

EUROPE:BEYOND

A Magazine of the Institute for a Greater Europe

The Future of an Autonomous European Union

Afghanistan Negotiations and the Irish Connection

Cleaning Up Our Cosmic Neighborhood

Defusing Tensions in the Himalayas

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Note from the Editor-in-Chief



Valentin Lutumbue
Editor-in-Chief

There rarely was as long a year as 2020. As one might say, it was one of those years where several years happen. From the fallout of the Second Nagorno-Karabakh war to the devastation that crippled Beyrouth, from a coup in Mali to historical elections in Kyrgyzstan, Bolivia or the United States... The last half of 2020 still had much in store for us.

On a more joyous note, it has definitely been a full year for our Institute. Since issuing our journal this Summer, we have launched several new projects, including the creation of an Asia-Pacific Chair, a book in partnership with the EU-Russia Civil Society Forum, and obviously the very magazine you now hold in your hands.

It is with enthusiasm and eagerness that we at the Institute start this new year, filled with new challenges, in a new and changed Europe. A Europe, with a United Kingdom out of the EU. A Europe in a now post-Trump world. A Europe, where for the second time in less than a decade, the border between two sovereign states has been moved through conflict.

In many respects, European politics will have to reinvent themselves in 2021. It is a changed continent, but also a changing one, and we are excited to be able to change with it.

Brussels, Belgium



Note from the Managing Editor

Jack Lashendock
Managing Editor

Throughout my tenure with the Institute, I have always had a unique position on the editorial board. Surrounded by my European colleagues, I am the sole American on the team and one of only a few team members to reside on the western side of the Atlantic Ocean. This perspective has been extraordinarily enriching. Through the various publications of IGE, from our podcast to our journal, and even the internal Slack channel, the opportunity to engage with my colleagues on our collective differences and promote invigorating dialogue, which results in a greater understanding of the world around me, has been a strong part of what drives me to continue to be a member of this organization.

It was in this spirit that we have decided to publish our inaugural magazine! In this, our first issue, brilliant minds from both sides of the Atlantic have come together to explore pressing issues from across Greater Europe (and even miles above it!) and offer solutions for a more prosperous world.

This project could not have been undertaken without the full support of the Institute. My sincerest gratitude is extended to the writers and contributors who have filled these pages with their work. I must also highlight the people who, behind the scenes, worked tirelessly to edit, format, and provide guidance on this project. Beyond:Europe is the first large-scale publication I have had the honor of editing and I am excited about its continual publication.

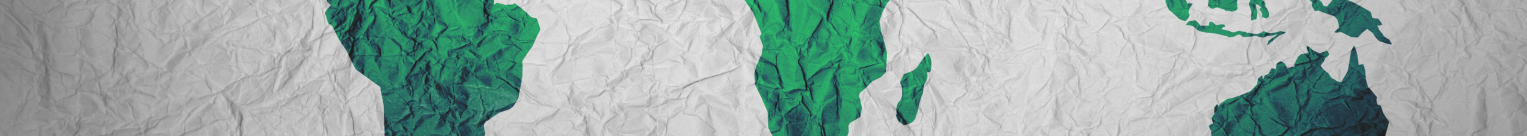
To our long-time readers, I sincerely hope you enjoy this more frequently published content; to those who have only just joined the IGE community, I welcome you from the Western shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Thank you for your support and happy reading!



Boston, Massachusetts, USA



Updates from the INSTITUTE



The end of 2020 and the start of 2021 has been an active time for the Institute and we've got a range of updates and exciting projects that have happened, and that we're looking forward to over the next couple of months.

What we've done

Opened abstracts for the Greater European Journal Volume 3. Our biannual Journal has had its abstract submissions opened again and we are looking for the best articles from young academics all over Greater Europe and beyond.

We invite submissions by students and early career researchers in European Studies, Political Sciences, Law, International Relations, Sociology, Geography, and History, as long as they relate to the Journal's themes (Europe as a Global Actor, EU Neighbourhood and Accession, European Integration, Transatlantic Relations, and Global Politics).

We focus on five geographic categories: Western Europe and the Atlantic; Central and Southern Europe; Eastern Europe and Russia; EU-Asia and Eurasia; Middle East and North Africa.

Deadline: 6th of March 2021

Abstracts should be no longer than 400 words and are to be sent to:

journal@institutegreatereurope.com

For more information and complete guidelines, visit:
<https://www.institutegreatereurope.com/submissions>

We've published one of our largest articles yet!

Over the Holidays we coordinated again for our 'Institute Presents: Traditions of Christmas' and managed to get over 40 people involved in the project! Thanks to everyone who participated in both that, and the Orthodox Christmas traditions, you can check out the article on our website.

First events with MEP Markéta Gregorová and MEP Nacho Sanchez. This winter we held our first online events, discussing with policymakers MEP Markéta Gregorová (Greens/EFA) and MEP Nacho Sanchez (S&D). Thanks to everyone who joined for their engaging discussions.

Event with Matjaz Gruden, Director of Democratic Participation at the Council of Europe. Thank you to all those who came to our most recent event with Matjaz Gruden. It was a great time discussing his work at the Council, Covid-19 effects on democracy, democratic backsliding and populism. We are all looking forward to reading the most recent report on the state of democracy, human rights and the rule of law in Europe.

Hired our new Chair of EU Asia-Pacific Studies. We've welcomed a new person to the Institute this month, **Timothée Albessard**, who will be heading up our new section on EU Asia-Pacific Studies. This special rubric aims to provide policy briefs and research articles bearing upon the strategic interests and cultural ties between the EU and the Asia-Pacific region.

We will be looking for new writers, so feel free to send your CV and a short mention of your regional interests at EU-AP@institutegreatereurope.com if you want to join him in this exciting project.

Published our first Magazine. This will come as no surprise (you're reading it) but we're very excited to publish this first edition of the magazine and we hope all of you will enjoy it too! Do send us feedback at magazine@institutegreatereurope.com.

We've reached that 100th Article milestone! This month we celebrated our 100th Article being published. Thanks goes out really to all the amazing writers who have kept us through these past years and the incredible content they have put out. Here's to our next 100!

What's next?

Events. We will be continuing with our monthly events and looking to run an academic workshop all about our Upcoming Journal and a few more on Portugal's role in the EU. Keep an eye on this space here (and our Facebook page) and make sure to join us for our monthly events.

Recruitment. We're looking for new writers! Every year we open applications for new core writers for our team. If you're motivated, interested in developing your research skills, and want to connect with a great team from all over Greater Europe and beyond, send us a CV, motivation letter, and an email to: recruitment@institutegreatereurope.com.

Deadline: 1st of March 2021

Book Publication for the Europe Lab with the EU-Russia Civil Society Forum.

We have the honour of being shortlisted for the Europe lab project run by the EU-Russia Civil Society Forum! With this project, we are working on a book currently entitled 'Places in the Sun: Decolonial Encounters in Greater Europe.'

We're looking to publish around 18 essays in this book, looking at the following three themes:

1. Decolonialism in the West;
2. Understanding Post-Socialism Through Post-Colonialism;
3. Exploring the Dialogue between the Second and Third world.

If you're interested in getting involved and potentially being published in our book, please send an email to our editor-in-chief, Valentin, at editorial@institutegreatereurope.com.

The book and the Europe lab project will both be published in July!

BELFAST TO BALKH:

How the Precedent Set by the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition Can Bring Peace & Revitalize Women's Rights in Afghanistan

Samantha Hubner

As we celebrate the 20th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, the intersection of women, peace, and security is heavily underscored - particularly in protecting Afghan women's right to be heard and heeded as intra-Afghan negotiations continue with their former oppressors already occupying a seat at the table.

