Authoritarianism Reading List
Democratic Resilience and Innovation Team
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Domestic and Transnational Authoritarianism
Reading List

(All sources in purple are cross-listed sources)

(Note: sources highlighted in yellow are updates by Aqil Shah)

The Resurgence of Authoritarianism: The Problem

Evidence and Documentation of the Rise of Authoritarianism:

- V-Dem 2022 Report: Autocratization Changing Nature?, March 2022
  The annual report from the Varieties of Democracy, a Swedish-based international institute focused on methodologically rigorous research on democracy and autocracy continues the previous documentation of the global decline of democracy. In addition, it highlights 3 developments: increasing number of coups (5 in 2021), the large wave of polarization and how it correlates with increases in autocratization, and how mis/disinformation by governments is multiplying. They also point out the official statistics from autocracies are not reliable, which raises concerns for policy-making across sectors.

- V-Dem 2021 Report: *Autocratization Turns Viral*, March 2021
  Annual report from the Varieties of Democracy, that documents the accelerating global decline of democracy, the rise of authoritarianism, and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. Across different contexts autocratization follows a similar pattern of 1) restrictions on the media; 2) delegitimization of opponents; 3) disinformation campaigns; 4) attack on democratic institutions. Great infographics.

- V-Dem 2020 Democracy Report: Autocratization Surges, Resistance Grows
  Discusses the rise of autocracy, but also how in 2019 there were many pro-democracy protests movements in a diverse set of countries. Highlights the declining quality of elections in multiple countries. Points how for the first time since 2001 the majority of countries are autocracies.

- Freedom House 2021 Freedom in the World Report: *Democracy Under Siege*, 2021
  Documents the global decline of democracy and the rise of authoritarianism, including in the United States and by region. Discusses the influence of the Covid-19 on democracy and authoritarianism. Emphasizes the growing antidemocratic influence of the PRC. Uses a different methodology than V-Dem but comes to similar conclusions. Great infographics.

- BTI 2020, *Resistance to Democratic Regression and Authoritarian Rule is Growing*, 2020
  Analysis from the German Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index (BTI) on political transformations during the 2017-2019 period. Similar to V-Dem, the report is based on the results from surveys of 100s of regional experts. Based on extensive data, the report makes 3 major conclusions: 1) democracies face increasing domestic challenges; 2) autocracies have adopted new, effective survival strategies; 3) the rise of China and increased assertiveness of Russia has supported the spread of autocracy. In addition, the report argues that there is less citizen support for democracy, elite corruption is a widespread source of dissatisfaction, and political parties have become weak.

- General Resource Podcast, NED Authoritarianism--POWER 3.0
  Regular podcast by the American National Endowment for Democracy (NED) about the authoritarian resurgence and examples of democratic resilience, including topics such as the PRC government's BRI, digital authoritarianism, disinformation, and corruption. Features different expert guests.

- NED, Sharp Power: Rising Authoritarian Influence in the Democratic World, 2017
  Defines authoritarian "sharp power," as power that "pierces, penetrates, or perforates the political and information environments in the targeted countries." Unlike BTI and V-Dem reports this paper focuses more on the promotion of authoritarianism and through examining 4 cases-- Argentina, Peru, Poland, and Slovakia—investigates Russia and China's sharp power. Argues for 5 policy responses: 1) address the shortage of information about China and Russia in recipient countries; 2) unmask often secretive authoritarian influence; 3) build democratic resilience; 4) reaffirm support for democratic values; 5) reconceptualize "soft power" as the more threatening "sharp power."

- Journal of Democracy, *Authoritarian Vestiges in Fledgling Democracies*, 2021
  Argues that there are 3 main forms of authoritarian vestiges in new democracies: authoritarian successor parties, authoritarian-era constitutions, and subnational authoritarian enclaves. Authoritarian successor parties and constitutions have mixed effects on democracy; subnational authoritarianism is always a problem. For example, authoritarian successor parties can help develop stable interparty competition and ensure that supporters participate in the new democratic system.

- Anna Luhrmann and Staffan Lindberg. "A Third Wave of Autocratization is Here: What is New about it?" *Democratization* 26, no. 7 (2019): 1095–1113.

  This widely cited article by Luhrman and Lindberg uses V-Dem data (episodes of democratic regression from 1900 to 2017) to demonstrate the unfolding of what they describe as a "third wave of "autocratization." Autocratization is an umbrella concept that encompasses three distinct processes: (a) decline in the core institutions of a democratic regime ("democratic recession"), (b) the collapse of democracy ("democratic

breakdown"); and (c) the degradation of democratic qualities in authoritarian regimes ("autocratic consolidation"). While the authors agree with the prevailing wisdom in the literature that “autocratization” gradually erodes democratic institutions from behind a legal-democratic facade, they caution against widespread democratic pessimism by showing that the current level of democratic regression is relatively modest compared to previous waves of autocratization, and the global share of democratic countries has remained stable.

- Bermeo, Nancy. “On Democratic Backsliding.” *Journal of Democracy* 27 (2016): 5–19

  In this influential and much cited paper, Bermeo argues that the current trend of democratic backsliding (defined as the state-led debilitation or elimination of any of the political institutions that sustain an existing democracy) is qualitatively different from the the previous trend of authoritarian regression marked by classic military coups, autocratic executive takeovers (autogolpe) and blatant election rigging. Instead, backsliding occurs in three ways: (1) ”promissory coups” (the ouster of an elected government with the promise of a swift restoration of democracy), (2) the expansion of executive power, and the erosion of horizontal checks-and-balances, and (3) the strategic manipulation of elections. However, Bermeo concludes on an optimistic note: the current wave of democratic backsliding may be more easily reversed than the past, and democratic breakdowns often lead to dictatorships that are short-lived and “less authoritarian.”

