

Better World and Better Future

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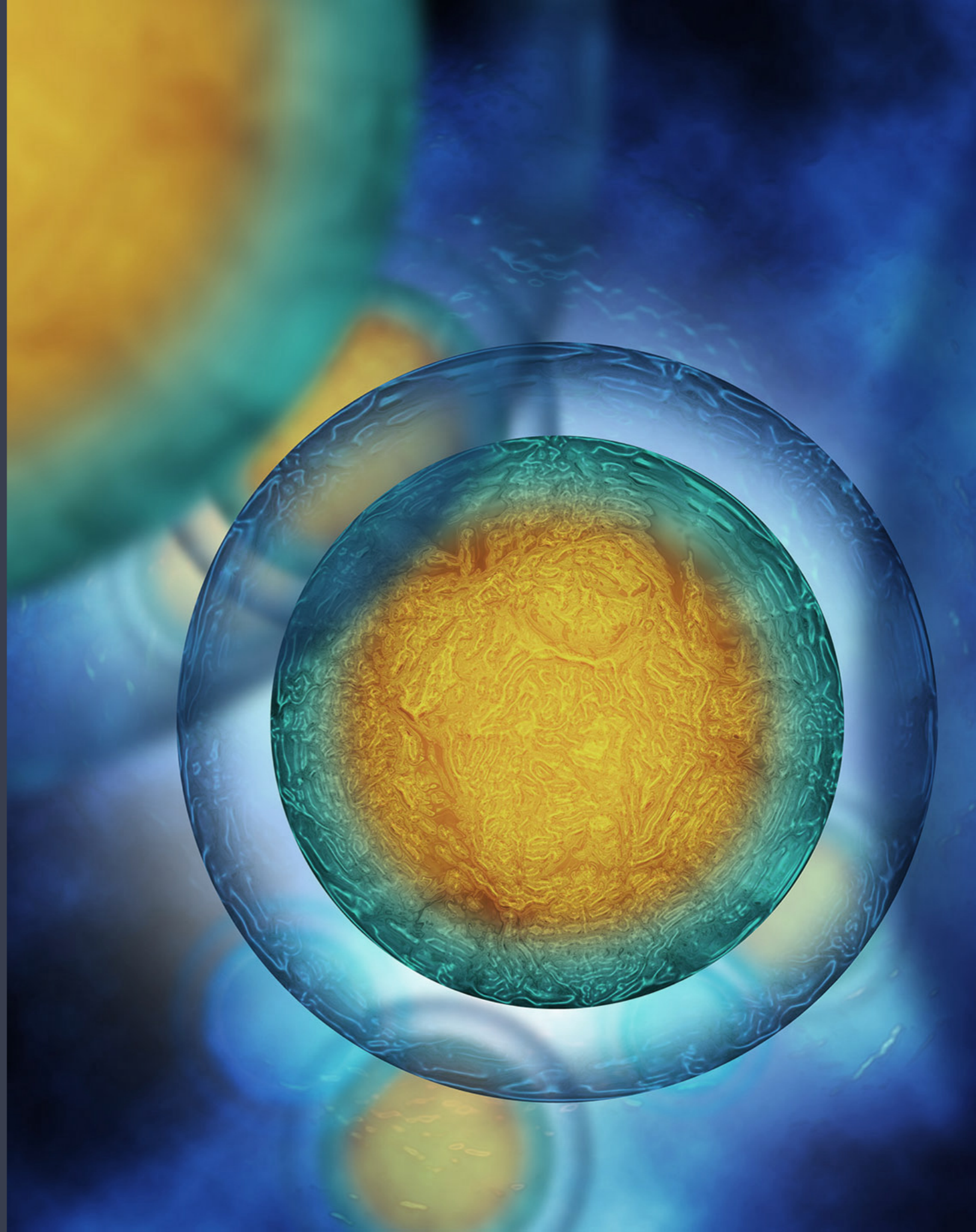
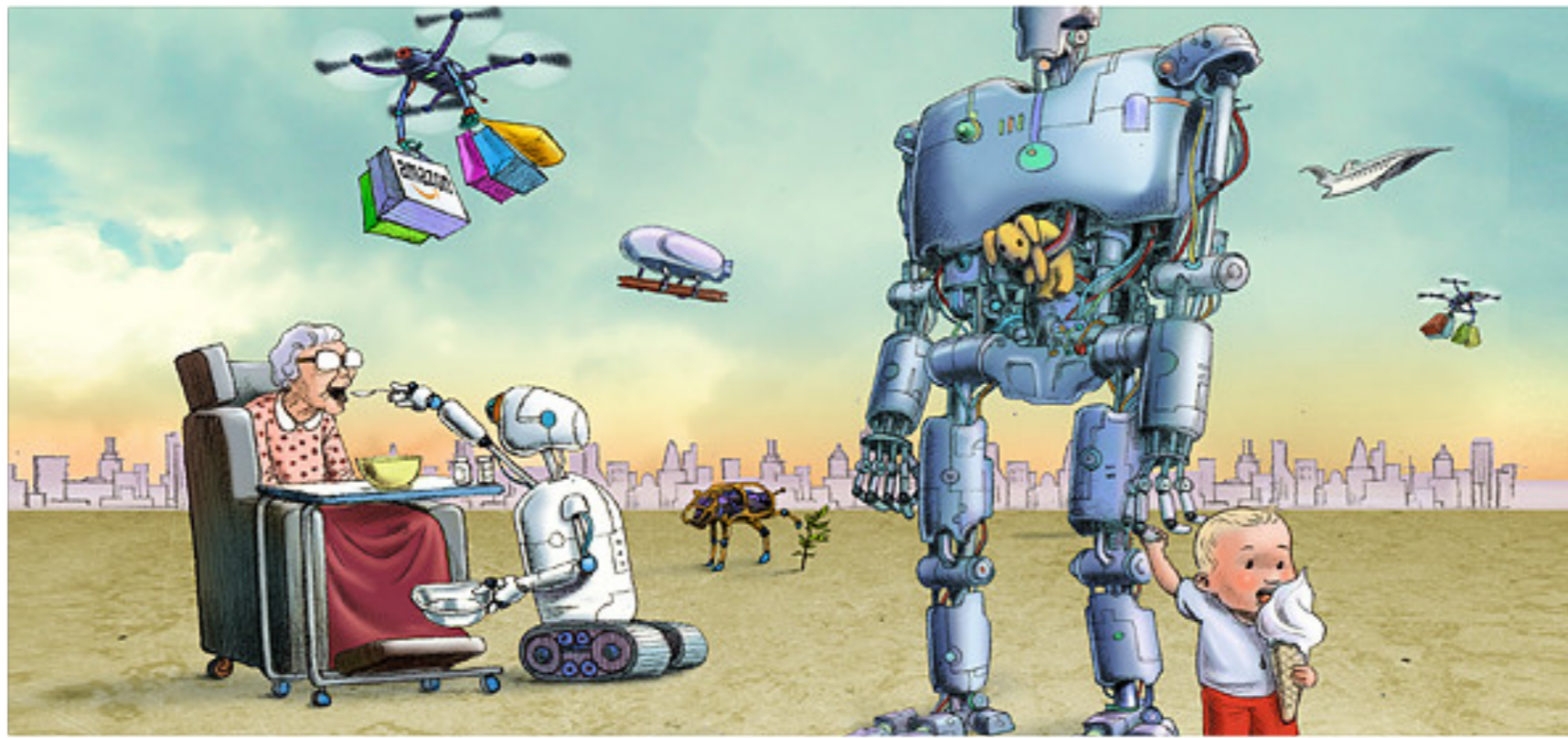