Afghan Society and UNSCR 1325

Over the last year, landmark negotiations —called the intra-Afghan negotiations— have been taking place between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GoIRA) and the Taliban, the now-infamous group that initially came to power in Afghanistan during the 1990s. The Taliban were known for believing that the way to restore peace to Afghanistan was through enacting an austere version of Sharia law, which notably stripped many rights away from Afghan women and girls. The Taliban fell after the 2001 invasion by the United States, following 9/11, which led to the establishment of the modern GoIRA. However, because the Taliban remains a significant political force in the country today, the intra-Afghan negotiations are hoped to reconcile the ongoing tensions between the two parties.

At the crux of this power struggle is the role, rights, and security of women in Afghan society. Before the 1970s, the

life of women in Afghanistan looked vastly different than what it does today. Women in Afghanistan had achieved the right to vote, abolished purdah, and secured equal rights to political participation. Afghanistan was even among the first signatories of the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), aiming to further secure women's rights and prevent gender discrimination on a global scale.

However, shortly after signing CEDAW in the summer of 1980, the Soviet-Afghan war began, and by 1989 the war's devastation left behind a volatile power vacuum. The Taliban seized this opportunity, instituting societal norms under Sharia law that abandoned the principles of CEDAW, as well as many



other fundamental human rights for women. The rights and role of women in Afghan society, in particular, were dramatically reverted: women became largely forbidden from public society.

Despite the rapid surrender of the Taliban after the US invasion in 2001, CEDAW was not formally ratified in Afghanistan until 2003. However, in the years it took for CEDAW to be officially ratified in Afghanistan, the international community increased its focus, elevating their commitment to women's rights through the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. UNSCR 1325 declared women's inclusion in peacebuilding as the foremost precursor to lasting stability.

The 2015 Afghanistan National Action Plan (ANAP) outlined a strategy for domestic implementation of UNSCR 1325. It demonstrated a firm understanding of the principles of UNSCR 1325 and outlined a methodical approach to each objective. However, ANAP lacked one crucial characteristic: a budget. With no financial planning, implementation was highly disorganized and inconsistent. These obstacles were compounded further by increased politicization and fragmentation of responsibilities.

However, the GoIRA is by no means the only stakeholder to be held accountable in the peacebuilding process, as the United States has also been intimately involved. After making progress in implementing its own National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, the US increased its accountability with President Trump's signing off the Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017.

This legislation legally binds the US to operate as a global leader promoting women's participation in preventing and resolving conflict and sustaining democracy in fragile states.

Lessons, not Luck, of the Irish

It is vital that women, peace, and security remain at the forefront of the intra-Afghan negotiations. The Belfast agreement serves as an ideal historical precedent for why women's participation in the intra-Afghan negotiations is necessary for these negotiations' success. The Belfast Agreement settled three decades of violent campaigns between unionists and nationalists in Ireland, and is celebrated as one of the most successful peace treaties of all time.



American Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, visits with Afghani Politicians in Kabul
Photo by: US Embassy in Kabul (Photo in the Public Domain)

A critical factor in that success was the inclusion of women through a diverse, apolitical women's coalition. Catholic and Protestant women's groups joined forces to create a unified body to participate in the peace negotiations, one of the few that united Catholics and Protestants. This coalition secured language to protect women, prevent further violence, and played a critical role in garnering public support.

This section will qualify **five recommendations**, epistemologically built from the success of Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, to secure Afghan women's rights during the intra-Afghan negotiations.

Phase 1: 2020 - 2021

I. Establishment of an Independent Afghan Women's Coalition (IAWC).

The broader interests of the GoIRA cannot be permitted to interfere with women's inclusion in the peace process. Therefore, it is necessary to redirect leadership of women's participation to the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), in partnership with locally-engaged NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, (NGOWG) to form a new cross-community representative body of Afghan women. This body will participate as an independent stakeholder in the intra-Afghan negotiations. The Independent Afghan Women's Coalition, (IAWC) with the assistance of UNAMA and NGOWG, will aim to produce bulletins to promote awareness and articulate degrees of support—or lack thereof—on the progress of the negotiations.

II. New Peace Agreement with Provisions for Women's Inclusion

The Constitution of Afghanistan explicitly guarantees the equal rights of men and women before the law. In February, Taliban leadership echoed this Constitutional commitment, declaring: "[W]e together will find a way to build an Islamic system in which all Afghans have equal rights." Furthermore, the United States, as a prevalent peace broker between GoIRA and the Taliban, has made a steadfast legal commitment to protect and ensure the participation and inclusion of women in peace processes. Altogether then it is reasonable to request all parties to draft a new agreement that mandates specific provisions for the IAWC's active inclusion in all

intra-Afghan negotiations and peace processes. This includes, but is not limited to, the following stipulations:

- A quorum of five IAWC delegates present during any negotiation, be it formal or informal.
- A symbolic quota of signatures from the IAWC delegation on any agreements to demonstrate support or lack thereof.
- If GoIRA and/or the Taliban do not wish to grant the IAWC symbolic signatory power, they must collaborate with IAWC and the US to correct the ratio of negotiating presence to, at minimum, 40% women. The GoIRA ratio now sits at 24% women.
- Establishment of a small, independent oversight body to actively observe and protect the IAWC delegation as well as any other female negotiators from any intimidation or harassment by other stakeholders.

After the initial February peace agreement with the US, the Taliban declared that "If we can reach an agreement with a foreign enemy, we must be able to resolve intra-Afghan disagreements through talks." Therefore, an agreement to guarantee fellow Afghans' engagement in these "talks" should pose no objections, regardless of gender.

Phase Two: 2022-2024

III. Recommitment of the GoIRA to Phase 2 of ANAP

While some may argue it is unrealistic to expect GoIRA to put its weight behind ANAP following the controversial election, President Ghani made a commitment to the duration of ANAP, to which he must be held accountable. With only two years left in phase two, it is critical to focus on the sections that can be realistically accomplished given current resources. Of the eight recommendations made after phase one, only the first recommendation should be prioritized, which focuses on ensuring

diverse groups of Afghan women meaningfully participate in peace talks, including as negotiators: now consolidated through advocacy for the establishment and participation of the IAWC.

IV. A National Action Plan for Peace (NAPP).

This peace process must be accompanied with a written commitment to not only women but broader Afghan civil society; the importance of gaining public support for any agreement reached cannot be overstated. This public engagement strategy is a twofold initiative that both aims to address where ANAP left off, while also collaborating with key media outlets to create a regular publication that circulates the ideas and perspectives of all citizens on GoIRA's progress toward peace. This effectively gives citizens their own seat at the table while also giving GoIRA a finger on the invaluable pulse of public perception. The NAPP must first rectify ANAP's shortcomings in addressing disarmament, the proliferation of weapons, and the illegal drug trade. The public engagement portion of the NAPP should aim to allow Afghan citizens' views on the peace process to circulate freely and widely through a strategic partnership with respected news organizations.

Phase 3: 2025-2026

V. Women's Convention on the Progress of Peace in Afghanistan

In looking toward the latter half of the decade, the most pragmatic approach is to recognize that current problems may not reflect future needs. Before the end of 2025, the IAWC should coordinate with the Afghanistan Directorate of Human Rights & Women's International Affairs to host two conferences whereby a minimum of five female delegates from each of the 34 provinces participate in workshops curated to elicit feedback on the progress of the negotiations thus far. The feedback generated should lead the development of critical and realistic objectives for the following five years in a new and improved

ANAP. These objectives should mirror the two-year maximum implementation cycle outlined above. This pattern of auditing and implementation must continue until peace and stability have lasted eight presidential terms.