- Ginsburg, Tom, and Aziz Z. Huq. “Democracy’s ‘Near Misses’.” *Journal of Democracy* 29 (2018): 16–30.
  The authors highlight the temporal differences between old and new forms of autocratization, emphasizing that the current predominant form is not the ”sudden reversal”, but a slow and incremental process in which democratically elected leaders gradually undercut the institutional and normative features of democracy.

- Larry Diamond (2021) Democratic regression in comparative perspective: scope, methods, and causes, *Democratization*, 28:1, 22-42

  In this article, Larry Diamond provides a comparative snapshot of the global wave of democratic regression that began in the early 200s and has since deepened and endured. Using Freedom House democracy scores, Diamond documents three major backsliding trends over the past 14 years: (1) a steady decline in the average levels of democratic freedom/quality in most parts of the world, (2) an accelerated pace of democratic breakdowns and (3), a decline in the number of democratic transitions especially in the past five years. Moreover, Diamond finds that democratic decline has particularly affected the G-20 countries and other populous and geopolitically strategic countries. The author confirms the general pattern of democratic decline observed by other scholars: incremental degradation of democracy at the hands of populist elected

leaders who erode institutional checks, neutralize the political opposition, and curtail independent media and dissenting voices in civil society. The principal domestic cause of this worldwide process of democratic backsliding, according to Diamond, is weak and declining rule of law. But international factors have also been instrumental, generating economic and social strains that lower the constraints and risks autocrats face when they strangulate democracy.

- Ding Iza, and Slater, Dan. "Democratic Decoupling." *Democratization* 28 (2021).
  Ding and Slater show that many democratic declines lead to "democratic decoupling," whereby a "systematic gap" opens up between the constitutive features of liberal democracy: electoral competition remains robust but civil and political rights diminish. In this process, "Illiberal juggernauts" such as Narendra Modi in India, Thailand's Thaksin Shinawatra and Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines assume power through relatively free elections but use autocratic tactics to erode/damage democratic institutions and rights.

- Larry Diamond, "A World Without American Democracy? The Global Consequences of the United States' Democratic Backsliding," *Foreign Affairs* July 2021.
  Diamond argues that the failure of US democracy would have dire consequences for global democracy because it would encourage the spread of antidemocratic norms.

- Diamond, L. J., Plattner, M. F., & Walker, C. (Eds.). (2016). Authoritarianism goes global: The challenge to democracy. Johns Hopkins University Press.

  United States and India have experienced a decline of democratic values and norms. This edited volume contends that authoritarianism has gone global because a) authoritarian countries have been more assertive and have shared authoritarian tactics and practices with each other and b) in doing so, they have challenged the liberal international political order and standing of liberal democracy. The authors focus on "soft-power" competition centering on the role of information/disinformation war, civil society, and democratic norms.

- IDEA, Global State of Democracy Report 2021
  The report documents how during the COVID-19 pandemic the number of democracies has declined and there has been increased autocratization. Includes their plan for democratic renewal.

- Pew Research Center, "The World's Democracies: How satisfied is the citizenry?" December 2021
  Recent research from Pew in 17 of the world's democracies found four major themes. 1) Many say democracy is not delivering for them and want political reform. 2) Democracy is a popular idea, but commitment to democratic principles is not always strong. 3) Political and social divisions are amplifying the challenges of democracy. 4) People see

political elites as out of touch—and they want a stronger voice in politics and policy-making. Discussion with Polly Mackenzie, Demos Chief Executive (UK) and Seema Shah, International IDEA Head of Democracy Assessment about possible causes of why. (Notes)

Cooley, A. (2015). Authoritarianism Goes Global: Countering Democratic Norms. Journal of Democracy 26(3).
This article demonstrates the transformation of authoritarianism and the rising influence of non-Western powers and norms over the past decade. It explains how authoritarians implement the novel apparatus as well as practices, institutions, and alternative values to their advantage against the liberal international order. Cooley argues that global political changes and systemic transformations resulted in alternative norms that challenge liberal democracy and prioritize state security, civilizational diversity, and traditional norms. The author demonstrates these changes via a special emphasis on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

- Anne Applebaum, "The Bad Guys Are Winning" *The Atlantic* November 15, 2021
  Applebaum begins the article with a discussion of the situation in Belarus and opposition leader Tsikhanouskaya. She discusses how autocracy today is different and is defined by "sophisticated networks composed of kleptocratic financial structures, security services (military, police, paramilitary groups, surveillance), and professional propagandists. The members of these networks are connected not only within a given country, but among many countries. The corrupt, state-controlled companies in one dictatorship do business with corrupt, state-controlled companies in another." Applebaum also argues that autocrats today are impervious to international criticism and are able to act with impunity.

- Erica Chenoweth and Zoe Marks, "Revenge of the Patriarchs: Why Autocrats Fear Women," *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2022
  The authors argue that the current resurgence of authoritarianism often includes an attack on women's rights. Referencing cases such as Brazil, Hungary, and Poland they talk about how illiberal leaders use "traditional gender roles" arguments to attack "Western" ideas about human rights and democracy and gain political support. "Established autocrats and right-wing nationalist leaders in contested democracies are united in their use of hierarchical gender relations to shore up nationalist, top-down, male-dominated rule. Having long fought against social hierarchies that consolidate power in the hands of the few, feminist movements are a powerful weapon against authoritarianism."

- Fareed Zakaria, "Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 1997
  A highly influential article where Zakaria raises the importance of thinking about democracy beyond elections and the key role of what he calls constitutional liberalism:

"rule of law, a separation of powers, and the protection of basic liberties of speech, assembly, religion, and property." States where there are elections, but not constitutional liberalism, are illiberal democracies, and Zakaria argued 25 years ago that we were witnessing the spread of these types of regimes.

- IRI, Freedom at Risk: The Challenge of the Century, A Global Survey on Democracy in 55 Countries, 2022.