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Artificial Intelligence, Politics, & Humanity

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When Alpha Go, beat world-class professional Go player, Lee Sedol, in 2016, a major hurdle to machine learning advancement was overcome. However, the approach taken by Alpha Go to beat Sedol 100-0, was entirely based on human provided data, analyzed to identify optimal and novel strategies to win at Go. By 2017, Alpha Go was defeated by Alpha Zero, in a 100 match series, 89-11. Alpha Zero is a machine learning artificial intelligence system, capable of developing intention, strategy, action, and achievement without human data inputs. Alpha Zero simply learns through rules-based experience or, what is known as, pure reinforcement learning. The implications to politics and humanity of this technological feat are just beginning to emerge. In what follows, I offer reflections on a few of those implications.

Humans comprehend, plan, and act in accordance with knowledge structures embedded within the human brain that are gained through education, experience, and judgement. The combination of education, experience, and judgement promotes the acquisition of wisdom, the quality of soundness and efficacy of a decision. The rapid development of machine learning based artificial intelligence is shortening the advent when machine wisdom replaces human wisdom, relegating humans to redundancy in economics, politics, and society. Humans stand to lose the capacity for developing wisdom as there will be no need for human wisdom. Through our inventions intended to enhance human life and experience, we may ironically, create the conditions for our epistemological downfall.

Alternatively, for the wealthy few, the possibility of becoming augmented with machine learning based applications, hardware, and devices that, ostensibly, enhance human wisdom portends the formation of two classes of people. Those with machine learning augmentation and those without. The considerable initial economic costs for becoming augmented, will foreclose to most human beings, the possibility of augmentation. Consequently, existing structures of economic, political, and social inequalities will become far more entrenched and dangerous to political and social tranquility. Aristotle, long ago empirically noted that societies in which economic inequality is high are more susceptible to social and political disharmony, conflict, and collapse. In the 2,500 years since Aristotle, that insight has only gained additional empirical support, most notably with the excellent work of Piketty (2014). Intended to assist humans with improving human experience, our machine learning inventions may become our (indirect) overseers as we cede ever more cognition to machines.

Fundamental to politics is decision-making under certain conditions. Assuming such conditions are readily identified, qualified, and quantified, the possibility arises for the use of machine learning artificial intelligence to be taught the conditions of political games, creating demand for computer supported political decision-making shifted to political decision-making entirely by artificial intelligence. Indeed, there is an artificial intelligence arms race underway among dozens of nation-states and non-state actors including multinational corporations. This trend began with the advent of first generation computing systems (see Kiggins 2018). As computing systems capability improved, for example, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) attempted to leverage computing technology available in 1983, for use assessing the risk of nuclear war with the United States. During the 1983 annual North Atlantic Treaty Organization exercise, known as Able Archer-83, the USSR's VRYAN computer program, assessed a high probability of an imminent NATO nuclear attack on the USSR and its allies. While history notes the mistaken assessment by VRYAN of NATO intentions toward the USSR, the USSR was nonetheless poised for nuclear war. This episode underscores that the trend toward shifting political decision-making to computing, information technology, and artificial intelligence systems has long been occurring. This episode also 4 underscores that miscalculation among rivals in global politics, is as possible with machine intelligence as with human

intelligence. Machine intelligence is only as good as the rules and data initially programmed into a machine intelligence system by human programmers. There is considerable risk that humans may misidentify, misapprehend, or mistake rules by which international politics are played. The rules upon which an artificial intelligence system relies to make decisions about national or international security, may be suboptimal. Garbage in, garbage out, as my computer engineer colleagues are wont to remind.

