectors of each of these fields, relegated to the status of “alternative perspectives” and delegitimised in relation to the central canon of a handful “core” theories or canonical

taught around the world, both in the Western and non-Western worlds. Understandably, this has led many critics of such academic fields to seek to open new niches or to shed light on missed aspects. Decolonising international politics is not, however, merely about “giving voice to” or allowing visibility of “alternative” views – such an approach still partaking of a logic of authorisation. Neither is it about self-reflexivity and reform. Rather, the needed intellectual rup-

“Decolonising the study of international politics is not about ‘giving voice to’; rather, the needed intellectual rupture is essentially one of method and ambit.”

texts presented as universal, directive and self-standing. To add to injury, founding thinkers of any given field are overwhelmingly if not exclusively Western: Kant, Grotius, Hobbes and Thucydides in the case of IR, or Marx, Durkheim and Weber in sociology, more often than, say, [Ibn Khaldun](#), who largely remains unknown to most students of international affairs in Anglo-American as well as European universities.

Such implicit or explicit othering of critical outlooks on international politics is arguably the Achilles’s heel of contemporary international affairs. It is the ever-fixed sidelining hue that still largely dominates programmes

and ambit, as well as the history presiding over the field.

For far too long, the very categories of “learning global affairs” have been arranged in a way that positions [Eurocentrism](#) – even when that worldview has been largely exposed by a variety of perspectives – as the formative pillar of a deliberate production. As Julian Saurin remarked, “the assertion of Western supremacism and its corresponding discounting or silencing of ‘the rest’ is not primarily an epistemological trick, conspiracy or malign intent but rather [a matter of structured production](#)”.

It is precisely this structured production that is in need of discontinuation – not merely the reexamining of its construction – in light of its reproductive self-legitimation and creative reinventions. Today impeding a clear-eyed outlook on the deep history behind global politics, the imperial and colonial DNA of our disciplines has led some of their main representatives to prioritise interpretative outlooks in which students are trained as system designers whose inquisitive gaze is lured away from the why. This is an age-old epistemological trick derivative of the initial bent to avoid the politics – and thus the illegitimacy and violence – of imperialism and colonialism, and their [consequential afterlives](#). As a result, more often than not, the study of international affairs has accompanied rather than questioned international developments.

The hollowing out of the provincialism that has driven this specific understanding of the “march of the world” on the drum tempo of empire and colony (*foreign affairs*, militarism, “great men”, geopolitics, diplomatic history) explains why today the notion of security remains at the heart of international relations, and why – in spite of their [direct lineage](#) to the discipline – [race](#) matters have received little attention, except for a few notable exceptions. It is the reason for which the phraseology of terrorism came of age since the 1960s, revealingly boxing the emancipation of the decolonised actors. It is why paternalistic talk of “failed”, “collapsed”, “fragile” and “weak” states dominates since the 1990s imparting a dichotomising geography of the world, and a related sense of mission that had been there at the origin. It accounts, finally, for how in the 2000s [manifest Eurocentrism](#) could be (re)asserted in international theory, and why ultimately it is so urgent to produce genuinely neutral and universalist analyses of *world* politics.

DECOLONISING THE GLOBAL

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In now decades-old theories of globalisation, numerous scholars have placed weight on the conceptual impact of the first images of our planet seen from the perspective of the moon. The photographs, taken during the Apollo 8 space mission and known collectively as *Earthrise*, offered a nascent glimpse of the earth as a single sphere. From a lunar vantage point, hustle-and-bustle megacities appeared as silent clusters of twinkling lights. Oceans seemed like glossy blue fields touching the curved edges of green and brown swaths of land – now visible, now hidden – as clouds formed, hovered and changed shape. This vision of a singular container of human life, unbroken and unbothered by national borders, seemed to give geological credence to a philosophical and political cosmopolitanism. As in the hopeful geo-universalism of Immanuel Kant: “For peace to reign on Earth, humans must evolve into new beings who have learned to see the whole first.” Centuries later, seeing the whole from above became possible in step with terrestrial travel and information technologies that crisscrossed the land, sea and air, fusing the continents, connecting household to household in new forms of remote intimacy. In the words of the media theorist Marshall McLuhan: “The new electronic independence re-creates the world in the image of a global village.”

In each case, from Kant to McLuhan, we hear calls to rethink the relationship between self and other – politically, ethically – through a broadened concept of what constitutes home: the earth itself serving as a shared dwelling place. What is more, the ethics of a global environmentalism grew too from these images of a single earth. For in a dark plot twist, the very

technologies that allowed us to connect threatened to destroy the beauty and even the viability of our shared planetary village. Thus, the vocabulary of collective green stewardship emerged to further enrich the centuries-old language of transnational cooperation.

Such calls to think and act in a global key, however, have sometimes side-stepped the extent to which images of the “globe” and the “global” – long before *Earthrise* – also occupied the fantasies of imperialisms. We might think of the *Treaty of Tordesillas* (1494) when the Spanish and Portuguese

remake other territories using a uniform template.

Compared to these explicit conquests, it might be tempting to read late twentieth-century references to the unified earth as somehow signifying a break with the world-ordering impulses of formal imperialism. After all, the *global village* thesis as well as the genre of environmentalism inaugurated with Earth Day (1970) emerged alongside *decolonisation* – the historical process by which once colonised peoples gained political sovereignty. And yet, as postcolonial studies scholars have

“The very concept of a global society continued both to reflect and in some cases to reinforce inequitable international distributions of power and resources.”

empires apportioned the known earth into two parts. Or, we could recall the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) when the major European imperial powers surveyed and divided the earth’s still unconquered territories between themselves. In each case, a specific vision of the *whole world* preceded or justified imperial efforts to subjugate and

long argued, those discourses of cultural, political and ecological unity often carried the same Eurocentric and universalist assumptions that undergirded imperialism to begin with. In other words, the very concept of a global society continued both to reflect and also in some cases to reinforce inequitable international distributions of



View of Moon limb with Earth rising on the horizon. Elen11/iStock

power and resources. Some scholarly texts, such as Ha-Joon Chang’s provocative *Kicking Away the Ladder*, have even argued that global climate change objectives created fresh obstacles for developing countries seeking to close the North-South wealth gap.

Rather than taking sides here, what we can gain from thinking with such critical perspectives is a sense of how the globe is not just a place, but has a historical existence as a highly contested and frequently politicised idea. For instance, even the conceptual impact of *Earthrise* can’t be fully decoupled from the tense geopolitical context of the Cold War or the space race. This leads to another interrogation: if the very concept of the global is covered with now hidden, now explicit fingerprints of political and economic imperialism, can we ever speak of globality in neutral terms? What framework remains for making sense of the increasingly transnational nature of our lives, including the ecological consequences of a capitalist modernity?

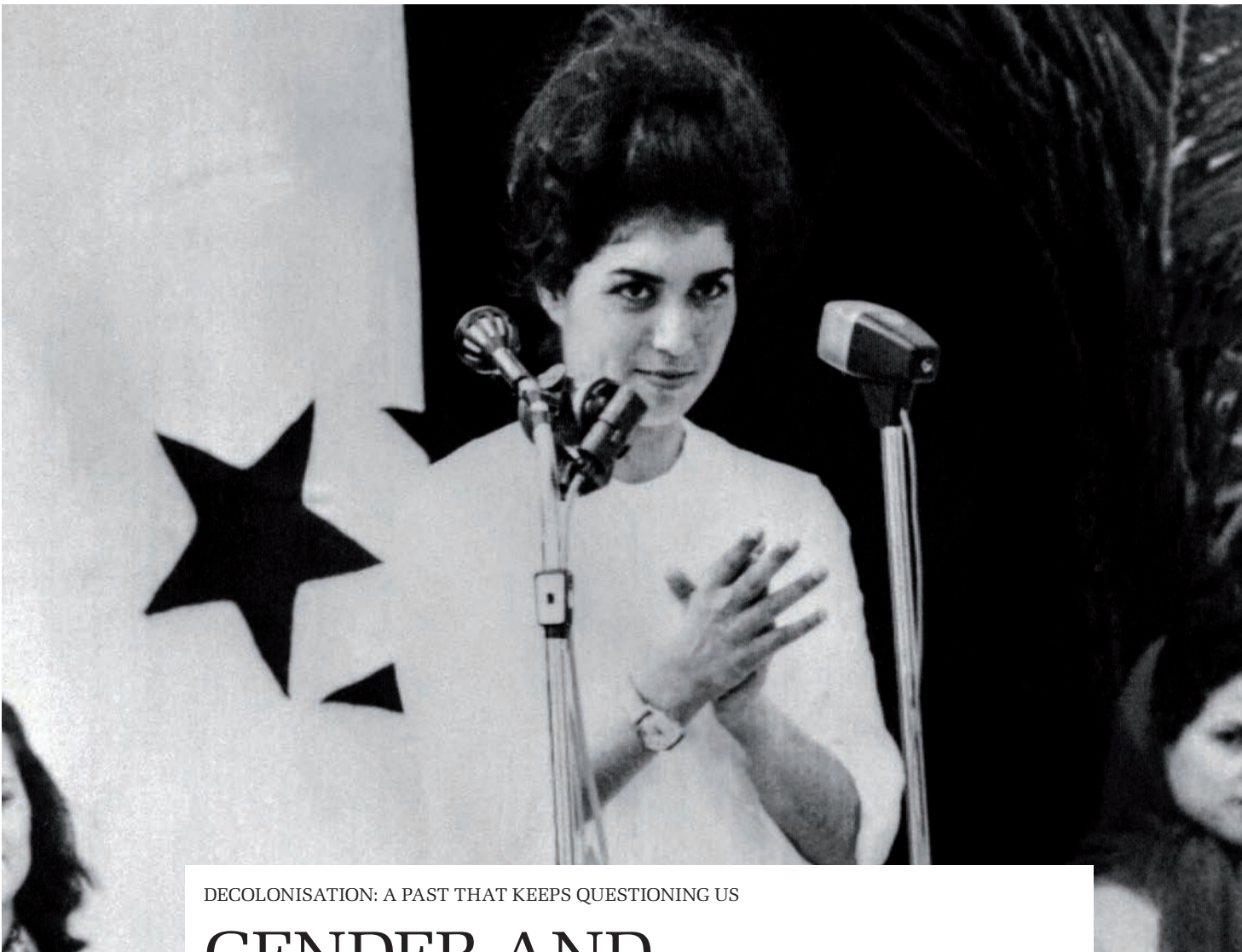
As one tentative answer, the renowned postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak has suggested we replace the term *global* with that of *planetary*.