- Book--Anne Applebaum, *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism*, 2020
  Applebaum discusses the erosion of democracy in Poland, Hungary, and the United States, with a focus on the postcommunist historical experience. Also, it connects Brexit and Catalan independence movement to the decline of democracy. She intersects the analysis with her personal experiences (her husband is a well-known Polish politician). Focuses on the allure of nostalgia and nationalism combined with disinformation to explain why people support nondemocratic leaders.

- Book--Madeline Albright, *Fascism: A Warning*, 2018.
  Based on her personal experience and analysis of interwar Europe, Albright argues that fascism is not restricted to history, but is again a threat to peace and stability in the 21st century. The tactics of leaders, such as Turkey's Erdoğan, Venezuela's Maduro, Hungary's Orbán, replicate that of Mussolini and Hitler. She also raised concerns about President Trump's attacks on democratic norms. Offers policy suggestions for how the US should respond.

- Book--Krastev and Holmes, *The Light That Failed: Why the West is Losing the Fight for Democracy,* 2019
  Krastev and Holmes focus on the erosion of democracy in Central Europe and Russia. Includes some discussion of the rise of China and the influence of its model. They argue that the decline of democracy stems from the failure of the postcommunist policy in the region, especially its emphasis on becoming "Westernized." Argue that the need to imitate Western liberalism breeds resentment and dissatisfaction. [Falls into the category of blaming the West for the failure of democracy in Russia].

- Book--Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century* 2017
  A very short book by a historian that, based on the interwar experience, offers 20 brief lessons (e.g., contribute to good causes and listen for dangerous words) on how individuals should act to prevent the rise of tyranny.

- Book--Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt. *How Democracies Die.* New York: Crown, 2018.

This book has been widely discussed among academics and has had a major influence on current academic thinking. Levitsky and Ziblatt, looking at the cases of Chavez, Mussolini, Hitler, and Trump, argue that today democracies die at the hands of elected rulers. Institutions are insufficient to protect democracy, you also need democratic norms, especially mutual toleration and forbearance (politicians using restraint when exercising their power). Outline a widely used index of authoritarian behavior. Argue that Chavez, Mussolini, etc. gained power when elites and political parties granted them legitimacy and failed to adequately assess the threat these outside actors presented to the system. Also, discuss cases of democratic resilience in interwar Belgium and Finland.

- Book—Cooper, Luke. *Authoritarian Contagion*. Interview on PRI's The World: https://www.pri.org/file/2021-09-07/rise-authoritarianism-during-pandemic.

- Book—Przeworski, Adam. *Crisis of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
  Using a mix of methodological approaches (statistical analysis, formal modeling, and historical case studies), Przeworski points out that democracies that have experienced multiple peaceful changes of power, are fairly wealthy, and have strong political parties have generally survived. However, the combination of high levels of inequality, political polarization and increased political violence are real threats to even consolidated democracies. Przeworski's research also supports Levitsky and Ziblatt's conclusions about how democracy can be slowly and gradually eroded.

- Book—Tomini, Luca. When Democracies Collapse: Assessing Transitions to Non-democratic Regimes in the Contemporary World, 2018.
  Tomini argues that the process of democratic backsliding is distinct from democratization; in other words, autocratization is not necessarily caused by the absence of the causal factors that support democracy. Tomini provides a great summary of the scholarship on democratic regression. Then using a mixed-method approach that incorporates a sophisticated Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and process-tracing to develop 4 models of transition away from democracy. The 4 models incorporate structural conditions (economic inequality or lack of economic development + ethnolinguistically divided society), proximate conditions (volatility of political party system, concentration of executive power, and social instability), and decisions/norms of political elites. Four models: incumbent entrenchment (under conditions of economic inequality and social division the incumbents fearing demands for more representation from society erode democracy to maintain power); opposition takeover (conditions of economic crisis, underrepresentation of parts of society in power the system loses legitimacy and an opposition movement gains power and then turns undemocratic); democratic coup (military seizes power claiming they are doing it to "protect democracy" from the perceived threat from the incumbent); stabilizing coup (military seizes power in

the name of stability). Tomini's analysis focuses on the importance of existing structural conditions and the decisions and normative commitment to democracy of political elites.

Haggard & Kauffman, Backsliding: Democratic Regress in the Contemporary World (Cambridge University Press, 2021)

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, two veteran democracy scholars, draw on extensive case studies (the US, cases from Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Africa) to explain the causes of democratic backsliding. They identify three interrelated sources of democratic regression: pernicious polarization; party system realignments/legislative capture, and incrementalism (the slow dismantling of democratic checks and balances). The book also examines the international context of backsliding and the role of new technology.

Examples of Specific Pro-Authoritarian Tactics:

- Freedom House, *Perspectives on Everyday Transnational Repression in an Age of Globalization*, 2020
  Provides examples and analysis of the increase of extraterritorial authoritarian rule, including using digital tools to surveil anti-regime activists abroad, cyberattacks, online harassment, etc. Also, highlights "coercion by proxy," where autocratic governments use threats, attacks, or imprisonment of family members or friends to silence critics abroad. Calls on host countries to help counter this transnational repression.

- NED, *Commanding Ideas: Think Tanks as Platforms for Authoritarian Influence*, 2020
  Part of NED's sharp power and democratic resilience series of publications that discusses how authoritarian regimes have adapted "think tanks" to support their autocracies and as instruments of sharp power abroad. Cautions think tanks in democratic states about their relationships and interactions with these authoritarian based think tanks.

Theories about Why People May Support Authoritarianism:

- Stanley Feldman, *Authoritarianism, Threat and Intolerance*,
  Focuses on political philosophical arguments about the inherent tradeoffs in the struggle to maintain social order and authoritarian support at the individual level. Argues that the distribution of someone on an authoritarian scale is determined by the relative importance they place on personal autonomy vs. social conformity. If someone values personal freedom, then they will only support restrictions on liberties if there is a threat to safety and security. If someone values social conformity, then they are intolerant towards perceived threats to traditional values and norms. Uses a 2016 survey of American voters to test the theory. [Some questionable proxy measures are used in the analysis].