Yet, all may not be lost. The potential for emergent machine learning technologies to radically improve the human experience through solving wicked public policy problems, may be the risk worth taking (see Rittel & Webber 1973). A wicked public policy problem is a problem extremely difficult or impossible to solve for the following reasons: 1) incomplete or contradictory information; 2) the number of people or opinions involved; 3) the extraordinary economic cost of possible solutions; and 4) the interconnectedness of the problem with other public policy problems (spillover effects). An example of a wicked public policy problem is Climate Change. Generating novel solutions to such wicked public policy problems, may be precisely within the scope of capability for artificial intelligence systems. Moreover, the possibility of artificial intelligence contributing to more efficient economic, social, and political outcomes that contribute to a condition of abundance on our planet in which poverty, disease, homelessness, etc. are considerably reduced, lends itself to placing a wager on behalf of further development of artificial intelligence. The political dilemma now confronting the nations of the world is how to promote the development of artificial intelligence technologies absent its potential use in the commission of crime, terrorism, or war? On resolving this wicked public policy problem, rests the future of humankind.

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China Studies

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Historical processes used to be at the vanguard of the social sciences. China Studies programs, those that take the People's Republic of China (modern China) as their case of study, bring this fact to another level. One reason for that is the high quantitative and qualitative grade as well as the fast changes of the Chinese structure through recent decades (Kroeber, 2016; Naughton, 2007; Piketty, Yang, & Zucman, 2017; Qian, 2002). The prominent position of China in the social division of work, its central economic position boosted by multiple initiatives, and its geopolitics have made it a major case to produce knowledge. Still, that does not mean that the current social science overcame all the challenges involved in studying China accurately and deeply. Due to its current political and economic relevance, the study of contemporary China has been increasing exponentially. Multiple centers and institutes from all around the world started to produce more content on China studies based on their ideologies and political interests (Vukovich, 2012). Moreover, Chinese scholars, from China and abroad, intensified its position-taking in academia (Hsiung, 2015). It is important to clarify that these developments should be seen regarding the fact



that “the ideological relevance of social science is inherent in its very existence as social fact” (Mills, 1959, p. 80). The notion that social science denied itself as a social construction was overcome along with positivism.

The voracious exchange of ideas allowed by the new era of information, technology, and globalization nourish different debates and discussions. Hirono and Suzuki (2014), in their analysis of academic production regarding China’s relations with the African continent, argued that the resulting literature influenced by the “Western states” policy interests always reproduces the idea of China as a threat. Some examples could be the work by Zweig and Changgui (1995) about Chinese students in the United States, the article of Mattis (2012) about intelligence services, or the article by Balding (2017), entitled “China Looks at Western Universities and Smells Weakness.”

These statements require some clarifications. First, this epistemology of the threat is not new; neither is the threat only related to China. Also, to close an entire country into one ideological direction is false and, more importantly, could also be an epistemological obstacle. Trying to understand, for example, the relations between China and Latin America, and to omit some research studies like the ones conducted by Gallagher (2016) or Armony (2012), only because their research institutes are from the United States, is a mistake.

An alternative approach to the epistemologies of the threat is brought by those who consider it important to generate knowledge from historical experiences that are not represented by dominant actors and sectors. In that direction are such concepts as epistemologies of the south (de Sousa Santos, 2011), research from the Global South (Hsiung, 2015), or the non-orientalist’s approach (Keskin, 2012). Because of the location and historical characteristics of China, a program like this should produce content and contribute to the discussions with diverse perspectives.

The China Studies program of the Center for Global Governance aims to build China as an object of study. Because of the characteristics of those who compose it, it intends to present a multidisciplinary and multicultural approach to its research. In this sense, the idea of a sociology of China (Chen, 2018; Qi, 2016; Rocca, 2015), or the applied Chinese anthropology (Dunfu, 2001), could be considered as starting points.

For that purpose, it is a priority to promote discussions and common research with Chinese scholars to transform limitations, such as language, into opportunities for academic exchange. It is also central to review and analyze the historical academic production of Chinese scholars and to extract from them the frameworks for the research projects. Another objective is to build a consensual bibliography.