Conclusion

If peace is to be achieved in Afghanistan, we must reconcile with the uncertainty of what is to come in the next decade by ensuring that above all else, we hold all parties accountable to their commitments, particularly those to which they are legally and constitutionally bound. If we remain steadfast in those objectives, we may yet cast off the shackles of archaic traditions of oppression—securing the meaningful participation of women in all aspects of society—and consequently, a markedly brighter future for all of Afghanistan and the world.

About the Author

Samantha Hubner is a Masters candidate at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, as part of the Map Your Future pathway. In addition to her studies, Samantha also currently works as a Student Analyst with the Institute for Business in the Global Context Digital Planet, with a research focus on digital trust, disinformation, and the role of big

data as it pertains to reconciling the global digital divide. She also works as a Senior Consultant in Global Security at tech start-up Premise Data, where her portfolio spans Africa, Europe, South America, and Southeast Asia; it is her ongoing work in



Afghanistan at Premise, alongside her extensive work in women's empowerment both domestic and abroad, that inspired this piece.

SPACE DEBRIS :

The Solution To this Self-Created Problem May Lie With Private Innovation,
Not Legal Norms

Fiona Davis

As more nations and private companies become space-faring, and as human survival becomes increasingly dependent on space-based capabilities, maintaining a clear path for free access, use, and exploration of space is essential. But one of the greatest roadblocks to this progress for corporations and governments alike is a self-created one: the growing threat of space debris. With more space actors launching ever-increasing numbers of space objects, satellites, and satellite constellations, the greater the risk for collisions and the creation of additional space debris.

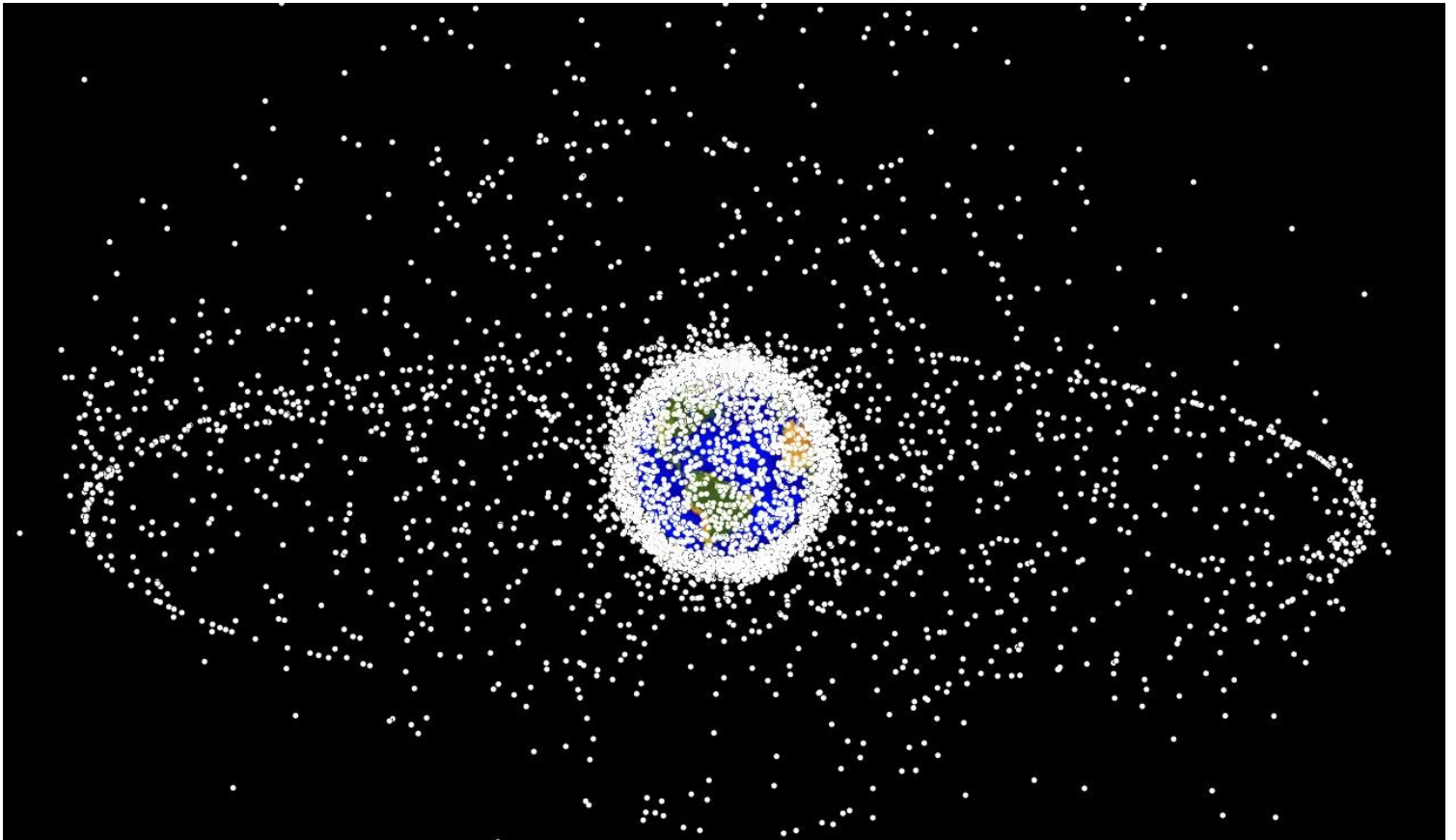
2018 estimates by the European Space Agency (ESA) showed that just six percent of space objects, in the already crowded Low Earth Orbit (LEO), were functioning satellites or other functioning space objects. The rest of the catalogued objects were non-operational satellites, expended launch mechanisms or broken parts of space craft, and debris from collisions, weapons tests, and explosions. According to NASA, LEO is now considered the "world's largest garbage dump," littered with millions of pieces of debris travelling at speeds of up to 18,000 miles per hour. Many scientists and policymakers fear that as activities in space producing space debris increase, a "self-sustained collisional

cascading process" known as the Kessler Syndrome will render some of Earth's orbits completely unusable.

Some policymakers look to the international legal framework to address the challenge of space debris. The international legal framework, made up of five core treaties governing space activities, has not been updated since 1979 and does not include any binding legal prohibition or limitation specifically relevant to space debris - the term space debris is neither defined nor referenced in any of the five treaties.



While the development of new binding legal requirements has been stagnant, the UN Committee for the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UNCOPUOS) and the Inter-Agency Space Debris Coordination Committee (IADC) have been relatively



Computer Generated Image of Objects Tracked by NASA

Source: NASA Orbital Debris Program Office (Image in the Public Domain)

successful in developing non-binding debris-mitigation norms. While these are non-binding measures, they are intended to be and have been incorporated into national legislation of multiple key space actors including the United States, Russia, and Canada. Many emerging space nations have expressed support for the norms even though they have not yet enacted implementing legislation, creating a positive outlook for a stable and equitable space sustainability framework that could eventually scale up to the level of treaty or customary international law.

However, studies performed by the IADC and corroborated by the H2020-ReDSHIFT project point to the fact that the mitigation efforts contained in the non-binding IADC norms “will not be enough to reverse the negative trend in the most used orbits.” Rather, the studies assert the need for robust remediation and removal initiatives to de-clutter the environment.

The European Space Agency (ESA) has taken an active role in pushing removal schemes forward via its Active Debris Removal / In-Orbit Servicing Clean Space Initiative. So far, ESA has only undertaken missions to conduct “orbital captures” of “cooperative, fully-controlled target objects” as opposed to debris which is uncontrolled. But in December 2020, ESA announced it had awarded an \$86 million dollar contract to a private Swiss company, ClearSpace, which will carry out a mission to capture an uncontrolled debris item, known as a Vespa, which was left in “gradual disposal orbit” after it propelled Europe’s Vega launch vehicle into space in 2013. ClearSpace’s capture technology capsule will use robotic arms to net the Vespa debris before de-orbiting and safely disintegrating in the atmosphere.