Notice, she does not say *planetary* but rather *planet-ar-ity*, which mobilises the suffix *ity* to imply an ongoing condition. Most importantly, the framework of planetary accounts for what we might call the “facts” of the global condition, without folding them into a hegemonic fantasy of perfect unity. In *Death of a Discipline*, she states: “I propose the planet to overwrite the globe ... The globe is on our computers. No one lives there. It allows us to think that we can aim to control it.” Here then to decolonise the global in the frame of planetary is not to arrive at a clear and simple guiding principle for steering the human community to a specific end point. It is an orientation rather than an objective. It is more like a collection of short stories than a novel.

Of course, this still leaves us with other concerns. In an era of conspicuous climate change, it might seem dangerous to divest intellectually of cohesive narratives at the planetary scale. However, Spivak’s point can be followed to the opposite conclusion: any “natural”, unexamined or overly abstract vision of the earth can end up undermining rather than advancing the nitty-gritty work of environmentalism.

Planetary is a *practice* of reading and thinking about innumerable webs of interaction that spill across borders, without giving in to reductionist theologies of “one world”. Such silhouettes might be ideologically satisfying, but they rarely help us account for the fuller network effects of our multitudinous words and deeds at any given moment, in any given place.

To conclude, planetary is also different than a mere affirmation of a positive multiculturalism; it is something closer to labour than to the pomp and circumstance of a concluding ceremony. We (all) occupy the planet, and yet can never speak of that occupancy as a single phenomenon, nor can we describe it with a single voice. So, we are left with the continual efforts of transcribing and translating the constraints and possibilities of so many lifeworlds shaped and yet uncontained by borders. Following Spivak, such is also the nature of the work of resisting all manner of imperialisms old and new, near and far. Perhaps the root principle of planetary (and so of anti-imperialism) is a form of awe. Awe for that which eludes even the most forceful grasp, including the earth’s fragile splendours.



DECOLONISATION: A PAST THAT KEEPS QUESTIONING US

GENDER AND DECOLONISATION

Nicole Bourbonnais

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ALGERIA, Algiers. Djamila Bouhired, activist of the Algerian National Liberation Front, delivers a speech during an electoral rally in Ben Aknoun, in the northwest suburbs of the capital, attended by five thousand people, mostly women. 27 June 1962. AFP

The story of decolonisation is often told as a story of Great Men: of Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Mohandas Gandhi, Ho Chi Minh. There is no shortage of male thinkers and leaders from whom to draw inspiration as we explore the continuing relevance of anticolonial critiques and movements to contemporary life. But if we fail to also recognise the historical contributions of women and of feminist thought, we miss an opportunity to

take this discussion even further, to capture a broader emancipatory vision from the past, for the future.

Women were everywhere involved in twentieth-century decolonisation movements. They led strikes, gave speeches, marched, wrote articles, engaged in armed combat, supported guerrilla armies, organised protests, maintained boycotts, reorganised their home lives to support nationalist causes. Some – like Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti,

Bibi Titi Mohammed and Djamila Bouhired – became well-known figures in their own right. Many more laboured behind the scenes, doing the background organisational work that made the Great Men's speeches and mobilisations successful. Their names may be lost to the historical record, but their contributions were foundational. As much as we are drawn to narratives of singular, charismatic leaders, it is usually this day-to-day

labour that actually makes a movement successful.

Like men, women participated in these struggles for a variety of reasons. Some came to decolonisation movements through their prior connections to socialist, pan-Africanist, labour or radical organisations; others were caught up in the momentum, fed up with exploitation under colonial rule and seeking something new. Some had explicitly feminist visions of decolonisation. Women like Una Marson, Claudia Jones and Paulette Nardal, for example, wrote brilliant analyses of the intersections between colonialism, class, race and gender in the 1930s and 1940s, long before the theoretical framework of "intersectionality" became popularised. Their work still reads as relevant and insightful today.

Many twentieth-century nationalist leaders recognised the power of women's activism and attempted to reach out to them explicitly. Gandhi claimed that women were the central core of non-violent resistance, Patrice Lumumba argued that women's education was key to societal progress, Julius Nyerere critiqued gender inequality and called for women's freedom. New spaces were created by these movements as women left home, gained public platforms and armed themselves alongside men. Nationalist movements disrupted colonial political rule, but they also disrupted gender relations and social order more broadly, creating a unique moment of flux and opportunity.

These dynamics led to some clear gains for women: a number of nationalist parties pushed for women's

“Nationalist movements disrupted colonial political rule, but they also disrupted gender relations and social order more broadly.”

suffrage and many postcolonial states created institutions and social programmes that had beneficial impacts on women's lives. But many women found themselves disappointed with the state of postcolonial affairs. As nationalist leaders shifted from fighting the state to *being* the state, some of the spaces created by decolonisation movements were closed. Many state women's ministries and bureaus were marginalised or defunded over time; former combatants struggled to re-integrate, their once-praised role in armed battle now seen as a form of gender deviance; female activists were told to return to the home and focus on reproducing the new nation. Sexual expression and sexual minorities became targets of state repression in a number of contexts, seen as threats to the postcolonial order. M. Jacqui Alexander has described this as a process of "recolonisation", in which "the neocolonial state continues the policing of sexualized bodies ... as if the colonial masters were still looking on".¹

Alexander joins a larger group of feminist critics who have called for a more expansive vision of decolonisation, one that includes the overturning not only of imperial rule and global power hierarchies, but also of restrictive

gender norms, sexual repression, and the control of the body by the state. She outlines a vision of decolonisation "imagined simultaneously as political, economic, psychic, discursive, and sexual".² One could also turn to the work of Uma Narayan, Amina Mama, Sara Ahmed, Patricia Hill Collins, bell hooks, Audre Lorde, Sonia Corrêa, Heidi Safia Mirza, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Sylvia Tamale, Rosamond King... to name only a few. This rich literature should be seen as crucial for anyone interested in decolonisation: what it has meant, how it has been limited, and what it might entail.

These histories and perspectives are relevant not only for those who live in countries that experienced colonialism and political decolonisation directly in the twentieth century. We all carry the baggage of the imperial past, which continues to affect the way we see others, organise our societies and regulate our intimate lives. The emancipatory project of decolonial feminism provides a way of understanding this history, deconstructing its legacies and refashioning a more just and liberating world for all.

¹ In "Erotic Autonomy as a Politics of Decolonization: An Anatomy of Feminist and State Practice in the Bahamas Tourist Economy", in *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, ed. M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (Routledge, 1997), 83.

² *Ibid.* 100.

DÉCOLONISATION ET HUMANITARISME

Davide Rodogno

Professeur d'histoire et politique internationales
et responsable des programmes interdisciplinaires

Les formes et les expressions de l'humanitarisme transnational et international sont généralement étudiées séparément des activités domestiques. Par ailleurs, les interventions humanitaires, c'est-à-dire les actions coercitives menées dès le début du XIX^e siècle par des gouvernements pour mettre fin à des atrocités et des violences contre des populations civiles étrangères, sont souvent analysées séparément des actions

fut pas conçue comme une activité transnationale. Elle pouvait découler d'une conception religieuse ancienne, d'activités de sociétés d'utilité publique (privées ou semi-privées) destinées à une communauté locale dont les donateurs faisaient partie, ou, dès le XIX^e siècle, d'une action ciblée de quelques États. Pendant longtemps les humanitaires furent aussi des nationalistes – le contraire aurait été surprenant – et, aujourd'hui encore,

«civilisations» partageant le standard civilisationnel de leurs bienfaiteurs.

Le «saut» transnational de l'humanitarisme ne fut donc pas toujours systématique, ni l'apanage de l'Occident. D'autres cultures, civilisations et religions, notamment l'islam, ont des pratiques de charité, de bénévolat et d'entraide anciennes et sophistiquées. Dans sa version ottomane, un humanitarisme trans-impérial existait à l'heure où l'expansionnisme colonial européen battait son plein. Penser l'humanitarisme comme une invention de l'Occident est erroné, tout comme exclure *a priori* la possibilité d'un humanitarisme – ou d'un colonialisme – non occidental.

Pour sa part, l'humanitarisme occidental, dans sa version transnationale – visant à aider ou soulager la souffrance d'étrangers dans le besoin – a accompagné l'expansion européenne depuis la *Conquista*, l'esclavagisme et les mouvements abolitionnistes, bien avant la «belle époque» du colonialisme. De surcroît, il faut rappeler les expansions coloniales continentales, comme en Amérique du Nord où des organisations religieuses et philanthropiques furent parmi les hérauts de la conquête, de la charité et de l'implantation de l'État. Songeons par exemple à l'éducation des populations autochtones (y compris dans les *boarding schools* dont la presse a longuement parlé cette année), au développement urbain, de la santé et de l'hygiène publique, à l'assistance aux orphelins et orphelins ainsi qu'aux pauvres – particulièrement aux *deserving poor* (pauvres méritants). On retrouve ces



mêmes acteurs religieux et philanthropiques parmi les protagonistes de la «libération» (*sic*) et de la civilisation d'Hawaii, Cuba, Haïti ou des Philippines et de la ségrégation des Afro-Américains dans le Sud (et dans le Nord) des États-Unis. *Ergo*, penser le colonialisme dans toutes ses formes nous aide à penser l'humanitarisme dans toutes ses formes.