- Global Policy Journal, *How Fear and Anger Impact Democracy*, 2019

Taking a political psychology approach, the author investigates how the emotions of fear and anger impact democracy. Finds that when people are fearful, they are less supportive of aggressive, risk-taking actions. In contrast, when they are angry, they are resistant to contrary information, and have increased support for leaders that present strength.

Book-Norris, Pipa, and Inglehart, Ronald. Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and Authoritarian Poplism. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

In this book, two prominent comparative political scientists, offer a distinct 'cultural' explanation of the rise of authoritarian populism in advanced democracies. Their main argument: societies move towards more liberal values over time which creates a divide between older conservative authoritarian cohorts and younger liberal ones. Societies reach a cultural backlash 'tipping point,' so they contend,' when the older cohorts fear losing their majority status and turn to populist-authoritarian parties that promise to stem the tide of liberalism. However, the idea that older-younger cohorts in a society polarize along consverative-liberal values seems empirically weak/problematic.

Guriev, S., & Treisman, D. (2020). The Popularity of Authoritarian Leaders: A Cross-National Investigation. *World Politics*, 72(4), 601-638.
How do citizens in authoritarian states feel about their leaders? While some dictators rule through terror, others seem genuinely popular. Using the Gallup World Poll's panel of more than one hundred-forty countries in 2006–2016, the authors show that the drivers of political approval differ across regime types. Although brutal repression in overt dictatorships could cause respondents to falsify their preferences, in milder informational autocracies, greater repression actually predicts lower approval. In autocracies as in democracies, economic performance matters and citizens' economic perceptions, while not perfectly accurate, track objective indicators. Dictators also benefit from greater perceived public safety, but the authors find no such effect in democracies. Covert censorship of the media and the Internet is associated with higher approval in autocracies—in particular, in informational ones—but ratings fall when citizens recognize censorship. In informational autocracies, executive elections trigger a ratings surge if there is leader turnover, but, unlike in democracies, re-elected autocrats enjoy little honeymoon.

Owen, C. (2020). Participatory authoritarianism: From bureaucratic transformation to civic participation in Russia and China. *Review of International Studies, 46*(4), 415-434. doi:10.1017/S0260210520000248

This article explores the way in which Russian and Chinese governments have rearticulated global trends towards active citizenship and participatory governance, and integrated them into pre-existing illiberal political traditions. The author proposes the concept of 'participatory authoritarianism' to capture the resulting practices of local

governance that, on the one hand, enable citizens to engage directly with local officials in the policy process, but limit, direct, and control civic participation on the other. The article explores the emergence of discourses of active citizenship at the national level and the accompanying legislative development of government-organized participatory mechanisms, demonstrating how the twin logics of openness and control, pluralism and monism, are built into their rationale and implementation. It argues that as state bureaucracies have integrated into international financial markets, so new participatory mechanisms have become more important for local governance as government agencies have lost the monopoly of information for effective policymaking. Practices of participatory authoritarianism enable governments to implement public sector reform while directing increased civic agency into non-threatening channels.

PRC-specific but with broader implications:

- Lily L. Tsai, Minh Trinh, and Shiyao Liu, "What Makes Anti-corruption Punishment Popular? Individual-Level Evidence from China." *The Journal of Politics*, 2022 84:1, 602-606.

  How do authoritarian regimes sustain their popularity? More specifically, how do anti-corruption campaigns affect public support for such regimes? Using an experimental design to measure the individual preferences of Chinese citizens, the paper finds that citizens favorably view officials who punish corrupt subordinates because such actions demonstrate both their competence and moral commitment to the public's values. Significantly, the paper also shows that citizens' positive views of anti-corruption outweigh support for other sources of authoritarian support (e.g., economic performance, welfare provision), suggesting the instrumental value of corruption crackdowns for autocrats seeking to bolster their public backing. The study helps explain how authoritarian regimes generate public support to endure in power rather than just relying on strategies of repression and social control.

- Cunningham, Edward, Tony Saich, and Jesse Turiel. 2020. "Understanding CCP Resilience: Surveying Chinese Public Opinion through Time." Technical report, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard University.

  This policy brief uses results from a unique, longitudinal nationally representative survey of Chinese citizens (starting in 2003) to show that public support for the CCP has increased over time. Whether evaluating national level policies or the performance of local officials, citizens rate the CCP as competent and effective. Interestingly, citizens from the poorer, rural areas of the country are likely to report higher increases in satisfaction. However, citizens' attitudes appear to be sensitive to concrete changes in their material well-being (i.e., economic growth, environmental decay). These findings

suggest that CCP rule remains resilient but public support hinges on its ability to continue to provide high living standards.

- Teets, J. (2013). Let Many Civil Societies Bloom: The Rise of Consultative Authoritarianism in China. *The China Quarterly, 213*, 19-38. doi:10.1017/S0305741012001269
  Conventional wisdom suggests that an autonomous civil society cannot exist inside authoritarian regimes and that the presence of civil society is an indicator of democratization. In this article, the author challenges this view and shows that the decentralization of public welfare and the linkage of bureaucratic promotion to the delivery of these goods facilitated local government-civil society collaboration in China. He calls this model "consultative authoritarianism," which encourages the simultaneous expansion of a fairly autonomous civil society *and* the development of more indirect tools of state control.

Counterviews:

- Levitsky, S., and L. Way. "The Myth of Democratic Recession". *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 26, no. 1, Jan. 2015, pp. 45-58.