ESA and ClearSpace hope the mission will serve as a business test-case for a practice that will one day be commonplace. Indeed, ClearSpace is not the only company seeking a piece of the debris-removal market. The Japan-based company, Astroscale, has a similar mission to ClearSpace and plans to offer in-orbit servicing and restoration of satellites along with end-of-life services and active debris removal.

While commercial development still out-paces regulatory and legal development, the advent of these space debris removal companies has the potential to provide solutions from the private sector that are a step ahead. Their proactivity in the face of legal confusion may actually save industry and state actors from their own self-created problem of overcrowding in space where the legal system falls short. Regulation on an international scale and cooperation is still needed, but innovation could be the hold-over solution until legal norms catch up.

About the Author

Fiona Davis, a native of Manchester-by-the-Sea, MA, graduated from Harvard University in 2018 with a concentration in Government, secondary in History, and citation in French. Her undergraduate research includes work on European memory laws, unconditional surrender and its effect on international human rights law, and legacies of French colonialism.

After graduation, she worked abroad conducting research on contested historical monuments with the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation in The Hague, Netherlands, Salzburg Global Seminar in Salzburg, Austria, and the



International Bar Association. She returned to Boston in 2019 to gain legal experience at The Brattle Group, an international economic consulting and expert witness firm, before starting graduate school. She is now pursuing a master's degree with a focus on space law and policy at The Tufts Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

GLOBALISM AND THE PATH TO EUROPEAN STRATEGIC AUTONOMY

ARCANGELO LEONE DE CASTRIS &
EDOARDO BOMBARDIERI



**Handle
with care**

I. Introduction

The European Union's role as an actor on the global scene is at a crossroads between challenges and opportunities. Strategically, a target direction has been envisaged, but the question of whether the Union will have the capacity to steer its politics and policies accordingly is yet to be answered. International power relations are changing at an unprecedented pace, and the set of tools mastered by the EU to navigate the post-World War II 'liberal world order' isn't fit for purpose anymore.

Traditional diplomacy and international multilateral cooperation are being overhauled by competition and transaction-based relations, while the values of peace and collective shared growth are increasingly met by plunging political support. Consequently, in response to these global trends, the EU is reconsidering its geopolitical strategy. Core to this process of reform is the concept of strategic autonomy, which first emerged in the 90s in the context of the development of the Common Security and Defence Policy and is now enjoying renewed political attention.

Although consensus over the precise meaning of 'strategic autonomy' is still maturing, thorough and forward-looking definitions of strategic autonomy have nonetheless been advanced. For the purposes of this paper, we will draw upon the framing proposed by Joseph Borrell, the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. His definition reiterates the importance of the EU to be present and active where its interests are, while continuing to trust in, and develop, international multilateral relations.

A clear understanding of what is at stake is essential to foster positive policymaking at the EU level, hence the

relevance of the recent definitional debate. Yet, over the course of the past year, the mediatic dimension of this semantics-oriented discussion has reached a point of redundancy and many observers advocate for a reorientation of the political focus towards a more operational dimension of strategic autonomy. In this respect, the most relevant and dynamic policy area is certainly the Common Security and Defence Policy, within which innovative instruments are being developed and implemented with the purpose of strengthening the EU's own strategic capabilities.

Therefore, considering the contextual, theoretical and policy dimensions of the ongoing debate on strategic autonomy, this paper will first focus on the evolution of such debate and on how it has been declined in relation to the changing trends of globalism (Section I), while also inquiring the specific instruments that the EU is implementing in the area of security and defence (Section II). The analysis will highlight the reasons and prospects of the current essential discourse on the EU capacity to have an authoritative voice in the changing global scenario.

II. Globalism and European Strategic Autonomy: Reasons and Background of an Ongoing Discussion

A concept often used to describe our times is 'acceleration.' The idea of increasingly fast processes fostered by technological innovation has inspired the work of creatives and philosophers since the early Twentieth Century. More recently this idea has migrated from the world of avant-garde speculation to that of science. Apart from obvious references to engineering, quantum physics, and mathematics, the speed by which processes can be analysed has been factored in as a variable by many social sciences, as well as by the world of politics.

In the field of international relations, in fact, the cognizance that the post-WWII system of power distribution between international multilateral organizations – known as the ‘liberal world order’ – is no longer suitable to reflect the evolution of the power relations between sovereigns; this has led to a fervent discussion about reform alternatives. On issues such as trade, the protection of the environment, peacekeeping, and finance, the international organizations created to secure economic and military stability around the world have entered a phase of functional stall. The political vision that led to their creation has not kept up with the pace of history, and no longer considers the multipolarity of contemporary global politics as well as the emerging challenges that this poses.

is recognized by all involved actors, confidence in their operational capabilities is at a historical low, and political stances pointing towards power-based relations and isolationism are increasingly gaining support. Emblematic in this sense are Brexit and the U.S. administration's withdrawal, under President Donald Trump, from the Paris Agreement and from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action with Iran. Amidst a generalized sense of perceived ‘insecurity’ due to the current trends of globalism, the European Union has tabled a process of internal reflection on its geopolitical role. Core to this discussion are the concept of ‘strategic autonomy’ and the assumption that, in order to be a global player in today’s international scenario, the



NATO Training Mission Afghanistan Command Changes Hands, Nov. 5, 2011
Photo by: North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Photo in the Public Domain)

Union needs to be more ‘autonomous’ vis-à-vis its international partners while maintaining its commitment to multilateralism and cooperation. Since power imbalances between global actors are increasing, many political analysts foresee an increasingly competitive and transaction-oriented world. Provided that the EU’s international influence is shrinking, securing enough negotiation power to interact at the same level with the main global actors of the coming years is to be considered a necessity of “political survival”.

The centre of gravity of the global economy has shifted East and liberal democracies face threats which escape conventional classifications. While the urgency to reimagine the functions and operations of international organizations such as NATO, the World Trade Organization, the World Health Organization, and the UN Security Council, and make them ‘fit for purpose,’

Strategic autonomy is not a new concept. Its origins can be traced back to the discussion that took place in the late 1990s about the development of a common European security and defence policy. A good reference to contextualize the idea of strategic autonomy in the post-Cold War Europe is Article 2.1 of the Saint-Malo Declaration – a document signed by the

British Prime Minister Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac in 1998, and intended to advance the creation of a European Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) – which states that “[...] the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so.” Considering the shortcomings which led the European Community to play a marginal role in the Kosovo War while leaving room to the military intervention of the United States, talking about strategic autonomy at that time meant directly questioning the role played by the US in Europe and the quality of the relations between the Community and its transatlantic allies.

After a hiatus of fifteen years and in a radically different global scenario, the concept of strategic autonomy reappeared in the 2016 EU Global Strategy and has since enjoyed increasing popularity in the European political discourse. Coherently with the worldwide deepening of inter-state dependencies, today, the idea of strategic autonomy calls into question a much broader range of policies. Seen as the evolution of the actual concept of strategic autonomy compared to its semantical origins, it follows that it is increasingly difficult to reach consensus over an agreed-upon definition. Moreover, the concept’s popularity in public discourse presents the concrete risk of watering down its political focus and turning it from a programmatic principle into a figure of speech. Provided that consensus over the precise meaning of strategic autonomy is still to be matured, as of today the most convincing definition has been advanced by Joseph Borrell, who stated that “Autonomy should not imply total independence or isolation from the rest of the world. Rather, it refers to an ability to think for oneself

and to act according to one’s own values and interests.” Beyond the ongoing definitional discussion, however, many observers have noted that the real challenge at this point is translating the idea of strategic autonomy into concrete policy measures and finding an agreement on the depth of the autonomy desired. This is not an easy task, considering how differently risks and threats are perceived across the EU due to geographical and historical peculiarities of its Member States.