Replacé dans ce temps long, on peut bien distinguer un humanitarisme colonial et raciste. Les humanitaires avant la lettre, enfants des élites cultivées d'Europe, qu'ils aient été missionnaires, philanthropes ou agents de l'État, étaient imprégnés des principes moraux et religieux (chrétiens) sur lesquels allaient se greffer les théories racistes et eugénistes du XIX^e siècle. Les bénéficiaires des actions charitables savaient que les humanitaires (qui ne portaient pas encore ce nom) venaient avec, et pas contre, les colonisateurs et colonisatrices. Le prétendu

sauvetage ne répondait pas à une demande explicite ou implicite des bénéficiaires; d'ailleurs, tout sauvetage aurait été superflu si l'entreprise coloniale n'avait pas eu lieu – ce qui confirme l'idée de l'humanitarisme comme produit dérivé de la colonisation. S'en étonner serait aussi hypocrite qu'inutile.

L'humanitarisme à l'heure de la décolonisation ne devrait donc pas être étudié de manière isolée puisqu'il s'inscrit dans un temps long. La décolonisation ne porta pas dans ses bagages un changement fondamental du paradigme de l'humanitarisme international. Les organisations humanitaires s'adaptèrent à des contextes où l'ordre international et les souverainetés nationales changeaient. Ainsi, pendant la Guerre froide l'humanitarisme international occidental ne put opérer que dans les interstices que lui laissèrent – au prix de négociations âpres et compliquées – les deux

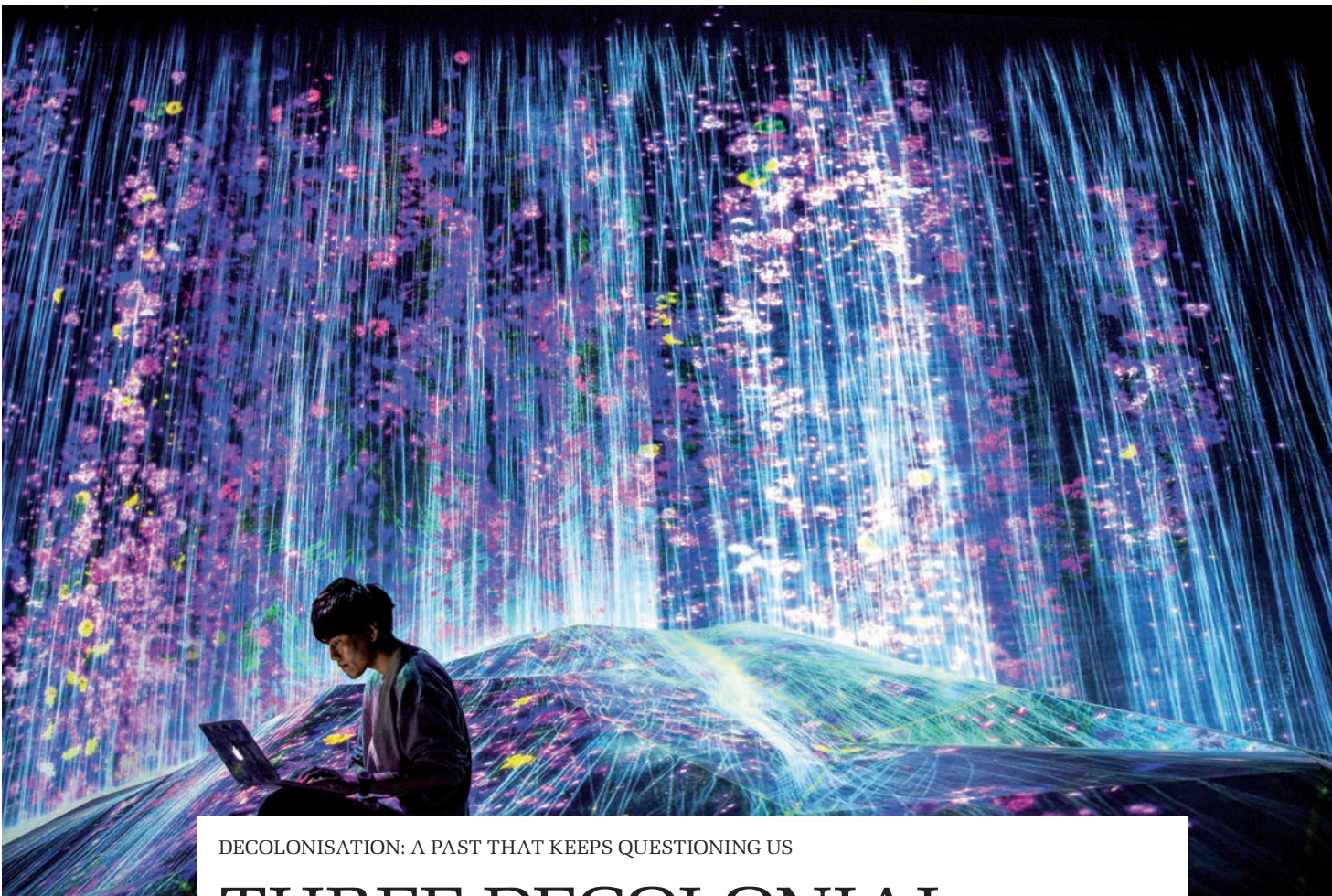
grandes puissances. C'est pourquoi le Biafra fut un théâtre d'hyperactivité humanitaire à la fin des années 1960 qui mena à la naissance de Médecins sans Frontières tandis que l'action humanitaire internationale resta très discrète au Brésil, au Chili, en Argentine ou en Tchécoslovaquie. La période éphémère de l'unilatéralisme américain suivant la chute du Mur de Berlin ouvrit des espaces que les humanitaires saisirent, comme ils l'avaient fait entre 1918 et 1927. L'espace humanitaire a toujours connu une géométrie variable, ce qui relativise les récits sur son rétrécissement actuel. Quant à savoir si et dans quelle mesure l'humanitarisme occidental a procédé à sa décolonisation, c'est une question qui reste à explorer de façon plus systématique.

LEBANON, Arsal.
A Qatari NGO, one of three operating relief groups after international humanitarian actors halted operations in the border town due to security reasons, distributes boxes of aid to Syrian refugees in Al-Masri refugee camp.
25 October 2014.
Maya HAUTEFEUILLE/
AFP

« Penser l'humanitarisme comme une invention de l'Occident est erroné, tout comme exclure *a priori* la possibilité d'un humanitarisme non occidental. »

humanitaires menées par des individus ou des organisations. Or, les pratiques humanitaires ont la plupart du temps un lieu d'origine spécifique et ne sont pas nécessairement conçues pour être transnationales ou globales; elles sont aussi locales et, je dirais, provinciales, hier comme aujourd'hui. Par exemple, l'aide aux pauvres et aux souffrants ne

l'imaginaire de l'ordre international de la vaste majorité des humanitaires se fonde sur l'État-nation. L'action humanitaire transnationale ne fut ainsi ni apolitique, ni universelle, ni systématique. L'aide aux militaires blessés ou aux prisonniers de guerre, par exemple, demeura longtemps réservée aux soldats appartenant aux



DECOLONISATION: A PAST THAT KEEPS QUESTIONING US

THREE DECOLONIAL QUESTIONINGS OF THE DIGITAL

Anna Leander

Professor and Head of the Department of International Relations/Political Science

JAPAN, Tokyo. A member of the teamLab collective works on his laptop in a digital installation waterfall room, filled with flowers which appear to flow over a hill, at Mori Building Digital Art Museum. 1 May 2018. Behrouz MEHRI/AFP

In what ways is decolonisation a past questioning the digital? Below, I scratch the surface of three possible answers to this question drawn from the rapidly expanding scholarship on the politics of the digital. They all share an understanding of decolonisation as the ongoing process of dealing with the traces – economic, social, cultural and otherwise – of colonialism in the contemporary world.

A first answer is that ongoing decolonising processes are afforded by the digital that opens for the possibility of

de-colonising through the digital. The digital is a space for nurturing decolonising political strategies and, more than this, to gather support for and build alliances around such politics. Decolonial activism has made astute use of the internet, as illustrated by the Mexican Zapatistas, the Arab springs or the Hong Kong Umbrella movement. In fact, today decolonising processes more frequently than not take place in the expanded place where the “online” and the “offline” are merged and connected. Amazonian

Indigenous people are protesting against colonialism online. This said, the “web-romanticism” that once marked understanding of the liberating potential of the internet is gone. The fate of digitally mediated activism has been sobering. Moreover, the pervasive surveillance, manipulation and exploitation of the digital for personal, political and economic reasons – extending and transforming past colonial practices – are severely limiting the prospects of decolonising digitally from within digital infrastructures. Yet,

activists have not relinquished the digital. They have adopted “[pragmatic strategies](#)” working *with* the digital from *within* rather than criticising it from without. Of course, part of such decolonial activism is directed at the digital realm itself.

infrastructures that enshrine the primacy of security and consumerism, visible even in the politics of [DAESH recruitment videos](#). Activists and academics hence point to the significance of decolonising the digital itself. So does Google’s AIUX design team,

“The *decolonising of the digital* has become a core stake for ongoing decolonial processes.”

A second answer is that the *decolonising of the digital* has become a core stake for ongoing decolonial processes. The digital is neither a mere tool for decolonial politics nor simply a “platform” where decolonising struggles play out. Rather, digital infrastructures perpetuate the marks of a colonial past. They are made by large public-private, often-military research projects, by the GAFAM (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon, Microsoft) and by an unruly undergrowth of enterprising innovators. They encompass the “Global South” that supplies much of the engineering, labour, data and space for experimenting required for these infrastructures to operate. Moreover, many countries, including China, Iran, Brazil and North Korea, are developing their own digital technologies and asserting their “cyber sovereignty”. However, priorities and control remain overwhelmingly with the “markets” and national security agencies of the Global North (the US in particular). The consequences are built into the

affirming the import of “redistributions of power” and “broader system change” to achieve “[racial equity in everyday products](#)”! In fact, *all* GAFAM have programmes dealing with the traces of colonialism in the digital that aim to make infrastructures more “inclusive” and “diverse”. Such claims testify to the commercialisation of everything, including revolution. Ironically, the decolonisation of digital infrastructures is pursued not only by radical “cyber activists” or governments in the Global South but also by the companies operating these infrastructures.