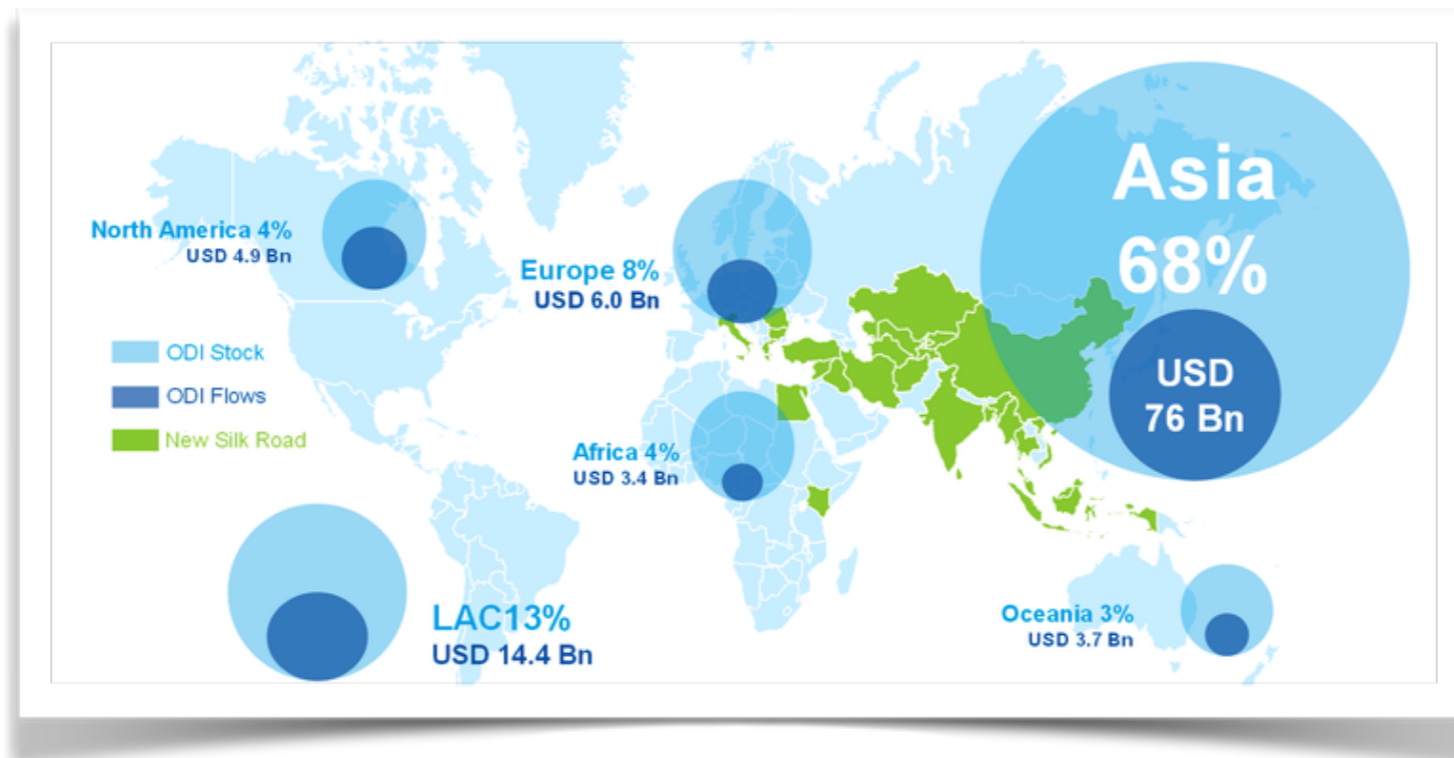
The effort of clarifying contemporary 天下 (*tianxia*) is not a simple path. In the words of Fei Xiaotong:

Whenever Confucius wanted to clarify *ren*, he had to return to the ethical principles of individual relationships: filial piety, fraternal duty, loyalty, and sincerity. Similarly, when he tried to clarify *tianxia*, he had to return to concrete relationships themselves, such as those between fathers and sons, between older and younger brothers, and among friends. (1992, p. 76)

Thus, this proposition is to return to the social phenomena and historical processes that clarify a part of the complex case that contemporary China represents for social academia.

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Political Economy of Chinese Outward Foreign Direct Investment (COFDI) in Europe: An Examination of its Drivers and Emerging Issues and Anxieties

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Introduction

Scholars interested in examining Chinese engagement into global economic governance, and into outward investment and Chinese economic and foreign policies, often fit their analyses in relation to the major economic landmarks of China, namely, from 1979 to 1991. This reflects the "Open-Door" policy; from 1992-2001, economic acceleration responding to Deng Xiaoping "South Tour," and from 2002 to present reflecting the "Go Global" policy (Yao & Wang, 2014). Given these economic evolution trends, although the late 1970s marks the beginning of opening, serious Chinese engagement and impact in global economy is more evident in the period reflecting the "Go Global" policy and particularly the joining of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. Since then, Chinese Outward Foreign Direct Investment (COFDI) has been soaring,

while Inward Foreign Direct Investment (IFDI) has been decreasing. For example, by 2016, the amount of Chinese COFDI was approximately 180 U.S. billion dollars, or 50 U.S. billion dollars more than the country's IFDI (Yao, Zhang, Wang, & Luo, 2017). According to different investment scholars, this soaring of Chinese OFDI after benefiting from significant amount of IFDI reflects China's economic policy as well as economic growth (Wang & Alon, 2010; Wang, Mao, & Guo, 2014). It also seems to support Dunning's (1981) investment development path theory, which "suggest[s] that, with an increase in per capital income, a country initially attracts a growing amount of foreign direct investment (FDI) and subsequently becomes an ODI player"(Wang et al., 2014, p. 227).

Drivers

The question of what drives COFDI in Europe has been of interest to many analysts and scholars. The corollary of most of the initiatives to explain COFDI often classify COFDI to be targeting investment in resource extraction and politically risky countries (Kolstad & Wiig, 2012; Lee, 2015) and slowly changing and moving toward investing in developed and politically stable countries (Anderson & Sutherland, 2015; Wenjie & Tang, 2014; Yao & Wang, 2014). China has made her way from just what is often described as assets, brands, and technology seeking to technology exporting, as well as challenging the conventional wisdom that China invests more in the developing world (Araujo & Cardenal, 2013; Rube & Gippner, 2017). For example, in terms of distribution of the total value of Chinese OFDI and construction combined, totalling 1.8 trillion U.S. dollars, Europe ranked first, receiving a total of 335.0 billion U.S. dollars. Europe was followed by Sub-Saharan Africa with \$283.9, West Asia with \$263.9, North America (U.S. included) with \$241.7, East Asia with \$237.9, South America with \$156.4, Arab Middle East and North Africa (MENA) with \$156.0, and Australia with \$103.7 billion U.S. dollars respectively, against Africa, which received a lesser amount, \$283.9, compared to the developed world, especially Europe, which received 335.0 billion U.S. dollars of the total 1.8 trillion U.S. dollars (Scissors, 2018).