In the attempt to optimize the efforts in terms of capabilities, the new Coordinated Annual Review on Defence carried out by the European Defence Agency should nurture coherence of Member States’ efforts and provide a picture of the security and defence deficiencies at EU level. Additionally, the brand-new ‘Strategic Compass’ should update the level of ambition and the political priorities of CSDP on a systematic basis.

The volume of policy production is unprecedented, and the expected outcomes appear clear: a higher degree of interoperability; a more competitive and resilient cross-border defence industrial base; and an enhanced medium to long term planning capacity. If PESCO’s cluster architecture proves effective enough to address the EU’s shortfalls and satisfy Member States’ needs, one can expect an incremental

engagement in collaborative defence program and, in general, an increased willingness of the Member States to operate within the CSDP's borders.

On both shores of the Atlantic, many have denounced the risk of duplication of the efforts and resources that the EU's renewed activism would entail. These remarks can be dismissed as unfounded: besides the specific provisions meant to synchronize as much as possible the CSDP's priorities with those of NATO, the set of means at the disposal of the CSDP is still far from being able to satisfy the level of ambition set by the EU Global Strategy of 2016 and, more generally, to attain the ultimate purpose of the CSDP lags behind to such an extent, that any new instruments added to its toolbox should be considered positively. The risks of overlap and duplication are false issues.



This logic would thus justify the launch of some of PESCO's projects that resemble earlier EU initiatives. Although it is still too early to know what form it will take, the Crisis Response Operation Core (CROC) seems to challenge the model of intervention force of the EU Battlegroups, or at least add further complexity to EU's catalogue of instruments.

Similar concerns have been raised in relation to the launch of the Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC) which, following some observers' opinion, covered up the project of a full-scale European Command and Control structure. The question of the EU's command and control structures was indeed at the core of the debate on 'strategic autonomy' in the 1990s, to the extent that the new small unit constituted within the EEAS has been accused of instigating conflict with NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE).

Both examples follow the narration, permeating the long-term vision of EU's role as a central actor in international security, which has been recently synthesized by Joseph Borrell's phrase "with partners wherever possible, alone when necessary." Enabling Member States' capacity to act jointly will not – and cannot – lead to the supplantation of NATO. On the contrary, it is about being capable of complementing its action and intervening when political support is lacking from the other side of the Atlantic.

IV. Conclusion

The policy instruments analysed above clearly show the willingness of the Union and its Member States to work towards the realization of a common defence. The way forward is long and strewn with obstacles but, if compared to what the Common Security and Defence Policy used to be in the first decade of the 2000s, the results achieved over the last five years constitute a quantum leap. The reasons underpinning the evolution and transformation of the European Union's geopolitical strategy are complex and multifaceted. Convincing arguments can, however, be developed

in relation to the influence that the latest trends of globalism have had on this process. The shift from a bipolar to multipolar world, the emergence of confrontational global actors not aligned with the liberal values of peace and multilateralism, and heightened political conflict are shaping international relations. Global politics are set to become increasingly competitive and polarized. In this context, the European Union is trying to overhaul its geopolitical role by developing its own capabilities and pursuing a higher degree of strategic autonomy. In terms of concrete policy instruments, the development of PESCO's projects, the financial firepower of the EDF, and the measures of planning and coordination provided by the CARD and the Strategic Compass are setting the tone. And, although it is still early to assess their impact, they constitute promising evidence of the innovation and dynamism that currently characterize European defence and security and bear the potential, if implemented with success, of substantially complementing the European Union quest for a geopolitical role of first order.

About the Authors



Arcangelo Leone de Castris is a postgraduate student at the College of Europe in Bruges, where he studies European politics and governance. He holds a master's degree in law from Bocconi University and served for one year as Accredited Parliamentary Assistant at the European Parliament in Brussels. In parallel with his law studies, Arcangelo also worked as curator and art director at Macao, a Milanese cultural center. His research interests bridge digital policy, new media, security and European democratic legitimacy. Arcangelo also holds a position as migration policy researcher at the 89Initiative.



Born in 1996, Edoardo Bombardieri is passionate about security and defence cooperation. He studied in Lyon and Bologna, where he graduated in European Union Law with a dissertation inquiring the legal aspects of EU-NATO defence cooperation. His studies focus mainly on the development of military capabilities, cross-border industrial cooperation, and defence planning processes at the EU level. Currently, he is attending the department of European Political and Governance Studies of the College of Europe in Bruges, where he is investigating the implementation of various PESCO capability development programs. He started collaborating with the Institute for Greater Europe in December 2020.

PHOTO SERIES: DEMOCRACY IN ACTION



Lebanon

Carl Hokayem
@carlk8photography

It was a normal day in Lebanon with no protests. As I was on my way to drop off my girlfriend at her place, we were surprised by a huge traffic jam. Zouk Mosbeh Highway closed due to protests. Despite our anger for being stuck in traffic for 2 hours, once we reached the place of protest I parked my car and took my camera from the trunk, and marched towards the protest. I started taking pictures of the people and burning tires, and then something hooked my attention. A young girl was standing on the road's border waving the Lebanese flag. The girl was standing in the middle between the fire and the people stuck in traffic. The smile never left her face as if she is telling every single person stuck on the road to stop their car and come down to rebel against the corruption. Her smile visualized the dream of every young Lebanese citizen: that of a better Lebanon.

Poland



Alicja Rajpert

Photos: Przemek Krysiak

"Having in mind the past years' protests, it should not be surprising that the society showed a great dose of emotions towards the result of the ruling. Those emotions led to a wave of mass protests all over Poland: as believed by many, the most numerous since the times of 'Solidarity.' For 14 days now, every day, not only in Warsaw, but also in smaller cities and towns, people go

out on the streets to manifest their objection to depriving women of their fundamental rights. One of the biggest protests took place in Warsaw on 30 October under a slogan 'Everyone to Warsaw'. It was estimated by the police that approximately 100 thousand people joined the protests in Warsaw on that day"

Alicja Rajpert

Photo: Przemek Krysiak

"On the contrary, we are witnessing mass acts of burying the heads in the sand, with the use of the entire state apparatus, including the prosecutor's office, police and even the army... There are voices from within the ruling group, that this time the party crossed the line with its actions. Near future will show, which side of the conflict is more determined to break even. Will the society pressure the



government strongly enough to make it start fulfilling the demands of the society, or will the ruling party cling to the remnants of its power at all costs?"

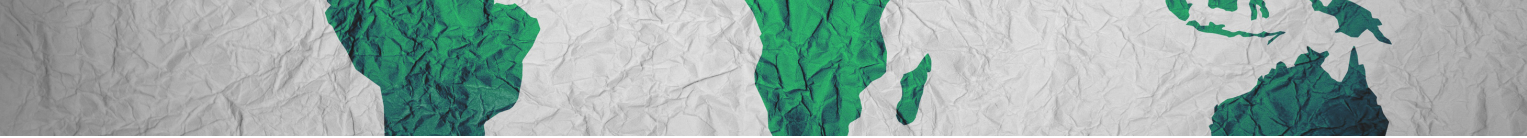
*Quoted with permission from: <https://www.kuriereuropejski.org/black-protests-in-poland-women-s-strike-or-objection-towards-the?lang=fr&fbclid=IwAR0Dsgr0bJlPLwJ0HWg2HBromt-bsv0A7W5-sWiXwesGe3E78c00sWSQz40>.