A third answer is that the *decolonising of digital subjectivities* has become so fundamental for the ongoing processes of decolonisation that it is now a condition of their possibility. The algorithms sorting, classifying, channelling and modulating data flows are not only shaping the business models connected to personalised advertising practices of companies and the profiling of intelligence or border

control agencies but also the gains made from the ransomwares or leaks of the hackers (or information system specialists) who manage to tamper with them. More radically, and in part through these processes, algorithms “make up people”. They are defining for what people experience, learn, think, feel, and so their development, thoughts and doings. They shape their within in a “[sticky](#)” way. Moreover, many people connect or export central part of their selves to the digital without. Memory is exported to calendars remembering appointments, the sense of space to apps that calculate routes, the appreciation for wine to wine-tasting apps, the ability to fall in love to dating apps, etc. “Subjectivities” have become digitally mediated and individuals “dividuals” distributed across the digital space. The subjectivities of smartphone-addicted teenagers but also of political activists and scholars are increasingly digital. Historians of decolonisation are no exception. Their sources, tools, publications and scientific exchanges are increasingly digitised. Decolonisation may be a past that keeps questioning us. However, that questioning is not a given. Can the digital subject (activist or historian of colonialism), marked by data colonialism, speak to articulate it? While the answer is uncertain, it is clear that cultivating openings in the [design of digital infrastructures](#) is a condition of possibility for this to happen.

These are three obvious, common, ways of connecting decolonising processes and the digital. Obviously much more could (and should) be said about the broader implications of these connections for decolonising politics – and perhaps politics tout court. There is scope for continuing the conversation.



L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Studying the Applications and Governance of Digital Technology

Interview with Amandeep Singh Gill,
Recently Nominated Professor of Practice

You were previously Executive Director and co-Lead of the Secretariat of the UN Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Digital Cooperation, and served as India's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. What led you to the Institute?

The Institute has a reputation for rigorous interdisciplinary work, cutting across international relations, development studies, global governance, law and anthropology. Its faculty and student body are representative of the diversity and richness of the world today. Moreover, the Global Health Centre was a welcoming host for incubating the International Digital Health & Artificial Intelligence Research Collaborative (I-DAIR). It might appear surprising that work on the applications and governance of digital technology should be conducted in a social-sciences-rich setting but, if we reflect a bit, it is absolutely the right thing to do.

Could you explain more about the work you are currently leading at I-DAIR?

I-DAIR's mission is to facilitate the digital transformation of health through collaborative research and development. Its origins lie in discussions from 2017–2019 on data governance, digital cooperation and AI to maximise the potential of these powerful technologies for good, while avoiding their misuse and missed use. Existing neutral platforms for science collaboration such as CERN have been

an inspiration, as well as the work of the UN Secretary General's Panel.

The focus in the first year has been on clarifying I-DAIR's value-add for national and regional efforts, building a diverse transdisciplinary team, and putting together key policy, funding and scientific partnerships. We have also concentrated on an innovative architecture of regional hubs (so far in Chile, India, Kenya, Singapore, Switzerland and Tunisia). This year our focus has been on kick-starting exploratory work under what we call "pathfinders", which provide an intellectual frame for distilling a scientific agenda for digital health, and on demonstrating how common research design, a shared neutral infrastructure and distributed datasets lead to collaborative development of AI.

What are your research and teaching priorities as Professor of Practice at the Institute?

One of my priorities is consolidating the Institute's long-standing intellectual contribution to international security and multilateral arms control with a new focus on emerging technologies. Another is to help students think about international knowledge-making in multiple domains by using a learning framework. A third is to create a policy niche on data and AI governance, while training a new generation of transdisciplinary thinkers through concrete examples of digital governance dilemmas and responses from the fields of health and security.



L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Consolider l'ancrage de l'Institut en Afrique

Entretien avec Dêlidji Eric Degila,
nommé professeur de pratique

Vous êtes originaire du Bénin et diplômé de l'ENA, vous avez enseigné la politique africaine au Japon et avez été conseiller à la coopération internationale auprès du président de l'Université africaine de technologie et de management – UATM. Comment êtes-vous arrivé à l'Institut ?

J'ai rejoint l'Institut en 2015 en tant que chercheur en résidence au Centre sur la gouvernance globale afin d'y conduire une recherche pionnière sur la place de l'Afrique dans la gouvernance globale contemporaine. Diplômé de formation, je me suis toujours intéressé à l'analyse des questions internationales en « spectateur engagé » avec la préoccupation de mieux comprendre les dynamiques à l'œuvre sur la scène mondiale. L'Institut et l'écosystème de la Genève internationale constituent un cadre privilégié pour étudier ces enjeux et reconfigurations.

Quels sont vos centres d'intérêts en matière d'enseignement et de recherche ?

Au début des années 1990, j'ai été marqué par le récit d'un camarade de classe dont la famille avait dû fuir un pays voisin du mien pour échapper à une guerre civile. Plus tard, j'ai cherché à comprendre pourquoi l'Afrique est si souvent confrontée aux affres de la violence armée qui compromet son développement. Ce questionnement m'a conduit à m'intéresser au processus de formation de l'État moderne africain, dont la trajectoire historique particulière

offre un éclairage utile. Mes axes d'enseignement et de recherche portent également sur l'intégration régionale et la gouvernance globale, ainsi que sur la migration et la santé.

Comment voyez-vous la place de l'Afrique dans la gouvernance globale et le rôle de l'Institut en Afrique ?

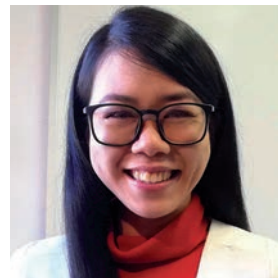
L'accélération du phénomène de la mondialisation et la reconfiguration post-bipolaire de l'espace mondial ont conduit à un positionnement nouveau de l'Afrique, longtemps perçue comme un angle mort du système-monde. Aujourd'hui, les États africains à l'instar d'autres acteurs du Sud global, ont pleinement investi la scène internationale en jouant au mieux leur partition dans la gouvernance globale, qu'il s'agisse des questions environnementales, commerciales ou en matière de santé, d'innovation et de propriété intellectuelle. Dans un monde tout à la fois interdépendant et fragmenté, il nous faut revisiter notre manière d'analyser les relations internationales, par-delà ce tropisme qui consiste à ne se préoccuper que des « grands ». Par sa position unique, l'Institut a un rôle de premier plan à jouer en stimulant la réflexion autour d'une approche décentrée et plus ouverte, en diversifiant ses partenariats et en consolidant son ancrage en Afrique, afin de donner plus à voir ce que les « périphéries » nous apprennent sur un monde en constante mutation.

New Assistant Professors in the Department of International Economics

Damien Neven

Professor and Head of the Department of International Economics

In September 2021, two new faculty members joined the Economics community at the Institute. We are very pleased to welcome Ms Yuan ZI and Ms IMELDA, who specialise respectively in trade and in environmental and resource economics, as new assistant professors in the International Economics Department. With these two new appointments, the department reinforces its competencies in areas with pressing global challenges. Yuan and IMELDA will contribute greatly to the Department's core mission to develop state-of-the-art research on policy-relevant issues in such areas. They also make the faculty more diverse and improve its gender balance.



IMELDA comes from Carlos III University in Madrid, where she worked as a postdoctoral researcher with Natalia Fabra on an ERC-funded project that investigates policies to achieve the energy transition with the least cost. She holds a BA and MA in Economics from the University of Padjadjaran, Indonesia, and obtained her PhD in Economics at the University of Hawaii in 2018. Her research explores the intersections of health, energy, gender and environmental economics, looking at how clean energy transition and policies

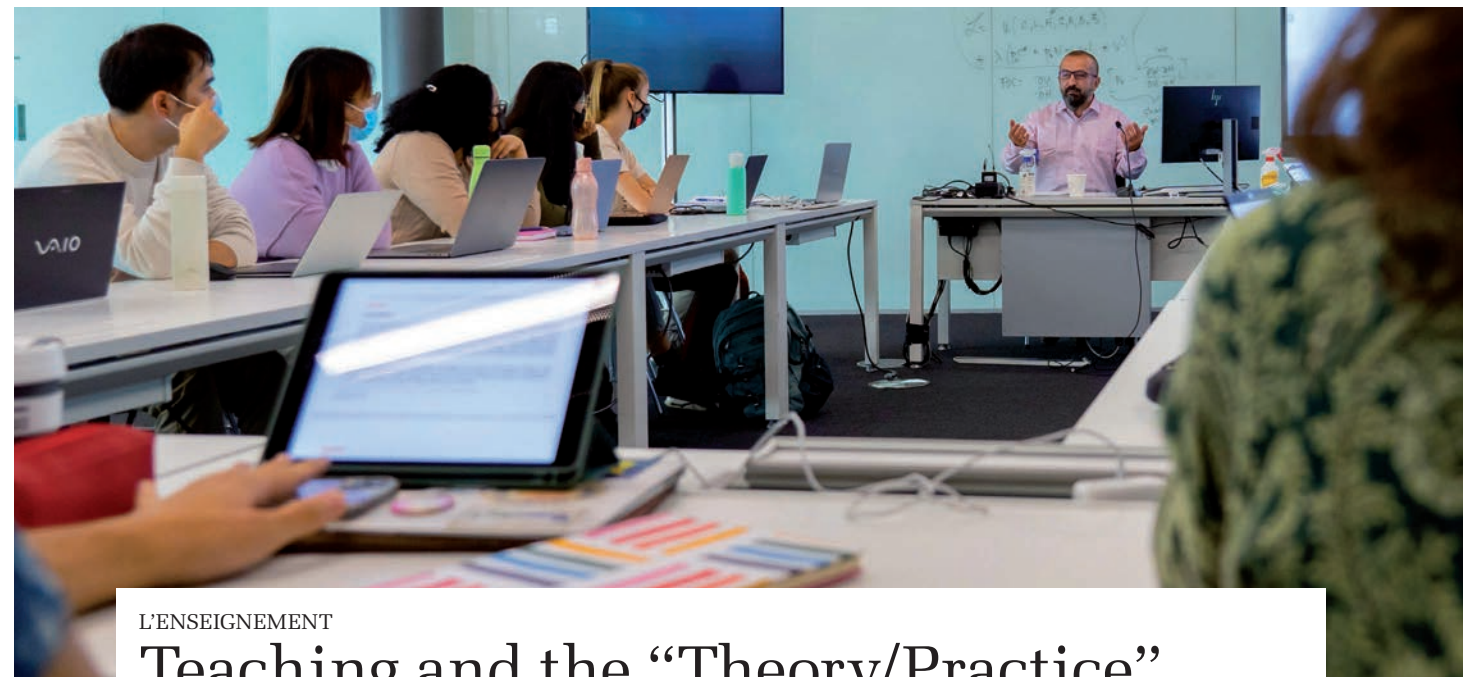
can improve welfare and market outcomes, answering questions such as: What are the health impact and economic consequences of a cleaner energy transition?