If that is the case, what are the main driving forces behind this soaring of COFDI in Europe? Drivers for COFDI in Europe are mixed, but most scholars peg them as motives to acquire technology, learn management know-how, gain access to research and design (RD) centers, build brands, service Chinese firms abroad, circumvent trade barriers, and access a large consumer market. However, others argue that COFDI is motivated by innovation-driven manufacturing, a need for quality over quantity, achieving green development, optimizing structure for Chinese industry, the nature of human labor, and the means to upgrade Chinese industry for more efficiency and integration. While these are basic motives, the contextual motives explain more about what happened in the post-2007/2008 financial crisis period. This economic crisis in Europe and crisis in Euro zone made a significant opening for massive Chinese investment in Europe. Two drivers were evident.

First, the economic meltdown rendered many European companies unable to continue with production at full scale and hence these companies were at risk of layoff of workers. To cope with the situation, some companies were seriously seeking investors. As both the United States and the rest of the European countries and firms were severely hit by the crisis, China, a less affected economy, became the main source for investment (Araujo & Cardenal, 2013; Meunier, 2014; Rube & Gippner, 2017). For example, Media's acquisition of KUKA robotic company was only possible because there was neither a European nor an American company that could outpace the amount that this Chinese home appliance company bid. Also, in spite of the social and political tensions in opposition of Media's acquisition of KUKA AG, the high office was able to give the go-ahead for any company to bid and allow the winner to acquire the company on sale, regardless of where the investor came from (Rube & Gippner, 2017).

Secondly, there was a lowering investment standard to allow easy flow of Chinese capital in Europe. Cases in point are the European initiatives to attract Chinese capital through a number of incentives such as financial and fiscal, operational, and assistance such as R&D grant loans, and those focusing on citizenship and residency (Meunier, 2014). The third issue was opening doors for Chinese investment in strategic infrastructure, an area that was traditionally restricted for external investors for security purposes. This was evidenced by the Chinese acquisition infrastructure such as airport, harbor, and trains in Iceland, Greece, and Spain, and winning a bid to construct a nuclear power plant in the UK (Araujo & Cardenal, 2013; Meunier, 2014; Rube & Gippner, 2017). With the latter, it also signified China's advances and readiness for technological transfer to developed world countries, something unusual.

Emerging Issues and Anxieties

In spite of the inroads made by COFDI in Europe, China is still accused of some issues. First, the massive government backup in terms of subsidies and financial support is said not to be making the Chinese firms competitive against their fellow firms from Europe, where such support is not available to that degree. Hence, many countries are worried about what they term "Beijing buying Europe." Second is the question of quality. Some European authorities are concerned about the quality of Chinese products. They wonder if quality is assured if Chinese firms can sell their products at a lower price. Third is the question of intellectual rights protection. Serious concerns have been raised against the violation of intellectual rights by Chinese companies as well as the forcing of firms to disclose their technological innovation to China. Last but not least is the question of reciprocity. Here, China is blamed of being a free rider who wishes to enjoy the open market but refuses to pay honor to its counterparts when they want to access the domestic market.

In that regard, the future of COFDI in Europe will greatly depend on how best Beijing re-programs its behavior toward doing business. This must compel Chinese firms to respect issues of intellectual property rights, quality, and limited funding from government. Also it would be better for Chinese firms to refrain from investing in critical infrastructure, which often brings serious opposition to COFDI.

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Stalemate in Europe: The Greek Debt Crisis and its (Un)cooperative Roots

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States' political decisions play a crucial role alongside economic indicators in the outbreak of economic crises. One reason is the lack of cooperation among states. Although the European Union (EU) has been lauded since its inception as one of the most successful examples of cooperation, it tends to sustain its core states' interests. Imprudent economic integration for further political incentives have led to serious structural differences within the Union. These structural differences have caused acute fragility among the periphery economies of the Union and set the stage for the Greek debt crisis.

Theorists of international relations develop many assumptions toward the concept of cooperation and analyze cooperation

from these theories' perspectives. The two leading theories of international relations, realism and liberalism, are contradictory on these grounds. On the one hand, the realist paradigm is skeptical about international cooperation, asserting that states always seek to maximize their interests and focus on relative gains. In addition to the utility maximization approach of states, competition among states and the absence of a common authority in the international system may undermine cooperation. States eventually tend to abandon cooperation or exploit conditions.

On the other hand, the liberal paradigm does not deny that international competition and anarchy constitute obstacles to international cooperation. However, it is argued that states eventually overcome such problems through cooperation. States should increase their efforts to cooperate under all circumstances. Unlike the realist paradigm that focuses on the relative gains, liberals emphasize absolute gains; it is enough for a state's gains to be absolute, and not relative. More precisely, one's gain does not need to mean other's loss. With this in mind, states, however, often do seek to maximize their gains under international anarchy and competition.

The EU is one of the most successful cooperation initiatives in political history. Its economic and political integration stages seemed to justify liberal assumptions. However, the European Community (EC) has emerged as a crisis-based project encompassing disagreements and conflicts after the Second World War. Since then, states' self-interested policies have paved the way for reckless economic and political regulations for further integration.