I G E ' S B O O K R E V I E W

Disasters and History: The Vulnerability and Resilience of Past Societies
by Bas van Bavel et. al.

Reviewer: Stephan Raab



The present experiences show that it is relevant, perhaps even more than ever, to use the historical record to increase our understanding of disasters. However, what are disasters, how to avoid them, and what to learn from them? This book introduces the reader into the fascinating world of disaster studies, explaining why disasters are a matter of perception and measures.

When hazards turn into disasters

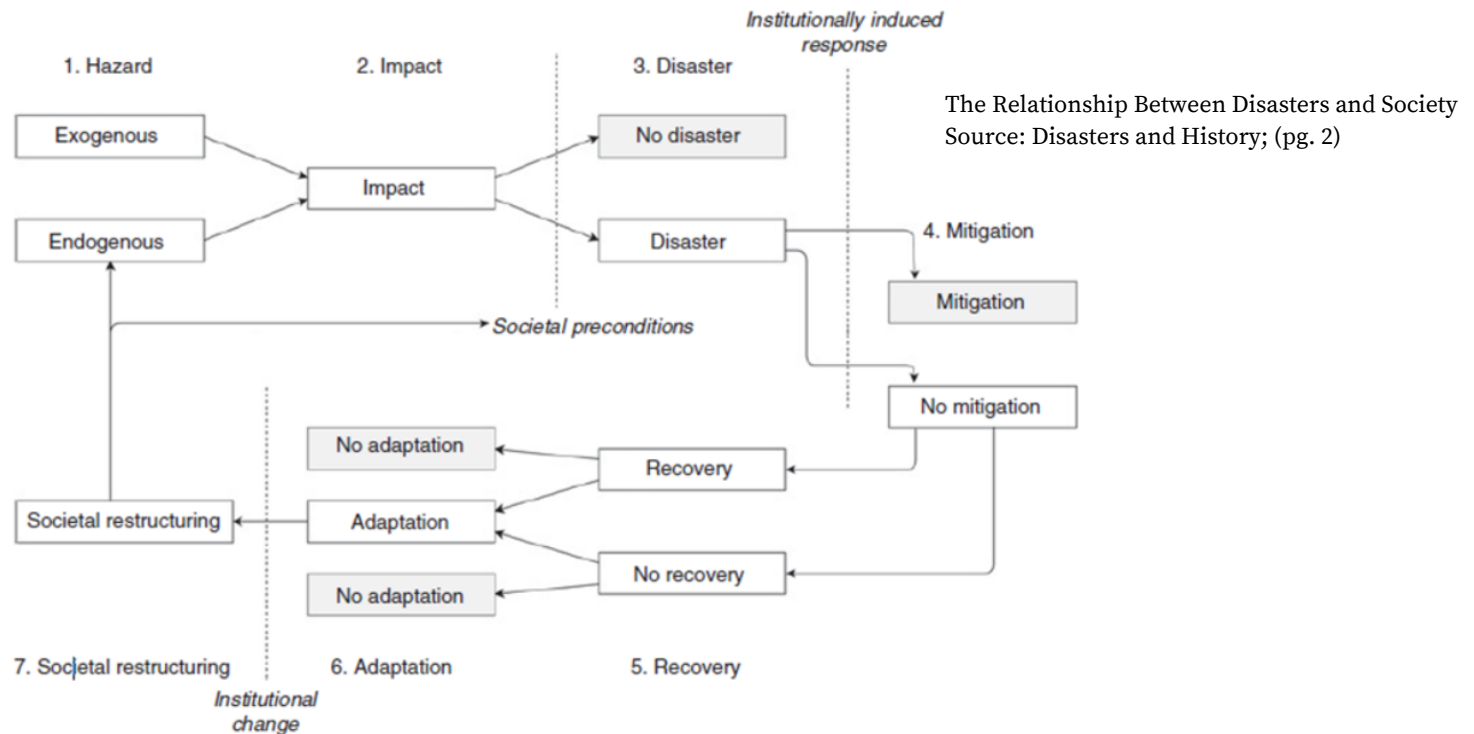
"Disasters and History" provides an extensive historical overview of hazards and diseases. This overview ranges from the Black Death, the Lisbon earthquake to the Fukushima disaster. Appealing to various case studies, the authors examine how societies dealt with risks and shocks. Often news coverage still distinguishes between man-made disasters, like Fukushima, and natural catastrophes, such as hurricane Katrina. Conversely, the key thesis of this book argues that these kinds of distinctions do not fit to the conception of hazards and disasters any longer. "Even though the initial shock was a natural event, the catastrophic outcome was ultimately the result of human intervention - or the lack of it. Put simply, without existing-societal vulnerability, the chances of a hazard turning into a disaster are small." (p. 22)

The first chapter provides a theoretical approach for understanding the origins and causes of disaster emergency.

According to that, three schools of thought are being discussed. From a Malthusian point of view, disasters are the result of the lack of resources, for instance, the lack of food for a population to sustain itself. From a Marxist point of view, disasters are the result of an unequal distribution of resources, where due to class struggle, certain groups are barred from accessing those resources. Eventually, from a Smithsonian perspective, there is a lack of diversification, allowing for certain populations to compensate for the lack of resources through commercialization and markets. The last aspect focuses mostly on the coordination aspect.

Human history is a disaster story

The history of mankind facing disaster could be labelled as a fight "Against the Gods" according to Peter Bernstein. Here, the author describes the evolution of risk management as a result of the enlightenment process. Since its early beginning, mankind was eager to study the causes and consequences of disasters trying to avoid or at least mitigate them. This mostly came along as a mystical blessing by celestial forces such as the "Mandate of Heaven" in ancient China. There, the emperor of China was responsible for the wellbeing and prosperity of the nation. As soon as catastrophes such as bad harvests or civil unrests emerged, this was a sign, that the "Mandate of Heaven" was withdrawn by heaven.



Consequently, the official history of each dynasty included a subsection of the "Five Phases" or "Five Elements," listing certain weather anomalies and disasters such as floods or even the appearance of dragons. Similarly, on the Arabian Peninsula, Ibn-Khaldun defined a permanent circle of "rise and demise" of dynasties and rulers that come to power in a situation of crisis and demised in such as well. Probably, a well-studied model for the European context is the "Polder-Model" in the Netherlands. Facing permanent flooding and loss of land, society was forced to develop a very balanced type of corporation to gain land, as well as protecting those with sophisticated technology. Firstly exposed to the benevolence of the gods, in time, mankind became more aware of its own capacities.

The model above displays how disasters impact and shape the patterns of a society. Having gone through a certain crisis, as the potato famine in Ireland, colonialism mostly in the Global South, or the Second World War in Europe, serves as common identification point.

According to the "Shock Doctrine" by Naomi Klein, the modern Western Societies have used all kinds of disasters such as war, hurricanes or tsunamis to push through fundamental societal change, which might not have been feasible in a "normal" or non-crisis situation.

Every crisis is a chance to learn

Until the 1990s, a disaster was simply considered a disruption of normalcy, or what during the Covid-19 pandemic was coined as "the new normalcy." In contrast to that, the authors reveal the evolution of a new kind of profession, the so-called experts. "Disasters test the capacity of societies to learn and adapt in order to prevent recurrences, or at the very least to mitigate the impact of subsequent shocks." (p. 181) A great example of the evolution of the so-called "expert" can be found within navigation. In earlier times, seamen with a long experience were considered experts, deriving from the term experience. Conversely, at the beginning of the 16th Century, experts started using statistical models more and more as a form of expertise.

Consequently, learning from experience slowly started to convert into learning from theory, changing the patterns of accumulating knowledge.