  Levitsky and Way claim that there is no evidence of a global democratic recession and the levels of global democracy have remained steady in the 2000s. The authors argue that the misplaced warnings of a crisis of democracy are the result of undue optimism about the spread of liberal democracy in the post-Cold War Era. It is this democratic triumphalism that led scholars and analysts to equate authoritarian regime weakening/liberalization in the 1990s with democratization. Hence, episodes of authoritarian hardening are being widely misinterpreted as "democratic" backsliding in regimes that are not even democratic to begin with. However, their argument does not stand up to scrutiny in the face of mounting evidence of a persistent pattern of backsliding in the last 15 or more years not just in new or weak electoral regimes but also well-established democracies like the United States and India. Moreover, the numbers of authoritarian regimes is also on the rise both absolute and relative to democratic countries (see IDEA State of Democracy Report 2021)

- Foreign Affairs, *The Dictator's Last Stand: Why the new Autocrats are Weaker than They Look*, 2019.
  Argues that experts are overly pessimistic about the threats to democracy. Populist leaders like Erdogan have an inherent legitimacy problem, as they concentrate power their claims to represent "the people" become implausible. In addition, populist leaders often lead to economic crises which can further weaken their rule. Although acknowledging how some populist dictators can maintain power for the long-term, overall argues that it is too early to say whether or not these regimes will survive.

- See also Anna Luhrmann and Staffan Lindberg. “A Third Wave of Autocratization.” Ref above.

Authoritarianism: Strategies for Countering and Building Resilience to Interference

General:

- Atlantic Council Strategy Papers, *The Longer Telegram: Toward a New American China Strategy*, 2021.
  The author (anonymous) focuses on PRC President Xi Jinping and his influence on Chinese foreign policy. Outlines a summary of their assessment of Xi’s objectives in relation to the US. They criticize the USG for failing to have a coherent, unified strategy toward the PRC and argues that we need the equivalent of George Kennan’s 1946 long telegram on the Soviet Union. Advocates for a USG strategy that understands the internal dynamics of the CCP and uses that information to frustrate Xi’s goals to supplant the US as military, economic, and financial power.

- German Marshall Fund, *How democracies can offset autocratic advances*, 2020
  Focuses on the internal vulnerabilities within the US and what the US needs to do to counter the authoritarian threat for the US. Argues that the US needs to leverage its strengths (“vibrant civil society, dynamic and competitive economy, innovative private sector, and robust network of alliances”) to build resilience into democratic institutions and exploit the internal weaknesses of authoritarian regimes. Emphasizes non-military areas of political, economic, technological, and informational competition. Although about the US the proposals may have relevance for other democracies.

- Task Force on US Strategy to Support Democracy and Counter Authoritarianism, *Reversing the Tide: Towards a New US Strategy to Support Democracy and Counter Authoritarianism.* April 14, 2021
  Joint report from Freedom House, CSIS, and the McCain Institute. The authors propose 7 inter-related strategies the USG should adopt in response to the authoritarianism threat, starting with elevating democracy promotion and countering authoritarianism to the core of US foreign policy and national interest. Propose new policies and institutional restructuring within the USG. Has multiple recommendations on digital technology, cyber diplomacy, and countering disinformation. Argues that State and USAID should take the lead on programming to address online hate and harassment and references USAID’s Digital Strategy.

- Wilson Center, *Grand Strategy of Democratic Solidarity*, April 2021

Referencing the legacy of Truman's grand strategy of containment, the authors argue that the US needs to develop a new strategy of democratic solidarity to address the geopolitical challenges of today. The democratic solidarity (or alliance) should be flexible. The 8 pillars of solidarity are: countering coercion, enhancing technological cooperation, shaping international institutions, combating corruption, enhancing collective defense, meeting threats from within, taking the offensive, negotiating from strength.

- David Black, German Marshall Fund, Revitalizing Democracy Assistance to Counter Authoritarianism, 2019
  Discusses the decline of democracy, the backlash against democracy assistance, digital authoritarianism, and the role of Russia and China. Proposes several solutions, including more strategic democratic and development assistance, more focus on digital technology and cybersecurity, more coordination among donors, and proposing a counter to the Chinese development model.

- Global Focus, Democratic Resilience Index
  A pilot research project in Romania, Hungary, and Moldova to develop a democratic resilience index. Investigates political factors, media and civil society, external relations, and economic factors that may influence democratic resilience. Has lots of interesting data but engages with too many variables to reach any clear conclusions about what matters the most for democratic resilience.

- Albright, Madeleine. "The Coming Democratic Revival America's Opportunity to Lead the Fight Against Authoritarianism" *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 2021.
  Albright makes the argument that democracy is poised for a comeback and that one of the United States strongest foreign policy tools is its identity as a champion for human freedom (however flawed). She argues that the PRC government and Russia have failed to offer an appealing alternative, pointing to recent global polling that shows high levels of distrust in both states. Albright proposes that President Biden's message "should be that democratic leaders must support one another and use their combined influence to bolster civil discourse, due process, fair elections, and the essential freedoms of speech, worship, and the press. For this strategy to attract followers, the United States must show the way by integrating its commitment to democracy into all aspects of its foreign policy."

- NED, Resisting Sharp Power, December 2021
  Virtual panel discussion including Jessica Ludwig (NED), Dominika Hajdu (Slovakia, GLOBSEC, Center for Democracy & Resilience), Ttcat (Taiwan, Doublethink Lab) and George K. Sarpong (Ghana, executive secretary of Ghana's National Media Commission) about sharp power. Announced the launch of multiple resources including the Sharp Power Research Portal (sharppower.org) with over 750 resources and GLOBSEC's Vulnerability Index which assesses the vulnerability in Central and SE

Europe to foreign malign influence. Also discussed Taiwan's efforts to counter disinformation.

- V-Dem: Deterring Dictatorship: Explaining Democratic Resilience since 1900, 2020.

- V-Dem: A Framework for understanding Regime Transformation
  Introduces the new Episodes of Regime Transformation dataset to help scholars better understand the rise and fall of political regimes. They consider 4 different types of transformation (liberalization in autocracies, democratic deepening in democracies, and regression in both democracies and autocracies). Dataset involves all coded cases of regime transformation between 1900 and 2019. Seeks to bridge divides within the scholarly literature with this approach. Reaches some interesting conclusions, such as that in 60% of the time liberalization in autocracies does not result in democratization.