For instance, European Economic Integration (EEI) has broken the resistance of periphery countries' economies, despite EEI's outlook containing many liberal regulations. The problem has arisen with the serious economic and political differences between member states. More precisely, free trade areas lead to immense trade surpluses for member states with high production capacity, while the periphery experiences trade deficits. With the Customs Union, core states with skilled labor and cutting-edge technology increase their competitiveness. A common market similarly provides the free movement of labor, capital, and services. This in turn leads to financial and labor flows into core states, which are more appealing. The monetary union affected the delicate balance in the EU. Many member states, for instance, adopted the euro with inadequate economic conditions. As a result, stages of EEI engendered severe structural problems in the economies of the periphery.

The Greek debt crisis has been an inevitable consequence of these conditions. Even after the bailouts, the EU and especially Germany refused the International Monetary Fund (IMF)'s debt relief request for Greece, and *ceteris paribus*, the Greek economy will thus face a burden of debt worth 250% of its gross domestic product (GDP) by 2050 (Rankin, 2016). On the other hand, after a short-term deterioration in the economic outlook of the EU core states, the IMF has gained around € 3 billion as profit from the loans to Greece since the outset of the crisis (Jubilee Debt Company), and Germany experienced a current account surplus during the European sovereign debt crisis, while

economies of debtor countries worsened (Kollman et al., 2014). As it is well known, maintenance of a lasting current account surplus in a single monetary union is beggar-my neighbor policy (Coppola, 2018). As Yanis Varoufakis, a professor of economics and the former Greek finance minister, puts it:

Europe in its infinite wisdom decided to deal with this bankruptcy by loading the largest loan in human history on the weakest of shoulders, the Greek taxpayers. What we've been having ever since is a kind of fiscal waterboarding that has turned this nation into a debt colony. (Varoufakis, 2015, p.)

From the theoretical perspective, realists remain skeptical about the international cooperation; they argue that states eventually opt for short-term gains or leave the cooperation if they anticipate any decrease in their relative gains. In this regard, despite the crisis, the main goal of EU core states was to maximize their interests by requiring Greece to pay its debts with loan packages, as Greece largely owed to private financial creditors, including German banks and the IMF. The EU, which was designed to restrict the effects of international anarchy for their members, created an anarchic environment for its weak periphery with the outbreak of the crisis.

Eight years after receiving the first bailout package, Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras stated that Greece has ended its bailout program in August 2018. However, the country is still suffering from a high level of unemployment rate and public debt, almost 190% of national income, and has now a smaller economy by 25% (Giugliano & Nikas, 2018). This failure of the austerity package has remarkable consequences. First, anti-Brussels governments in Europe have increased their influences in coming to power. Second, this crisis demonstrates that failure in solution may have lasting effects for not just its origin country, but also for the others in the long-term, due to the cross-border intensive labor migration flows and loss of credibility of austerity measures. In addition to this fragile and poor recovery, Greece will likely become the first and most affected country from any possible confrontation between the United States and EU regarding trade relations.

Rethinking Think Tanks in Contemporary China

Author: Silvia Menegazzi

Reviewed by Abdurrahim Sağır

Menegazzi, S. (2018). *Rethinking think tanks in contemporary China*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-57300-7

Research conducted on Chinese think tanks has been mainly done in terms of organizational analysis, “assessing whether or not organization is attached to a certain ministry or governmental agency” (p. 17). By causing black and white thinking of Chinese think tanks, this approach created a deficiency of empirical effort in the existing literature to reveal functions of these organizations. The 2018 research of Menegazzi, who is a post-doctoral research fellow in Political Science and International Relations at LUISS Guido Carli University, goes beyond this classical approach and introduces empirical evidence to the literature on Chinese indigenous research organizations.

Think tanks, “organizations that generate and disseminate policy ideas,” by Menegazzi’s definition, demonstrate an effective function in filling the gap between academia and the policy makers; in other words, “they help to bridge this gap between the worlds of ideas and action” (Haass, 2002). The rise of think tanks began in early 20th century, mainly in the United States, and then spread around the world. Especially in the post-war era, through the significant increase of their influence and power on states’ foreign policies, thus, on the “post-war world order,” think tanks had become essential actors of world politics.



It was in the mid-20th century when the U.S. government started to devote massive resources to defense scientists and researchers, and it did not take so long for Washington to get results. As Haass (2002) highlights, "The rise of modern think tanks parallels the rise of the United States to global leadership," there seems to be a connection between the two phenomena. Within this scope, now the world is witnessing how the PRC, at a highly progressive moment of its short history, is focusing on developing think tanks with "Chinese characteristics."

At such an historical moment, when the Chinese leadership was in need of and, thus, opened the floor for policy advice from outside, *Rethinking Think Tanks in Contemporary China* provides a wonderful guide to understand how these indigenous research organizations function in China's "new era." The book came out 5 years after Xi Jinping's first public reference to developing think tanks with Chinese characteristics and has a remarkable place in the literature.

Within the existing literature, think tanks are generally described as "non-state actors" or "independent actors," which must generate pluralism. Therefore, there is a tendency among Western scholars to disregard Chinese think tanks due to their attachment to the state or the Chinese Communist Party. As the author mentions, "Lack of empirical analysis on Chinese foreign and domestic policy studies, together with closed-authoritarian nature of China's governmental structure, which prevent researchers to reach satisfying outcomes on Chinese politics gave result to 'monolithic' perception on China's governmental structure" (p. 4). The most distinctive feature of *Rethinking Think Tanks in Contemporary China* among the existing literature is its rational analysis of the Chinese think tanks within their "nationalist context." "Knowledge regimes," the theoretical framework of the study, helps her to navigate in this tough mission. The framework enables her to go beyond the classical categorization of think tanks and provide an alternative to categorize them on their functionality and their national context. Consequently, the study provides an empirical analysis of the roles and functionalities of "certain kinds of organizations often discarded by scholars because of their links with the government" (p. 29).