Nevertheless, the authors warn that any form of knowledge is always contextual. Referring to various case studies, it becomes obvious that one model of risk management might not serve as a one-risk-fits-it-all approach when dealing with these kinds of challenges. "A mismatch of priorities between what 'outsiders' consider as disaster risks and the different ways in which risks are perceived and responded to by 'insiders' can cause 'culture gaps,' which may lead to negative outcomes for those who have little say." (p. 104) In the Philippines, for instance, the culture of "bahal na" (leave it to the fate) prevailed, rather shunning risks by relocating than adapting to it. However, learning from past experiences does not last forever, considering that a lack of disasters for many years, even generations, could generate a process of "de-learning."

Future disasters and future discourses

"One key argument underpinning this monograph is that 'the past' can be used as a 'laboratory' to empirically test hypotheses of relevance to the present by spatially and chronologically comparing the drivers of, and constraints, on societal responses to shocks – in turn enriching our understanding of responses to stress today." (p. 173) Having discussed several case studies, the authors figure out potential global hazards for the future. Those are the climate change of the Anthropocene, Capitalism, and the Risk Society. Nevertheless, disasters are affecting all parts of society, admittedly not equally; the authors lament that there is still a missing link for interdisciplinarity to be filled for collaboration in the field of disaster studies.

In the 1980s, the German sociologist Ulrich Beck coined the term "Risk Society." Those kinds of societies are determined less by the distribution of resources and more by exposure to risk. "Disasters and History" reveals that the history of mankind is a permanent story of disasters and it provides a way to learn how to cope with them. Therefore, one should perceive history not as something from the past, but rather the present times as a continuum of the past. The authors encourage the readers to perceive history as a laboratory where one can learn to prepare for the risks of the future.

Take the risk, read the book, understand the risk!

"Risk relates to human agency and perception, which guide the strategies deployed by individuals or groups to manage and calculate the potential occurrence of harm." (p. 40) Having gone through the disastrous history of our species, this book is worth taking the risk in order to delve deeper into the field of disaster studies. Besides many case studies, this book provides beginners and experts alike with profound scientific tools. It provides a good assessment of concepts such as risk, vulnerability or resilience, by looking at definitions and ways to measure those phenomena. Especially in times of pandemics and times of wagging various risks, this book serves as a guide into an ever-more connected world full of surprises. Furthermore, it gives courage, revealing positive aspects in gloomy times. Every crisis provides a chance to learn for improving the status quo.

Concluding this book review, "Disaster and History" is highly recommended, having one clear message: "Risk is nothing to be feared of but to be understood properly for not becoming a disaster!"

DISASTERS AND HISTORY: THE VULNERABILITY AND
RESILIENCE OF PAST SOCIETIES
BAS VAN BAVEL • DANIEL R. CURTIS • JESSICA DIJKMAN
MATTHEW HANNAFORD • MAÏKA DE KEYZER- ELINE VAN
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<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/disasters-and-history/0E0A126BFA23BFA416D8AABC75014D59>

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I G E ' S R E A D I N G L I S T

Winter 2021

Risk and Society

- **This Is Not Propaganda: Adventures in the War Against Reality** by Peter Pomerantsev

Risk and Health

- **Plagues and the Paradox of Progress: Why the World Is Getting Healthier in Worrisome Ways** by Thomas J. Bollyky
- **Disasters and History: The Vulnerability and Resilience of Past Societies** by Bas van Bavel, Daniel Curtis, Jessica Dijkman, Matthew Hannaford, Maika De Keyzer, Eline Van Onacker and Tim Soens
- **Global Catastrophic Risks** edited by Nick Bostrom and Milan M. Ćirković

Risk and Economics

- **Good Economics for Hard Times: Better Answers to Our Biggest Problems** by Abhijit V. Banerjee and Esther Duflo
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- **The Fog of Peace: A Memoir of International Peacekeeping in the 21st Century** by Jean-Marie Guéhenno

Risk and Climate

- **The Future We Choose: Surviving the Climate Crisis** by Christiana Figueres and Tom Rivett-Carnac
- **Routledge Handbook of Risk Studies** edited by Adam Burgess, Alberto Alemanno and Jens Zinn
- **Risk: A Study of Its Origins, History and Politics** by Matthias Beck and Beth Kewell
- **The Coming Famine: The Global Food Crisis and What We Can Do to Avoid It** by Julian Cribb

A Dose of Optimism

- **Factfulness: Ten Reasons We're Wrong About the World--and Why Things Are Better Than You Think** by Hans Rosling

DE-ESCALATING TENSIONS AT THE TOP OF THE WORLD: A Proposal for Sino-Indian Peace in the Himalayas

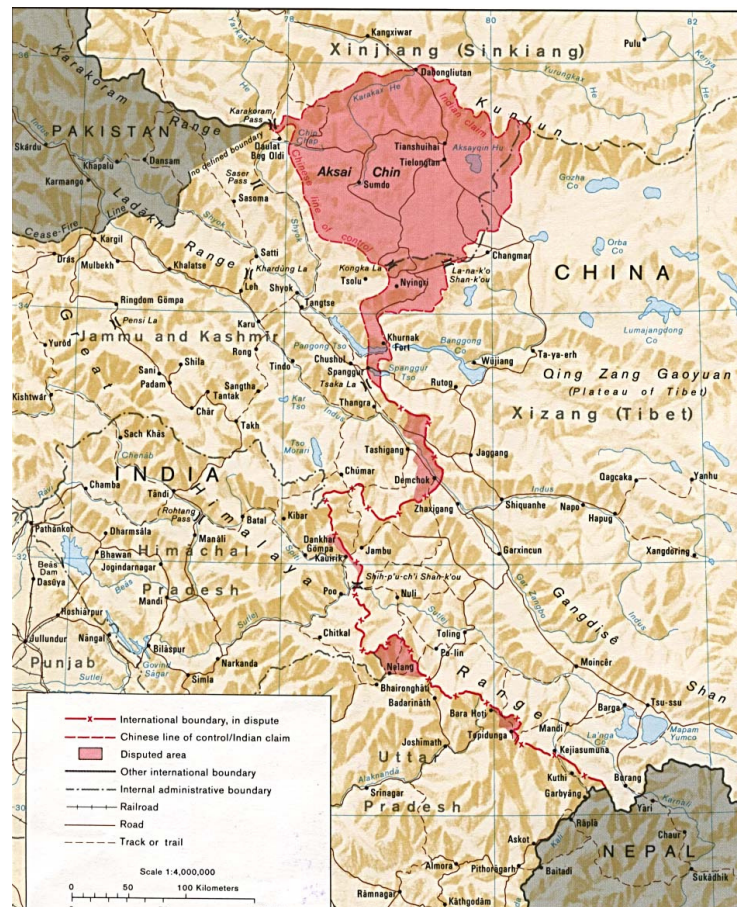
Jack H. Lashendock

I. Background and Executive Summary

In the spring and into the summer of 2020, hostilities between the People's Republic of China and India escalated from a long endured standoff to violence in the disputed Kashmir region of the Himalayas. For decades, China and India have each laid contradictory claims regarding the demarcation line that exists between their two nations, known as the Line of Actual Control (LAC). The LAC was established at the conclusion of the Sino-Indian War in 1962 and runs for approximately 2,100 miles. Yet neither side recognizes it as an official border; it is simply a line on a map that helps to maintain an uneasy truce. Although not without previous incidents, this region has remained relatively peaceful, yet heavily militarized, since the end of the conflict. However this year, this border dispute turned deadly; reports suggest that twenty Indian soldiers were killed and more captured by Chinese forces. Reports of casualties on the Chinese side have been made, although, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has not commented.

At the center of this border dispute are territorial claims to the region northeast of the LAC. To the Chinese, this area, Aksai Chin, is recognized as a sovereign part of China, however, the Indian government has laid claim to the region as a part of the centrally governed Ladakh union territory (See map at left).