- V-Dem: Case for Democracy Conference Report, 2021
  Report includes documented evidence about the social and economic benefits of democracy. It highlights how democracies overall provide higher levels of public goods and are more transparent.

- Lucan Way, The Rebirth of the Liberal World Order?, Journal of Democracy, 2022
  In this article, Way provides an analysis of why there was not a stronger response to the global erosion of democracy the last 15+ years. He then goes on to discuss the impact of Russia's invasion of Ukraine on the liberal world order. Although he acknowledges that it is early days yet, he argues that the unprecedented European response to the conflict highlights the surprising strength of the liberal world order and that the intervention will weaken Russia even if it wins.

In Progress:

Halting Democratic Erosion/Building Resilience

Luca Tomini, Suzan Gibril & Venelin Bochev (2022), Standing up to autocratization: comparative analysis of resistance actors and strategies, *Democratization*, 2022.

This article adds to the budding scholarship on countering autocratization by focusing on the key actors resisting autocrats and their strategies across different types of regimes (full democracy, electoral democracy-autocracy, autocracy). Using a comparative analysis of selected cases of successful resistance, the authors identify three types of 'resisters' that exist in different types of political systems. First, insider/institutional actors such as public officials and judges in liberal democracies undergoing autocratization (e.g., the U.S. under Trump). Second,

political leaders/parties in electoral democracies/electoral autocracies acting through parliamentary/democratic channels or extra-institutional mechanisms (e.g., Ecuador under Correa). Finally, social/societal actors in full autocracies who resist autocrats via overt or covert dissent, non-violent protests (e.g., Sudan since 2018).

Rising Hostility to Democracy Assistance: Can it be Countered? Carnegie Europe, 2022.

Democracy supporting organizations (DSOs) have sought to open up closed civic spaces in hostile autocratizing regimes by supporting apolitical domestic actors, e.g., community forums, theater groups, individual rights defenders & critical media (e.g., bloggers). But autocratic regimes have tried to neutralize these actors, for example, through repressive legal, regulatory and penal mechanisms. The authors suggest the need for the EU and other external donors to get ahead of the curve by offering recommendations for a more directly political approach to democracy assistance in hostile environments, such as developing mechanisms of discrete support for social protest movements, and forging links between domestic and diaspora activists.

Laebans & Luhrman, What Halts Democratic Erosion: The Role of Accountability, Democratization, 2021.

This article focuses on the important role of accountability institutions to halt, if not prevent, democratic erosion. The authors use the V-Dem Electoral Democracy Index to study three recent success stories–Benin (2007–2012), Ecuador (2008–2010), and South Korea (2008–2016). Their main finding is that three accountability mechanisms- parliamentary and judicial oversight (horizontal accountability), pressures from civil society and the media (diagonal accountability), and/or electoral competition between parties and within parties (vertical accountability) – effectively stem erosion when they combine with institutional constraints—such as presidential term limits or judicial independence – and contextual factors –such as economic crises and public outrage about corruption scandals – to generate simultaneous restraints on executive aggrandizement.

Anna Lührmann (2021) Disrupting the autocratization sequence: towards democratic resilience, Democratization, 28:5, 1017-1039, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2021.1928080

What can democratic actors do to disrupt autocratization in order to increase democratic resilience? The author conceives autocratization as a three-stage sequence, arguing that each of these stages provide opportunities for democratic actors to challenge would-be autocrats. The first stage is the rise of public discontent with democratic institutions/parties, which can be remedied by a better supply of democratic parties and processes as well as civic education. In the second stage, autocratic/anti-democratic actors exploit and fuel public dissatisfaction to gain

power, which can be addressed through targeted sanctions against radicals and the mobilization of moderate voters. Thirdly, once autocratization begins, strong accountability institutions and a cohesive and creative opposition can help prevent democratic breakdown.

Murat Somer, Jennifer L. McCoy & Russell E. Luke (2021) Pernicious polarization, autocratization and opposition strategies, Democratization, 28:5, 929-948, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2020.1865316

The authors point to "pernicious polarization" – the elite-led division of society into mutually distrustful Us versus Them camps -- as the driving force behind autocratization as it incentivizes political actors to embrace democratically erosive actions. Using both theory and case studies, they contend that the actions and objectives of democratic opposition are key to halting or reversing such polarization. They offer a typology of opposition goals and strategies to analyze the impact of polarization on democratic resilience.. Basically, oppositions face a choice between *generative* or *preservative goals* on the one hand, and polarizing and depolarizing strategies on the other. The gist: "active-depolarizing" & "transformative-repolarizing" strategies are better than "passive-depolarizing" and "reciprocal polarizing" strategies, with the caveat that that the tools (e.g., institutional accountability or voter mobilization) used to pursue these choices/strategies will change as polarization deepens.

McCoy, J., & Somer, M. (2019). Toward a Theory of Pernicious Polarization and How It Harms Democracies: Comparative Evidence and Possible Remedies. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 681(1), 234–271. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716218818782

This article (from a special issue of the Annals by the same authors) compares the dynamics of polarization by drawing on case studies covered in the issue (e.g., Bangladesh, Turkey, Hungary, Venezuela and the U.S.) to identify the causes, characteristics and mechanisms of severe political polarization, and its consequences for democracy. Their key conclusion: "pernicious polarization" (when a society is split into mutually distrustful "Us vs. Them camps) is not attributable to any social, structural or institutional factors. Instead, it is a product of political entrepreneurs advancing their political goals by using divisive narratives and exploiting existing discontent/grievances, and the failure of their opponents to either adopt active depolarizing strategies or their use of reactive polarizing tactics. They conclude with suggestions for preventing polarization: judicial action against polarizing elites, the choices and strategies of political and civil society opposition, such as effective electoral strategies, internal organizational reforms, and support for democratic institutional reforms.