How much modern energy access can improve labour outcomes and reduce gender disparity? What is the social cost of having renewable energy in the electricity system? How much variable pricing can help in reducing the social cost of renewable energy? How can pricing renewables regulation improve market efficiency? She already has publications in the *Journal of Development Economics* and the *American Economic Association Papers and Proceedings* and a lot of exciting work to come. The Department is extremely grateful to André Hoffmann for his support in appointing IMELDA holder of the André Hoffmann Assistant Professorship in Environmental and Resource Economics and, more generally, his support in research and teaching environmental issues at the Institute. IMELDA has also joined the Centre for International Environmental studies (CIES).



Yuan ZI was previously Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Oslo and a Senior Researcher at the University of Zurich. She has also been a Research Affiliate at the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) since 2019. She holds a BA in Economics from Renmin University of China and obtained her PhD from the Institute in 2017. She received the *Review of World Economics* prize for one of the papers from her dissertation on "Trade Liberalization and the Great Labor Reallocation".

Her research interests focus on global value chains, trade and labour market interactions and firms in international trade. She has publications in the *Journal of International Economics*, the *Journal of Economic Geography* and the *European Economic Review*, as well as a number of fascinating pieces in the pipeline, including joint work with Andrew Bernard, Andreas Moxnes and Karen Ulltveit-Moe. Yuan joins the very active ecosystem of trade research and policy in Geneva. She also contributes to the Centre for Trade and Economic Integration.



L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Teaching and the "Theory/Practice" Divide

Fuad Zarbiyev

Associate Professor of International Law

One of the main challenges of graduate-level higher education institutions is the theory/practice divide. Theory is often derided as a set of armchair considerations, and theory-bashing and practice-fetishism are favourite pastimes for many practitioners. Theory is typically associated with thinking, and in contrast with acting, thinking is seen as a "resultless enterprise" (Hannah Arendt) or an "out of order" activity (Martin Heidegger). And in an amazing twist of logic, the word "academic" is often taken to be the opposite of "real-life" and has come to stand for "practically irrelevant".

Having started my academic career at the Graduate Institute after several years in legal practice, I often look at this state of affairs with a sense of bewilderment, since it betrays a deeply misguided view of both theory and practice. Naturally, theory is often produced in settings removed from practical urgencies and immediate practical needs, but that does not mean that theory is removed from practice. As the famous saying goes, there is nothing more practical than a good theory. A theory unconnected with practice is unlikely to be a good theory. Similarly, every field of practice is shaped and informed by a set of theoretical assumptions that are so deeply ingrained that they often go unnoticed. As John Maynard Keynes observed, "practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back."

Most of the students in the International Law Department come to the Graduate Institute to get a set of skills typically associated with graduate education such as critical thinking, analytic reasoning, independence of thought and writing skills. They do not mistake our department for a vocational training site. International law expands exponentially and its knowledge cannot be frozen in time. But it is important to appreciate what knowing law means in the first place. One can memorise all known treaty and customary rules, court decisions or arbitral awards (assuming such a thing is possible) and still not know international law. In my teachings, I explain to my students the difference between "knowing that" and "knowing how" and I tell them from my own first-hand experience why "knowing how", which should be the normal focus of graduate education, is much more valued in practice. Knowing a set of good legal arguments is certainly helpful, but even more helpful is to know what makes them good arguments and how one goes about making good arguments. The difference between the two is the difference between giving someone a fish and teaching them how to catch a fish.

Initiative Builds a Bridge to More Knowledge about East Asia

Interview with Alma Weijia Chen,
President of the China and East Asia Studies Initiative (CEAS)



What is the purpose of this student initiative?

The establishment of CEAS responded to the increasing demand among the Institute's student body to make sense of the latest political, economic and social developments of China and East Asia. The initiative is grounded in a strong faith in constructive dialogue and brings together different ideas, perspectives and cultures to build understanding, trust and friendship. The long-term vision of CEAS is to rise to the forefront of research associations on East Asian studies within Europe.

Why did you decide to create the Geneva Forum on East Asia, which was held from 11 to 15 October, and what is the concept?

East Asia plays an increasingly significant role in shaping the world economically, politically and culturally, yet the world still lacks knowledge about the region. To bridge

the gap, we designed this forum for intellectual, professional and cultural exchange for our student body and beyond. During this forum, we offered academic insights, networking opportunities and fun for students, scholars and professionals with an interest in East Asia from around the world.

Will gender, diversity, inclusion and sustainability issues be present in the discussions, and why?

Gender and diversity issues have become a hot topic of debate in recent years in East Asia. We aim to understand the motivations, importance and challenges faced by the social movements underway in each East Asian country, particularly by looking at how conservative gender norms have been formed in this region. Like with gender issues, East Asia is more concerned than ever about environmental sustainability as a region experiencing air pollution, severe changes in climate patterns, and extreme weather disasters. We will discuss how East Asia has contributed individually and collectively to sharing the burden of combating climate change as an emerging climate actor.

How do you see the evolution of the role of East Asia in the world?

We see East Asia as caught between two contradictory instincts. The first instinct is to engage more with the world by participating in international efforts and assisting with international development. The second instinct is to keep the East Asian states' traditional inward focus by preserving their identities and establishing their own narratives. These two instincts are not isolated; sometimes one can reinforce the other. How the various East Asian states decide to balance these two pressures will certainly have a significant effect on the future of East Asia's place in the world. But equally important is how the discourse and deeds of East Asian countries are received internationally. So, it is imperative to understand East Asia's position in a global context to better make sense of today and tomorrow's world.



LES ÉTUDIANT·E·S

Marking the Inaugural Geneva Debate

On 26 May 2021, the Graduate Institute hosted the inaugural Geneva Debate. Founded by a team of master students, the Geneva Debate seeks to become International Geneva's preeminent student debate on current affairs and global challenges.

For core team members Miguel Carricas, Jarrod Suda, Rebecca Mikova, Alexandre Maaza, Kyle De Klerk, Alisa Gessler and Mathilde Pasta, the idea behind the Geneva Debate is to serve as a youth-led public platform to critically engage on the invisible threats looming over the futures of young people today, including climate change, cyber-insecurity, global inequality and the erosion of trust.

The Geneva Debate was thus created as a collaborative project, with its advisory body, the Debate Commission, consisting of the Institute's Director, Marie-Laure Salles, as well as a number of senior academics and the Graduate Institute Student Association (GISA).

Ruth Dreifuss, former President of the Swiss Confederation, launched the debate "in a spirit of consensus and understanding" before a live and online audience in the Ivan Pictet Auditorium. Two teams of student debaters (Team Proposition and Team Opposition) then argued either for or against the motion "The State should make vaccination against COVID-19 a legal requirement for its residents".

"Members of the Debate Commission found that this year's motion was not only a timely and important contribution to today's public dialogue, it also touched on deep ideas about the State and its obligations", explained members of the Geneva Debate team. "We are excited for young people to debate these kinds of ideas in front of International Geneva."

After an intense debate, Team Opposition won the Lafayette Cup (a nod to the Lafayette Society, a student initiative that operates the Geneva Debate in coordination with the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy) for their argument against the motion, and Sarthak Roy (LLM in International Law) was distinguished as the "Best Individual Speaker".

Following her participation in the debate, Nicolle Renion of Team Proposition found that "the first Geneva Debate was an empowering platform that sought to reframe discourse at the Institute by asserting the importance of structured, nuanced and critical argumentation".

Professor Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, member of the Geneva Debate's jury, was "delighted at the introduction of this new tradition in the Institute's community and intellectual life. I commend the organisers and the two teams."

At the end of the debate, Director Marie-Laure Salles reminded the audience that "nobody has a monopoly on truth", and that all the debaters were winners "for opening up our internal black boxes".

The executive team on Geneva Debate day. From left to right: Miguel Carricas, Jarrod Suda, Rebecca Mikova, Kyle De Klerk and Alexandre Maaza.

One Master's Dissertation Finds Its Way to the Big Screen



For master graduate Maevia Griffiths, who documented the stories of four migrant women in Geneva, there was no better medium than film through which to tell their realities. Her film, *Elles, les (in)visibles*, was selected as part of the 2021 Geneva International Oriental Film Festival.

Why did you choose to do your dissertation as a film?

I have always really valued filmmaking as a method for research and a tool to bridge the gap between social science knowledge production and a wider audience. When I began my Master in Development Studies at the Graduate Institute, questions of power dynamics and positionality within the field of development made me rethink my research.

After taking many classes at the Institute that included visual anthropological studies, I knew I wanted my thesis to research the medium of filmmaking within social sciences. I was extremely lucky to find a very supportive supervisor, Professor Ricardo Bocco, who encouraged me to undertake this “life-changing” project. I say “life-changing” because making this documentary film for my thesis prompted me to pursue this as my career: I am undertaking another master's degree in Documentary Filmmaking at Goldsmiths, University of London.

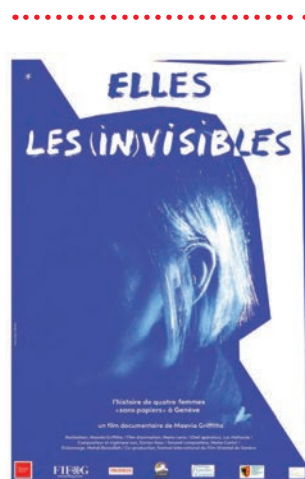
Your film, *Elles, les (in)visibles*, was screened as a part of the 2021 Geneva International Oriental Film Festival (FIFOG). Why was it selected for the Festival?