"Today, the spectrum of categorization has expanded widely in parallel with the necessity to include think tanks working outside Western liberal democracies," she states (p. 28). To assess Chinese think tanks' effectiveness more properly, the author adopts the "Chinese classification" of think tanks, which are: Party-state and military think tanks, the institutes affiliated with the Chinese Academy of Social Science, academic research institutes, and civilian think tanks (p. 69). Under the mentioned approach, research tries to cover the following questions for a better examination of the influence power of Chinese think tanks on the PRC's policy-making process: "Who are the actors and do they get involved in any phases of policy making process? What are the political and social conditions that allow them to play a role? How can the policy output be influenced? How are these influences generated?"(p. 2).

In the third of six chapters, the author goes back to the roots of Chinese think tanks, the 1950s, to reveal the evolution processes of examined think tanks. By reviewing major events in the modern political history of PRC, the research provides

a ground for better understanding of the nature (or structure) of Chinese think tanks. For instance, how did the Soviet influence on Chinese politics affect the creation of “first generation” Chinese think tanks? What were the impacts of the Cultural Revolution period on Chinese think tanks? How did the transformation of the political environment in the 1980s affect the evolution of Chinese think tanks? After providing the historical background, her focus moves to Xi Jinping administration’s emphasis to Chinese think tanks, current reforms, and their increasing significance regarding China’s participation in global governance.

Menegazzi, in her attempt to provide significant empirical research, adopts a qualitative approach through interviews or archival research, to study China’s research organizations. The book includes two case studies to measure the growing role of Chinese think tanks. Economic diplomacy and environmental diplomacy are the two chosen policy areas to examine. While acknowledging the significant role played by the state agencies, the author reflects upon the growing role of China’s expert community and think tanks in the policy-making process in the two different policy areas. Interviews conducted with the experts working at Chinese think tanks reveal how the information is generated and conveyed to the decision makers. However, as the author acknowledges, lack of interviews with the governmental actors restrains the study’s efficiency of seeing the other side of the medallion.

Haass, R. N. (2002). *Think tanks and U.S. foreign policy: A policy-maker’s perspective*. An electronic journal of the U.S. Department of the State, Vol. 7.

Menegazzi, S. (2018). *Rethinking think tanks in contemporary China*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-57300-7