By itself, a dispute over a mountainous border is not cause for immediate security concerns. However, the Kashmir region has been one of the most contentious geopolitical issues since the end of the Second World War; any escalation between the three regional powers—China, India, and Pakistan—has the potential to result in unimaginable disaster. Resolving this dispute is a critical task for the leaders of both China and India to maintain peace in



Disputed Area Between China and India, in the Western Sector
Source: US Central Intelligence Agency (Image in the Public Domain)

the region. Immediately, Chinese and Indian officials should work to ease tensions and hostilities from this flare-up; in the intermediate term, both sides must commit to a temporary resumption of the status quo which has existed since the late 1960s. To ensure a more permanent resolution to the overall border conflict, the two nations must engage in formal negotiations to determine an official border and demilitarize the region fully.

II. Immediate Next Step: Deescalate the Present Situation

The incident which occurred in the spring and resulted in a loss of life was not an isolated event. Over the course of the past year, and more specifically in recent months, there has been growing agitation between India and China in the LAC region. This resumption of a great power conflict has become increasingly common in the Post Cold War era and leading scholars suggest this will become a trend in the future. This zone is especially prone to conflict given its intersection between several different cultures, religions, and historical legacies of civilizations;

these differences have the potential to contribute to the escalation of local conflicts into larger wars. Deescalating the current situation is also crucial given the nuclear status of the region. While thus far outbursts of violence have only featured rocks, clubs, and sticks, a potential for uncontrollable escalation runs high. During the Sino-Indian War, neither side possessed nuclear weapons, however, China and India have acquired them since. The ability of a nuclear weapon to decimate a target has only twice been observed in conflict and since then, states have been reluctant to use these weapons. In the post-WWII space, nuclear weapons have been designed primarily for deterrence; nuclear weapons demonstrate an ability to destroy an adversary without having to defeat its armed forces should the need arise, which thus contributes to the security of a state. This so-called taboo has existed for more than 70 years. However, in recent years, this former restraint seems to be called into question as states modernize their arsenals for use in more tactical situations.



Chinese and Pakistan Border Guards at the Khunjerab Pass, Undated
Photo by: Anthony Maw (Image in Creative Commons)

Moreover, India appears to have demonstrated a "doctrinal drift away from its 'credible minimum deterrent' posture, and some analysts suggest that India may move away from its no-first-use doctrine"; should that occur, current Chinese doctrine which prohibits a nuclear first strike, yet allows for retaliation, may be reevaluated. Given a potential nuclear escalation, it is critical that each side takes steps to deescalate, lest a great power conflict breaks out.

Already, India has shown good faith by returning a Chinese soldier who was captured on the Indian side of the LAC. Moving forward, both sides must take similar steps, such as limiting provocations and posturing and an immediate suspension of violent attacks on the border. However, much work remains to prevent a clash of civilizations and/or tactical deployment of nuclear weapons.

III. Intermediate Next Steps: Restore the Status Quo Temporarily

Once some type of peace has been established in the region, both nations need to commit to maintaining the status quo which has existed since the late 1960s, at least temporarily. That means each nation must withdraw its troops to their respective territories and keep all military movements confined in these territories. The benefits of this course of action are multifaceted; if there are no troops in contested areas, peace will be much easier maintained and create an atmosphere for productive negotiations on the future of the region.

This strategy must not become a long term reality, as maintaining a status quo, especially in such a volatile region, can cause a security dilemma as each state looks to build up its capacity to ensure that status quo, with increasing distrust from neighbors.

Moreover, this dilemma has been found to worsen and result in actual conflict when states believe their diverse values, interests, and beliefs have to be protected. As aforementioned, China and India are diverse states ideologically, culturally, and religiously, thus necessitating only a temporary return to the formerly observed stalemate. The history of this conflict has demonstrated that a status quo centric strategy does not work in the long run. The partition of Kashmir (the Chinese claims, as well as Indian and Pakistani claims) which arose out of this status quo has contributed to this instability. Partition is only meant to be temporary or else it drives a wedge between those on all sides; therefore, while this status quo needs to be maintained to allow a space to set up formal negotiation, it cannot last longer than a few years.

IV. Longer-Term Next Steps: Formal Negotiation and Demilitarization

A long term plan for final arbitration of this issue is long overdue and critical to ensure a lasting peace in the region. As was seen in the summer, maintenance of the status quo is not a viable option for long term peace as it is inherently nonbonding to policymakers over time and susceptible to breakdown. A long term peace plan, comprised of formal negotiations to determine a border demarcation and a complete demilitarization of the region, will help to reduce the likelihood of drastic consequences of civilization clashes and nuclear escalation highlighted above. In order to achieve this aspirational goal of peace in the region, China and India must commit to bilateral negotiations or look to third party mediators, such as the United Nations, the European Union, or even the United States, if they cannot agree to bilateralism. Should a mediator be necessary, research has found that diplomatic

intervention by these types of third parties is correlated with success.

Additionally, some have suggested that the apparent Indian defeat at the hands of the PLA has the potential to embolden Pakistan to take a more aggressive stance towards its long time foe, India. This makes formal negotiations between China and India even more critical. Long term peace in the Kashmir region between two of the three volatile actors with territorial interests may be vital to help bring Pakistan into the negotiating realm and have positive knock-on effects for peace and stability; therefore, it is critical that each side look to earnestly pursue these options.

Finally, from an Indian perspective, peace with China will allow policymakers to focus more on the internal Kashmir challenges. Research suggests that multiethnic states face potential succession movements; as a result, the quicker and more violent a state acts in preventing these types of movements, "the fewer secessionists it is likely to face." While the conflict between India and Kashmir has existed for decades, recent developments may highlight a pursuit of these types of policies to ensure the unity of a multiethnic India. Given this internal strife and the numerical disadvantage of India's army relative to the PLA, it may not be wise for India to stretch her resources thin with territorial conflicts, thus further supporting the establishment of a lasting peace.

V. Conclusion

Outlined in this article is a three step plan regarding a solution to the Sino-Indian security threat in the Himalayas. It calls for an immediate deescalation of the current situation, a temporary reestablishment of the former status quo, and a commitment to engage in formal negotiations to permanently resolve the issue in the long run.

About the Author

Jack Lashendock is a First-Year student at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy where he is pursuing his Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy in the fields of international security studies and multilateral diplomacy. He has spent time studying and conducting research in Israel, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, driven by a passion to understand the complexities of the world.

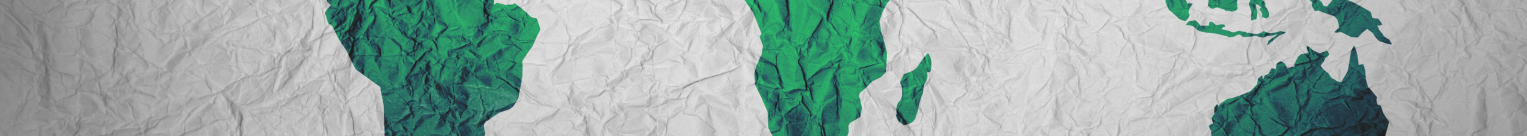
Professionally, Jack has found success in public service, interning with elected officials in the US Senate and Massachusetts state government, and working for the US Department of Commerce to conduct the 2020 American Decennial Census. In 2019, he



was named a Fellow of the Fred Fielding Center for Presidential Leadership Study at Gettysburg College to work with US State Department Diplomacy Lab in Washington, D.C, and Podgorica, Montenegro. Jack's academic interests include multilateral diplomacy, peacekeeping, and international organizations, as well as American government and history.



S O U R C E S



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Belfast to Balkh

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