After interning for six months with the FIFOG, they offered to coproduce my film. It made sense to me to make a film about my own environment, positioning my legitimacy as a researcher and a filmmaker within my own context in Geneva.

Although my movie does not actually inscribe itself within Oriental films, the FIFOG remained interested in promoting local creations and discussing important local social subjects.

Can you explain a bit about what viewers can expect to learn/understand/have more awareness about after seeing your film?

The film concentrates on the lived experiences of four migrant women in Geneva, of whom two have been regularised and two remain irregular. It looks at the process of regularisation that was launched by the pilot project Operation Papyrus between 2017 and 2018 in Geneva, which regularised almost 3,000 people. Viewers will be able to stop and listen to people who rarely have their voices heard. My wish is that the audience starts questioning their gaze after watching this film, rethinking the ways in which we interact with our own cleaners, caregivers or simply the people we see on the bus.



Rencontre avec Hamza Benlarabi, étudiant de master en affaires internationales



Quel a été votre parcours avant de rejoindre l'Institut?

J'ai fait des études en relations internationales à l'Université Al Akhawayn, une université anglophone basée sur le modèle des arts libéraux et située au Maroc, dont je suis originaire. J'ai aussi eu quelques expériences à l'international en séjournant à Hong Kong lors de mon échange et en Argentine pour mon stage de fin d'études. Ensuite, j'ai travaillé en tant que conseiller auprès du ministre délégué au Ministère marocain des affaires étran-

gères pendant près de trois ans. Cela m'a permis de développer un certain nombre de compétences qui enrichissent mes études à l'Institut.

Pourquoi avez-vous décidé de venir étudier à l'Institut et à Genève?

Après quelques années au Ministère des affaires étrangères, j'ai décidé qu'il était temps pour moi de retrouver les bancs de l'école et de parfaire ma formation. J'ai été admis dans plusieurs écoles, dont la Hertie School à Berlin et l'Université Johns-Hopkins, mais j'ai finalement choisi l'Institut pour son approche interdisciplinaire, la qualité de ses enseignements, ses liens avec les organisations internationales à Genève et au-delà, et son programme d'aide financière.

J'ai aussi préféré venir à Genève, la « Mecque de la diplomatie », en raison de la grande concentration d'organisations internationales, sa position en Europe et les opportunités que cela représente – sans compter que la ville offre une qualité de vie inégalée tout en étant cosmopolite.

Qu'avez-vous particulièrement apprécié durant votre première année d'étude?

Ce que j'ai le plus apprécié, c'est ce sentiment d'appartenir à une communauté et la solidarité que cela implique. J'ai eu la chance de faire connaissance avec de nombreux membres de la communauté de l'Institut et de bénéficier de leurs conseils à chaque fois que j'en ai eu besoin. En outre, la réputation de l'Institut est telle que le fait d'y être associé ouvre beaucoup de portes.

Malgré les contraintes liées à la pandémie de COVID-19, l'enseignement est d'une qualité exceptionnelle et les professeurs et professeuses sont toujours prêts à nous accompagner dans nos projets de recherche. Enfin, l'Institut a su développer un véritable écosystème au sein de la Maison de la paix en regroupant un corps professoral, des centres de recherche et différentes institutions œuvrant pour la paix et le développement. De ce fait, étudiants et étudiantes bénéficient d'une densité d'expertise impressionnante.

Quels sont vos projets pour votre carrière professionnelle?

Je m'intéresse énormément aux questions de la migration, des changements climatiques, de la paix et des droits humains. L'idéal pour moi serait de contribuer à mieux comprendre les interactions entre ces problématiques et de proposer des solutions pour y répondre.



LES ÉTUDIANT·E·S

Taking Pride a Step Further

In this interview, Delcia Orona and Cihangir Can, respectively President and Vice-President of the Queer International Student Assembly (QISA), underscore QISA's important work in advancing the LGBTQIA+ agenda at the Institute and beyond.

Where does the LGBTQIA+ rights movement stand in Switzerland today?

Switzerland is viewed as an extremely LGBTQIA+ safe and friendly country, although there is still a significant amount of controversy surrounding the queer community. A referendum challenging same-sex marriage and access to sperm donations for sapphic and lesbian couples received 61,027 signatures. (Editor's note: it was held in September and rejected by the majority of voters.) Furthermore, pinkwashing and homonationalism still make up most of the LGBTQIA+ activism that is seen in Switzerland and most Western countries throughout the world.

We need to challenge heteronormative rules, regulations, spaces and discourses every single day. Pinkwashing often manifests itself in placing the rainbow flag in brands, on merchandise, or even showing up in political spaces, but those rainbow flags are often not accompanied by worker rights, protection of queer minorities, active inclusion of queer migrants and refugees, anti-discrimination laws or other concrete actions aimed at protecting LGBTQIA+ individuals.

How is QISA working on addressing these issues and stigmas in Switzerland?

QISA has been using its platform to visibilise the queer community at the Institute, and working towards addressing the ever-pressing issues facing the LGBTQIA+ community every day. QISA acknowledges the vitality of solidarity and has therefore been trying to build better relationships with local engaged associations of Geneva.

As a part of these efforts, QISA has significantly participated in the activities of the Graduate Institute Student Association (GISA) and hosts a number of events on critical LGBTQIA+ issues. This includes collaborating with ASILE LGBT (a Geneva-based association) to address the under- or mis-representation of queer migrants in mainstream and alternative media, hosting events on the LGBTQIA+ situation in India, and advocating for the queer communities in Turkey (specifically at Bogaziçi University).

Furthermore, QISA has organised a series of social and educational events aimed at finding activism through community, events on decolonising sexuality (including topics of pinkwashing and homonationalism), bringing forward discussions on diversity and inclusion, and a number of other events that aim at creating a more safe, just and welcoming environment for LGBTQIA+ individuals at the Graduate Institute and beyond.

While it is always important to have difficult conversations on the ways LGBTQIA+ individuals in the world have to continue to fight for their rights, it is also necessary to celebrate our existence, our identities, our expression and how far we have come.



LES INNOVATIONS

Un jardin potager communautaire pour l'Institut

Grâce au soutien de l'État et de la Ville de Genève et à la participation de la directrice de l'Institut, de son corps professoral, de sa communauté étudiante, de ses collaborateurs et collaboratrices ainsi que de requérants et requérantes d'asile, un projet de jardin potager communautaire de 400 mètres carrés a pris forme dans le parc Rigot.

Dialoguer, se rencontrer, se transformer tout en étant en contact avec la nature et les plantes font partie des objectifs de ce projet inédit pour l'Institut.

Entretien avec Eve Hopkins, coordinatrice au Centre sur les migrations globales.

Vous vous êtes portée volontaire pour participer au projet de jardin communautaire. Quelle est votre motivation ?

Le projet de jardin communautaire est une initiative transversale, qui compte plusieurs niveaux d'échanges sur un terrain où l'on voit physiquement se développer le fruit de notre travail. À cet égard il coche toutes mes cases : non seulement il est un lieu de rencontres, de partage et d'apprentissage de nouvelles compétences (je suis une néophyte du jardinage), mais il porte aussi une symbolique qui reflète des valeurs humaines auxquelles j'adhère entièrement. Ma motivation se gonfle d'enthousiasme ; l'équipe qui a mis en place ce jardin a fait un travail absolument magnifique, tout est là, même le petit coin ombragé. En plus, pour quelqu'un comme moi qui travaille au Centre sur les migrations globales, la curiosité de voir évoluer le centre d'hébergement collectif pour migrants de Rigot et d'y faire des rencontres a également été un vrai moteur.

Quels sont les bénéfices d'une telle expérience, tant au niveau personnel que professionnel ?

Outre me réjouir de déguster des légumes frais, j'apprécie le fait de travailler en commun. Nous avons d'ailleurs créé un groupe WhatsApp pour nous coordonner entre usagers du Bac 7, composé d'étudiantes et d'étudiants de master et d'un doctorant. La météo n'a malheureusement pas été favorable en ce qui concerne les rencontres, mais a été bénéfique pour régler la question du tournus d'arrosage !

Cela dit, le jardin est aussi un lieu très calme, il n'y a pas toujours du monde. La présence des autres se fait sentir par le choix des plantes et leur degré d'évolution d'un bac à l'autre. On apprend en observant et en contemplant. J'ai choisi d'y planter des fleurs comestibles, entre autres, et chaque visite est une découverte.

Avez-vous des contacts ou des interactions avec les personnes du centre d'hébergement qui participent à ce projet ?

J'ai malheureusement été absente pendant l'apéritif organisé entre jardiniers et jardinières, mais celui qui s'occupe du bac voisin, Mahmoud, est un vrai pro. Il est souvent présent et donne volontiers des conseils. Justement, je me réjouis d'y faire de nouvelles rencontres, de parler des expériences autour de la terre et des usages que chacune et chacun fait de ses récoltes, voire d'échanger des idées de recettes.

ISRAEL, Tel Aviv. During the June 2013 Tel Aviv Pride Parade, the anarcho-queer collective Mashpritzot holds a die-in to protest Israeli pinkwashing and the homonormative priorities of the city-sponsored LGBT+ centre. TMagen

Entretien

JEAN-QUENTIN DE CUYPER

Avocat chez Willkie Farr & Gallagher LLP
et président du chapitre de Bruxelles

Vous êtes président du chapitre de Bruxelles. Pourquoi avez-vous décidé de vous engager pour les alumni-ae ?

Sans hésiter, par reconnaissance pour tout ce que l'Institut m'a apporté, tant sur le plan personnel que sur le plan académique ou professionnel. Mon expérience d'étudiant à l'Institut de 1988 à 1990 fut si enrichissante et inspirante intellectuellement, mais aussi si riche en amitiés, en découvertes et en moments de joie, qu'il est pour le moins naturel de participer au développement de la renommée de l'Institut en Belgique.