**New MA (International Relations and
Diplomacy) and PhD (Global Studies)
Students at Shanghai University**

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Cengiz Mert Bulut

Dana Shem-Ur

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Martín Rozengardt

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Cengiz Mert Bulut

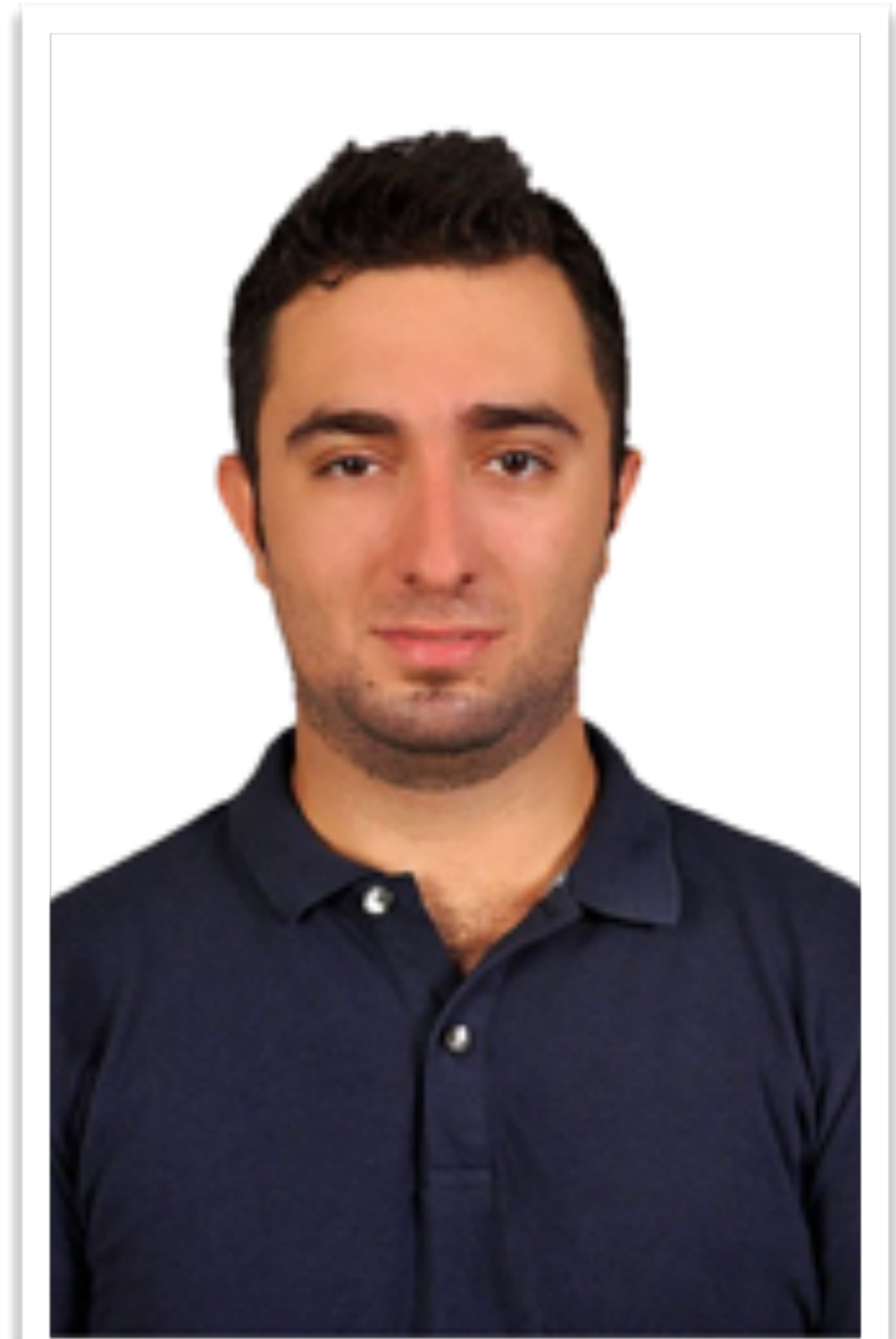
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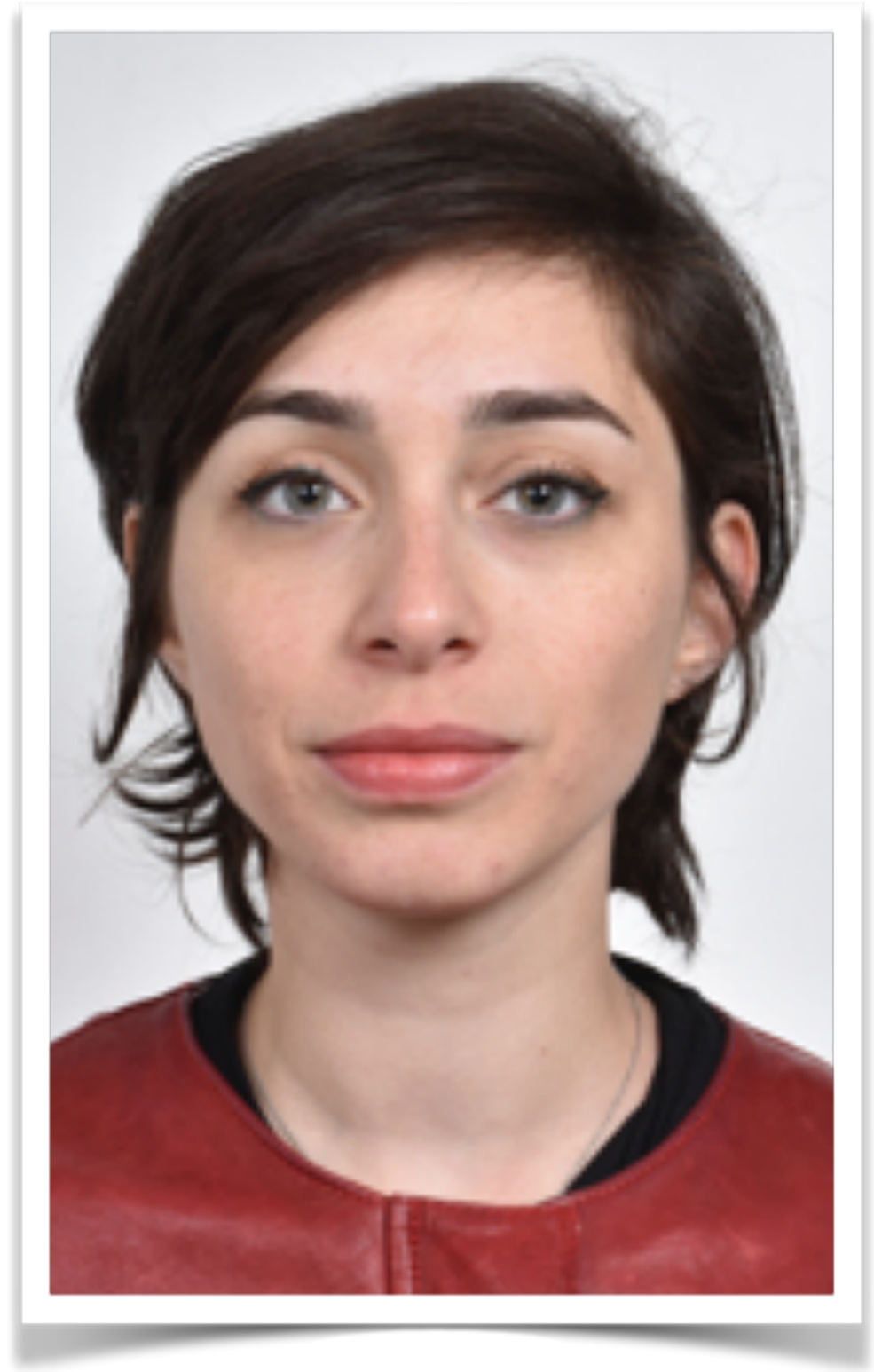
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Time: 9:00 - 17:00

For more information, please contact:

Tugrul Keskin tugruk@vt.edu or Ryan Kiggins rkiggins@uco.edu



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Please include the following in your email:

- Author full name;
- Affiliation;
- Email address;
- Abstract in Word format (200 to 300 words);
- Title of your paper
- A short Biography (NOT A CV)

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Abstract Submission for the Conference: **April 15, 2019**

Conference Draft Paper Submission: **May 6, 2019**

The Conference Dates: **May 16, 17 and 18, 2019**



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