Vanessa A. Boese, Amanda B. Edgell, Sebastian Hellmeier, Seraphine F. Maerz & Staffan I. Lindberg (2021) How democracies prevail: democratic resilience as a two-stage process, Democratization, 28:5, 885-907, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2021.1891413

This article unpacks democratic resilience as a two-stage process: autocratization onset and democratic breakdown. Key finding: democracies have generally been resilient to the onset of autocratization since 1900 but their resilience has eroded since the end of the Cold War. The authors also find evidence that once autocratization starts, it can be difficult to stop: only one in five democracies can manage to avert breakdown. Their analysis suggests that democratic resilience is positively correlated with judicial constraints on the executive and past experience with democracy. The article also contributes to modernization theory (democracy-development linkage): higher levels of economic development are associated with resilience to the onset of autocratization, but not to ongoing autocratization.

Cleary, M., & Öztürk, A. (2022). When Does Backsliding Lead to Breakdown? Uncertainty and Opposition Strategies in Democracies at Risk. *Perspectives on Politics, 20*(1), 205-221. doi:10.1017/S1537592720003667

The authors explain why executive aggrandizement (or backsliding) leads to democratic breakdown in some contexts but not in others. Drawing on case studies of Bolivia, Ecuador, Thailand, Turkey, and Venezuela, they highlight the role of opposition 'agency' in preventing regime breakdown. Moderate opposition responses (using institutional mechanisms) work better for democratic survival than more radical attempts to overthrow incumbents especially after electoral loss.

Political Settlements and Institution Building:

- UK FDCO, Political Settlements Research (PEA) **AND** Institut de Barcelona Estudis Internacionals--Beyond Institutions: Political Settlements Analysis and Development
  Both sources discuss a new model/approach to thinking about causes and solutions to conflict and how power configurations and elite incentives affect institutions and good governance. Define political settlements as "tacit agreement among powerful groups about the rules of the political and economic game, that keeps the peace by providing opportunities for those groups to secure a distribution of benefits." Argues that their political settlement analysis framework (PSA) is a helpful way to think about development work as the nature of the political settlement produces constraints on development in a country.

- Book--Andrew Radin, Rand--*Institution Building in Weak States: The Primacy of Local Politics.* 2021
  Contributes to the growing literature on state-building and institution building. Based on research on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Iraq, Kosovo, Ukraine, and Timor-Leste, Radin argues that incremental change is the best option for institution building. Radin discusses how change that threatens national interests or patron-client networks of elites is unlikely to be successful. Foreign actors lack the local knowledge to counter patron-client networks or to apply sufficient leverage. Even when institutional reform does not threaten national interests or patron-client networks it is still difficult and requires money, advice, and conditionality to succeed.

- Mushtaq Khan, Political Settlements and Institutions, African Affairs, 2018

  Mushtaq Khan argues that the distribution of organizational power in a society determines the effects and endurance of institutions, rules and and policies. Thus, it is important to accurately identify the relative power and capabilities of relevant organizations to explain why certain states endure or collapse, why an industrial policy succeeds in one context but not in others…. In progress

Why Development and Democracy Are Linked:

- Daron Acemoglu et al., *Journal of Political Economy,* Democracy Does Cause Growth, 2019.
  The authors provide empirical evidence to show that democracy is more conducive to economic development than dictatorship in the long run. Using robust statistical analysis, they find that democratization (transition from non-democracy to democracy) in a country increases its GDP per capita by about 20 percent in the next 25 years compared to countries that remain non-democratic. Their evidence suggests that democracy induces growth by increasing investments in public goods, improving the provision of schooling and health care, and reducing social unrest.

- Alex Thier, Devex, *Doing Development Democratically*, 2020
- Alex Thier, Westminster Foundation, *A Force for Good in the World: Placing Democratic Values at the Heart of the UK's International Strategy, 2020*
  In both sources by Thier, he calls on the UK government to take the lead in supporting democratic governance and that development needs to think about rights. Doing development democratically is more sustainable, inclusive, and accountable. Therefore, donors need to focus on investing in political systems to build legitimate governments, elections that are free and fair, and independent media.

- V-Dem, *The Business Case for Democracy*, 2021
  Using a rigorous statistical methodology, it examines the relationship between regime type (democracy vs. autocracy) and economic growth. Critiques some of the earlier research on this topic as flawed. Results show that democracy shows a strong positive effect for economic growth and that democracies are better at avoiding economic crises.

Books on Fiscal Policy and Reform:

- Book-*Rethinking Economic Policy for Social Justice: The Radical Potential of Human Rights, 2021*
  Arguing that traditional economic policies focused on economic growth and GDP have failed to solve the world's problems, the authors propose an alternative model based on

human rights. This human rights framework incorporates political and civil rights with economic and social and focuses on the complex interaction among individual rights, collective rights, collective action, and the state. Chapters on inequality, fiscal policy and taxation, aid and monetary policy, credit markets, globalization, and economic crises.

- Book--IMF--Inequality and Fiscal Policy, 2015 (could not find)

- Book--World Bank--New Structural Economics: A Framework for Rethinking Development and Policy, 2012.
  The author, Justin Yifu Lin, argues that successful economic development requires major structural transformation away from agriculture and towards manufacturing. Lin analyzes previous waves of development economics thinking and notes that scholars recently noticed that the most successful cases of economic development in the 20th century did not follow the policy prescriptions of developmental economists. Therefore, Lin and others propose a new neoclassical framework, which emphasizes the important roles for both the market and state. Based on the logic of comparative advantage and a factoral approach, Lin argues that markets are the best mechanism for resource allocation, but that governments need to "play an active role in coordinating investments for industrial upgrading and diversification" to compensate for being late developers. The factor endowment (distribution of land, labor, capital) determines a country's economic structure and successful economic development requires a shift from abundance in land and labor to abundance in capital, along with introducing new technology and improving infrastructure. The logic of comparative advantage should drive how a country seeks to upgrade its endowed economic structure and the main reason why countries have failed to achieve economic development is because of "their governments' inappropriate development strategies."