Quelle est la mission du chapitre de Bruxelles et quelles actions concrètes avez-vous menées ces dernières années ?

La mission du chapitre de Bruxelles est identique à celle de tous les autres chapitres d'une institution académique : perpétuer la réputation de l'Institut et contribuer à son rayonnement à Bruxelles ; maintenir un lien entre les anciennes et anciens présents en Belgique et entre eux et l'Institut, son corps étudiant et son corps professoral ; faire connaître les développements de l'Institut ; organiser des conférences et débats animés par des alumni-ae ou des professeurs et professeures de l'Institut, etc. Certains de ces objectifs peuvent aujourd'hui être remplis grâce aux réseaux sociaux, mais rien ne peut remplacer la convivialité d'un repas festif, d'une visite culturelle ou d'une rencontre impromptue autour d'une bonne bière belge. C'est dans cette veine que nous avons organisé plusieurs visites, des réceptions et des conférences avec les professeurs Dupont et Mohamedou, avec Christian Leffler, ancien et secrétaire général adjoint du Service européen pour l'action extérieure de l'Union européenne, mais aussi avec Johan Swinnen, ambassadeur honoraire et membre actif de notre chapitre.

Après un arrêt de plus d'un an dû à la pandémie, nous allons bientôt relancer les activités du chapitre.

Vos études à l'Institut ont-elles été décisives pour votre carrière ?

« Avocat d'affaires » au barreau de Bruxelles, je ne peux pas prétendre que mes études à l'Institut aient été « décisives » pour ma carrière, mais elles l'ont été en ce qu'elles m'ont offert une formation unique et exemplaire, non seulement par la haute qualité de son corps professoral et de ses programmes, mais aussi par son caractère multidisciplinaire essentiel à la bonne compréhension du monde et des dossiers auxquels nous sommes toutes et tous confrontés dans nos professions respectives. Je ne crois pas aux vertus de l'hyperspécialisation au niveau des études, car celle-ci limite le spectre des solutions et car la créativité se nourrit de la confrontation des différentes disciplines.

En réalité, je ne suis pas venu à l'Institut pour trouver un emploi, mais pour me former. L'Université ne doit pas avoir pour objectif d'apprendre un métier, mais plutôt de réfléchir et nourrir l'esprit. Telle est, selon moi, la première qualité de l'Institut.

Portrait

JASMIN DANZEISEN

Senior Manager, Diversity and Inclusive Culture,
PricewaterhouseCoopers SA

Jasmin Danzeisen is half-Moroccan, half-Italian and was born and raised in St. Gallen, Switzerland. Her multicultural background inspired her early on to work in the area of international cooperation. In high school, she specialised in colonial history and modern languages. Jasmin pursued her studies in international relations at the University of Geneva and the Graduate Institute where she obtained her degree (*licence*) in 2007. In her time at the Institute, she specialised in security studies, trade and international humanitarian law. Jasmin represented the Institute at the international Jean-Pictet Competition in 2007 in which her team reached the semi-finals.

Jasmin's professional journey has been a mix of private and public sector experiences while keeping a focus on multistakeholder approaches to value creation. She started as an intern at the World Economic Forum while studying at the Institute, and joined the Forum full time after graduating. She had the opportunity to manage projects and multistakeholder partnerships in global health, sustainability and anticorruption. In 2009, she decided to go back to university and obtained a Master in Public Management (*summa cum laude*) from SDA Bocconi School of Management the following year. She completed her Master Thesis on Project Cycle Management at the Siemens Integrity Initiative in Vienna, Austria.

Jasmin moved back to Geneva in 2010 to join PwC's international development team providing strategic advice, evaluating programmes and projects of international organisations and NGOs globally. In her work, she travelled to countries in the global south and worked on projects in multiple countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia. In 2017, she joined an intrapreneurial team at PwC establishing a new service offering diversity, inclusive culture and equity (DICE+) consulting services. In her role, she advises both the private sector and international organisations on their diversity and inclusion (D&I) journey internally as part of their efforts in environmental, social and corporate governance (ESG). She also trains leaders and employees on D&I topics and contributes to developing thought leadership.

Since 2019, Jasmin has held a dual role within the firm. In addition to her external advisory work, she drives PwC Switzerland's internal diversity and inclusion efforts and works alongside HR and the leadership to define and implement D&I strategic priorities for the firm.

Jasmin is married (to an alumnus she met at the Graduate Institute) and is the mother of two boys and a girl.



→ www.graduateinstitute.ch/alumni



LA RECHERCHE

Welcoming Two SNSF Eccellenza Professorial Fellows

In September 2021, the Department of International History and Politics welcomed two Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) Eccellenza Professorial Fellows, Antoine Acker and Mischa Suter. SNSF Eccellenza Professorial Fellowships are aimed at highly qualified researchers who are developing their professorships. Eccellenza supports them in achieving their goal by allowing them to lead a funded research project with their team at a Swiss higher education institution.



ANTOINE ACKER

will lead a project entitled
AnthropoSouth: Latin American Oil Revolutions in the Development Century

His research plans to address the history of global fossil fuel transitions by looking at the interconnected fabrication of national petroleum economies in Latin America in the twentieth century. It examines the role model they played not only as anticolonial and anti-imperialist symbols, but also in creating patterns of state capitalist development in the Global South and increasing fossil fuel supply, trade networks and technologies on a global scale.

“As a transnational history project that starts from a Latin American perspective to highlight the diversity of regional paths towards a carbon intensive global economy, this project needs to evolve within a scientific environment inviting towards transregional comparisons and connections, and the Graduate Institute offers an ideal research context in this respect. The Institute’s history and academic profile also connect to the different threads that have driven my scholarly path: a critical engagement with development discourses and their empirical impact, a decidedly global conception and practice of history.

“Before working on the history of fossil fuels and the Anthropocene, I had projects about postcolonial migrations, and I published a book about the involvement of German business in the Amazon. It is an additional asset for me to be able to pursue these different interests in Geneva, where these topics are strongly represented by the faculty and in different initiatives. I feel particularly enthusiastic about working in a place where the teaching of history underlines global circulations and connections, and where I will be able to articulate my teaching offer about topics such as the history of petroleum as fuelling globalisation, connected histories of the Atlantic space, or the human origins of global warming.”



MISCHA SUTER

will lead a project entitled
Decolonising the Psyche: The Politics of Ethnopsychology, 1930–1980

He is an archive-based historian with a background in European social history and the cultural history of economic life. His current research focuses on the ways in which, by the mid-twentieth century, the human psyche became a site of political negotiations.

“Decolonisation’s expansion of citizenship on a worldwide scale posed a challenge to the human sciences. Was the psyche universally the same? Or was it culturally distinct? These questions – pondered by anthropologists, colonial psychiatrists, anti-imperial activists and global mental health organisations alike – gained tremendous urgency during the long process of decolonisation.

“In our research group, we examine by way of case studies how debates on the universality or particularity of the psyche unfolded across different strands of the psychological disciplines: psychoanalysis, developmental psychology and psychiatry.

“My first book, based on a dissertation at the University of

Zurich, looked at everyday forms of indebtedness in nineteenth-century liberal capitalism. In my second book, which I am completing at this very moment, I examine conflicts over money as a societal medium in Imperial Germany and the Habsburg Empire between 1870 and 1923. With the Eccellenza project, my interests shift further towards the global history of science in the mid-twentieth century. I could not think of a better home for the project than the Department of International History and Politics. Its faculty has such an extraordinary breadth of expertise in global and international history. What is more, I am thrilled to meet the Institute’s students. I also want to make use of the *genius loci* of Geneva, too, since many of our sources are housed in the WHO archives.”

■ ANTOINE ACKER will teach a course on “The Fuel of Globalisation: Transnational Histories of the Petroleum Century” in the autumn 2021 term, and one on “Competing Histories of Climate Change” in the spring 2022 term. MISCHA SUTER will teach courses on the “Global History of Science: Colonial Encounters and Beyond” in the autumn 2021 term and on “Introduction to Historiography and Historical Methods: Social History for a Global Age” in the spring 2022 term.



LA RECHERCHE

Gender in Peacebuilding: Local Practices in Indonesia and Nigeria

Interview with Wening Udasmoro, Professor, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

You are among the editors of *Gender in Peacebuilding: Local Practices in Indonesia and Nigeria*, the latest issue of the Graduate Institute's journal *International Development Policy*. The volume presents the results of a six-year research project built on a close collaboration between scholars from Indonesia, Nigeria and Switzerland. What are the benefits of this North-South partnership in research?



We, as South-North scholars, have gained many benefits from collaborative research. It has allowed us to work together with scholars with different research traditions, lending us the opportunity to collect diverse inputs of valuable insight. Co-authoring articles with researchers from other countries published in reputable international journals has also been possible. Moreover, we were given the chance to hold open discussions with outstanding international feminists, who provided us with their feedback on our research and articles. We also had direct discussions with active peacebuilders at local, national, and international levels.

What are the main objectives of the volume? And why is it important to do research on local actors, initiatives and processes?

There is a lack of literature for microlevel research on conflict and peacebuilding, as well as a lack of feminist literature on gender, war and peace. It is vital to study conflicts at the microlevel because from the different conflict areas in both Indonesia and Nigeria we found out how ingenious the local actors were in their endeavours to stop

or prevent conflicts. For instance, they would reinvent traditional mechanisms – some of which the governments had never thought of – to reach reconciliation. They would also use women's organisations or act through the youths (and their artistic creations). Through our book, we hope to disseminate such results not only to academics but also to policymakers and those living in conflict-prone areas.

What were your main findings on the role of gender in building peace?

Conflict is always gendered, as there is always a dominant group, usually a masculine force exercising its power. We found that gender is a driving force within both conflict cycles and peacebuilding initiatives. Furthermore, it is not just a matter of different kinds of agency between women and men. We saw how fluid femininity and masculinity were acted out in different societies, how women could fight against a regime and perform as masculine subjects and how men could practice non-violent masculinities for the purpose of avoiding bloodshed.

Read the volume in open access on
→ <https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/4494>

Read the full interview on
→ <https://devpol.hypotheses.org/1944>

LA RECHERCHE

Nouvelles publications



Yale University Press.
July 2021. 296 p.

STRANGE NATURES CONSERVATION IN THE ERA OF GENOME EDITING

Kent H. **Redford** and William M. **Adams**

Synthetic biology is transforming the agriculture and biotechnology industries. Gene editing tools, such as CRISPR, give scientists the power to reshape living organisms in unprecedented ways. Could they also be used to protect nature? This book explores that possibility, and the debates that it awakens.

Nature almost everywhere survives on human terms. The distinction between what is natural and what is human-made has informed conservation for centuries, but is now becoming blurred. When scientists can use synthetic biology to reshape genes more or less at will, what does it mean to conserve nature?

The current revolution in genetic technologies has potential radical implications for conservation scientists, both positive and negative. Conservation applications include the control of invasive species, protection against wildlife disease and even bringing extinct species back from the dead.

In *Strange Natures*, Bill Adams and Kent Redford draw on conservation science, genetics, science and technology studies, ecological restoration and political ecology to chart a way forward for conservation in the era of synthetic biology.



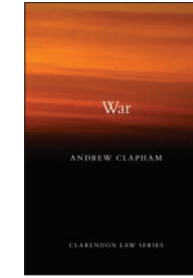
The University of
Chicago Press. 2021.
216 p.

A VIOLENT PEACE

Carolyn **Biltoft**

The newly born League of Nations confronted the post-WWI world – from growing stateless populations to the resurgence of right-wing movements – by aiming to create a transnational, cosmopolitan dialogue on justice. As part of these efforts, a veritable army of League personnel set out to shape “global public opinion” in favour of the postwar liberal international order. Combining the tools of global intellectual history and cultural history, *A Violent Peace* reopens the archives of the League to reveal surprising links between the political use of modern information systems and the rise of mass violence in the interwar world. Carolyn Biltoft shows how conflicts over truth and power that played out at the League of Nations offer broad insights into the nature of totalitarian regimes and their use of media flows to demonise a whole range of “others.”

An exploration of instability in information systems, the allure of fascism, and the contradictions at the heart of a global modernity, *A Violent Peace* paints a rich portrait of the emergence of the age of information – and all its attendant problems.



Oxford University
Press. July 2021.
624 p.

WAR

Andrew **Clapham**

How relevant is the concept of war today? This book examines how notions about war continue to influence how we conceive rights and obligations in national and international law. It also considers the role international law plays in limiting what is forbidden and legitimated in times of war or armed conflict. Andrew Clapham highlights how, even though war has been outlawed and should be finished as an institution, states nevertheless continue to claim that they can wage necessary wars of self-defence, engage in lawful killings in war, imprison law-of-war detainees, and attack objects which are said to be part of a war-sustaining economy.

A central claim in the book is as follows: while there is general agreement that war has been abolished as a legal institution for settling disputes, the time has come to admit that the belligerent rights that once accompanied states at war are no longer available. The conclusion is that claiming to be in a war or an armed conflict does not grant anyone a licence to kill people, destroy things, and acquire other people's property or territory.

Nouvelles publications



Oxford University Press. September 2021. 320 p.

IN DEFENSE OF PUBLIC DEBT

Barry **Eichengreen**, Asmaa **El-Ganainy**, Rui **Esteves** and Kris James **Mitchener**

Public debts rose to exceptional levels in modern history as governments responded to the COVID-19 pandemic, prompting apocalyptic warnings about heavy debts dragging down economic growth and burdening future generations. *In Defense of Public Debt* offers a sharp rejoinder to this view, marshalling the entire history of public debt to demonstrate its usefulness.

The authors argue that governments' ability to borrow has been critical in addressing emergencies – from wars and pandemics to economic crises – and in funding essential public goods and services, such as transportation, education and healthcare. Public debt securities are also behind the development of financial markets and, through this channel, economic growth.

History is littered with debt crises and defaults, but these dramatic events are not the whole story. Based on a comprehensive database, the authors identify the factors behind rising debts and the conditions under which they are successfully stabilised and reduced. Finally, they describe the role of public debt in managing the COVID-19 pandemic and recession, suggesting a way forward as the world emerges from the crisis.



Oxford University Press. August 2021. 240 p.

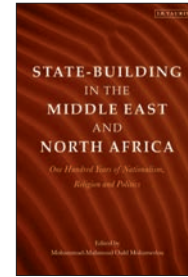
PAX TRANSATLANTICA AMERICA AND EUROPE IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Jussi M. **Hanhimäki**

Nationalism is on the rise; its economic twin, protectionism, is resurgent; Europeans are unwilling to cooperate with the US when it comes down to the use of military force. Is “the West” finished?

By examining three aspects of the post-Cold War transatlantic relationship, this book provides a robust repudiation of the widespread pessimism about the state of the West. First, despite Trump’s inflammatory and dismissive rhetoric, NATO has thrived by expanding its remit and scope. Second, the transatlantic relationship boasts the richest and most closely connected transcontinental economy in the world. Third, Jussi Hanhimäki traces the parallel evolution of domestic politics in the transatlantic space. He contends that populism is not causing a rift between the US and Europe. Rather, the spread of populism evinces that their politics are in fact closely integrated.

Shifts and even crises abound in the history of the transatlantic relationship. Still, “the West” endures. Not only will *Pax Transatlantica* continue to exist, the author concludes, it is likely to thrive in the future.



Bloomsbury/ I.B. Tauris. November 2021. 296 p.

STATE-BUILDING IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF NATIONALISM, RELIGION AND POLITICS

Edited by Mohammad-Mahmoud **Ould Mohamedou**

Following the end of the Ottoman Empire in the early 1920s, countries in the MENA region began a violent and divisive process of state formation. But a century later, state-building remains inconclusive. Why? In tracing the emergence and evolution of state-building across the MENA region, the authors reveal the ways in which the postcolonial state proved itself authoritarian, also identifying the nationalist and Islamist movements that competed for political leadership across the nascent systems, and the ensuing impact. Finally, in the context of the Arab Spring and its aftermath, the book shows how external powers reasserted their interventionism. In outlining the reasons why regional states remained hollow and devoid of legitimacy, each of the contributors shows that recent conflicts and crises are deeply connected to the foundational period of one century ago.

The volume features contributions by stellar scholars Faleh Abdel **Jabar**, Lisa **Anderson**, Bertrand **Badie**, François **Burgat**, Benoît **Challand**, Ahmad Samih **Khalidi**, Henry **Laurens**, Bruce **Rutherford**, Ghassan **Salamé** and Jordi **Tejel**.



Kaboul: Nasl-e Naw. 2021. 536 p.

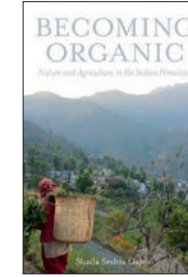
GUERRES ET MIGRATIONS RÉSEAUX SOCIAUX ET STRATÉGIES ÉCONOMIQUES DES HAZARAS D'AFGHANISTAN

Alessandro **Monsutti**

Cet ouvrage publié initialement en 2004, puis en version anglaise en 2005, a été traduit en persan par Belgheis Alavi et M. Ali Va'ez:

Jang wa mosâferat: shabakahâ-ye eĵtemâ'i wa eĵrâtezhihâ-ye eqtesâdi-ye hazârahâ-ye afghânistân

À partir du cas des Hazaras, originaires du centre de l'Afghanistan, l'ouvrage montre que l'étude des migrations et du transnationalisme est au cœur des débats théoriques et méthodologiques qui traversent l'anthropologie. La mobilité des personnes, les transferts de fonds et de biens (grâce au système *hawâla*) ainsi que la circulation intense de l'information entre l'Afghanistan, le Pakistan et l'Iran permettent de reproduire les liens sociaux en dépit de la guerre et de la dispersion. Les réseaux sociaux et les stratégies économiques des Hazaras illustrent la capacité d'une population de réfugiés à affronter une situation difficile.



Yale University Press. June 2021. 320 p. Free PDF also available.

BECOMING ORGANIC NATURE AND AGRICULTURE IN THE INDIAN HIMALAYA

Shaila **Seshia Galvin**

In recent decades, growing concerns about the environmental impact of industrial agricultural practices sparked the expansion of national and international organic standards and certification regimes. These apparent bellwethers of sustainable agriculture have helped to make “organic” a globally recognised signifier of food that is natural, pure and ecologically produced. Tracing the social and bureaucratic life of organic quality in the northern Indian state of Uttarakhand, this book asks what it means to become organic in a region that many claim has always been “organic by default”. It shows how “organic” is less a material property of land, its produce, or production methods, than it is a quality produced in discursive, regulatory, and affective registers. Offering an historically grounded, ethnographic account of contemporary development practice in rural India as it unfolds through complex relationships forged among state authorities, private corporations and new agrarian intermediaries, *Becoming Organic* urges its readers to think anew about agrarian worlds in the twenty-first century.



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GENDER IN PEACEBUILDING LOCAL PRACTICES IN INDONESIA AND NIGERIA

Edited by Elisabeth **Prügl**, Christelle **Rigual**, Rahel **Kunz**, Mimidoo **Achakpa**, Henri **Myrntinen**, Joy **Onyesoh**, Arifah **Rahmawati** and Wening **Udasmoro**

Gender, age, class, ethnicity, religion and political ideologies all matter in peacebuilding. Adopting a feminist approach, the 13th volume of *International Development Policy* analyses such intersecting differences in local contexts to develop a better understanding of how intersectionally gendered dynamics shape and are shaped by peacebuilding. Findings are presented from a six-year collaborative research project that, involving scholars from Indonesia, Nigeria and Switzerland, investigated peacebuilding initiatives in Indonesia and Nigeria. The authors identify a number of logics that highlight how gender is deployed strategically or asserts itself inadvertently through gender stereotypes, gendered divisions of labour, or identity constructions.

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Couverture : FRANCE, Paris. A ceramic painting at 10 rue des Petits-Carreux, one of the last remains of the French colonial era, classified as a Historic Monument since 1984, with traces of vandalism. 17 June 2020. Anne-Christine POUJOLAT/AFP
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