- Book--Oxford--Optimal Redistributive Taxation, 2016

- Book--IMF--Administering Fiscal Regimes for Extractive Industries, 2014
  This handbook on natural resource revenue administration outlines the unique administrative and legal challenges with national resource taxation. It suggests ways in which developing countries can improve the national resource revenue administration to improve outcomes. Chapter 5 is likely most relevant as it focuses on improving transparency and reducing opportunities for corruption with natural resource revenue.

Digital Authoritarianism and Technology Regulation

General:

- Kendall-Taylor, A., Frantz, E., Wright, J. (2020) **The Digital Dictators: How Technology Strengthens Autocracy.** Foreign Affairs.
  This article focuses on the new apparatus of authoritarian regimes: technology. New technologies, including the Internet and the cell phone, are widely perceived as promising which can ease the ways in which individuals create new connections and build communities through information. However, the authors contend this view, and illustrate how rulers use novel methods for their very survival. For example,, artificial intelligence (AI) allows authoritarians to advance techniques of monitoring and tracking of opposition. These digital tools enable authoritarian regimes to control a wider net by using fewer resources. Moreover, they conclude, this digital control is normalized in people's minds so that their resistance capacity to the system diminishes.

- Eileen Donahoe, Just Security**,** *Summit for Democracy and the Digital Agenda***,** April 2021
  Argues that the agenda for the Summit for Democracy should include 5 themes related to digital technology: democracies need to get their own technology "houses" in order; democracies need to compete and win the technology battle; technological changes require government innovation; democracies need to cooperate on these issues; states need to reclaim technology for citizens.

- China's Digital Silk Road—CFR
  Blog post that outlines 4 aspects of China's digital BRI—Chinese investment in digital infrastructure abroad; domestic focus on developing technology; PRC values economic interdependence; the PRC is using diplomacy to construct international governance and norms in its favor.

- V-Dem, *Digital Repression in Autocracies*, March 2020
  Using data from the Digital Society Project they discover several interesting trends about digital repression in autocracies. 1) digital repression has increased; 2) the use of digital repression corresponds with a lower risk of anti-government protests in dictatorships; 3) dictators use digital repression *and* offline high intensity repression (violence, imprisonment, etc.); 4) there is some preliminary evidence to suggest that digital repression correlates with more durable dictatorships, but the data is inconclusive.

- Brookings, Exporting Digital Authoritarianism, 2020
  Describes in detail the different Russian and the PRC government's models of digital authoritarianism. Russia uses limited censorship and instead uses legal restrictions (e.g., requiring all digital information on Russians be located in Russia), attacks on civil society, and disinformation campaigns as part of its digital authoritarianism. This is a relatively low-cost model for other states to follow. In contrast, the PRC, with its Great

Firewall has high levels of censorship, surveillance, and repression. PRC, more so than Russia, exports surveillance and monitoring systems to other states.

- General Resource: DigiChina at Stanford
  DigiChina seeks to understand Chinese digital developments. Primarily includes translations of public Chinese documents, reports, and articles. Major focus on AI.

- NED, *Double Edged Sword: China's Sharp Power and Exploitation of Emerging Technologies,* 2021
  Discusses China's smart cities technology, role of Huawei in 5G infrastructure, and its export of technology to other countries. Also, describes how the PRC government is seeking dominance in the setting of international technology standards, including its role in relevant international organizations, such as the ITU. Proposes how civil society should respond to these threats to democracy.

- SFRC Report: The New Big Brother: China and Digital Authoritarianism, 2020
  Provides a comprehensive overview of the PRC government's digital authoritarianism at home, its export of technology abroad, and its efforts to influence international fora and organizations engaged in establishing the rules and standards for technology. Includes cases of the export of Chinese digital repression technology to Venezuela, Central Asia, Zimbabwe, and Ecuador.

- Book--Steven Feldstein: The Rise of Digital Repression: How Technology is Reshaping Power, Politics, and Resistance (Oxford University Press, 2021)
  Feldstein seeks to answer several questions in this book: 1) What is digital repression? 2) How frequently are states using digital repression? 3) Are these tools a new form of repression or rather an extension of existing tools? Feldstein documents how states differ in their use of digital repression and that the level of technological capacity influences these differences. Feldstein takes a more nuanced approach than some to the role of the PRC in the diffusion of digital repression. He agrees that the PRC is exporting the technology; however, he finds little evidence that states are purchasing or using this technology because of pressure from the PRC. In other words, domestic factors are the primary drivers for determining to what extent states use digital repression. He also argues that companies based in democratic states are also exporting this technology. Feldstein bases his conclusions on research in Thailand, the Philippines, and Ethiopia.

- Feldstein, Steven, the Road to Unfreedom: How Artificial Intelligence is Reshaping Repression, 2019
  The role of AI in digital repression is also discussed in his book (The Rise of Digital Repression). Feldstein argues that AI systems are helping accelerate the global resurgence of authoritarianism and that the PRC is contributing to the spread of AI technology to authoritarian regimes.

- Pinkney and Cybel, USIP, Digital Authoritarianism and Nonviolent Action, 2021
  Discusses the implications of digital authoritarianism for anti-regime nonviolent action, which is a major way that authoritarian regimes can be overthrown. The evidence suggests that the new technology gives autocrats more information about their society and decreases elite defections. The increased censorship and surveillance provided by technology makes nonviolent action harder which reduces the need for violent repression that in turn reduces defections of security forces and elites. Makes recommendations for how donors should respond, including focusing on building offline networks, training activists in digital security, developing networks between activists and scientists and engineers designing the new technology.

- The Danish Institute for Human Rights, *Guidance on Human Rights Impact Assessment of Digital Activities*, 2021
  The report provides some guidance for private companies on how they can conduct a human rights impact assessment (HRIA) based on the UN's guiding principles on business and human rights to digital technologies. The report focuses on methodologies that companies involved in the design, development, sale, deployment, etc. of digital technologies can use to do a HRIA.

- United Nations, B-Tech, *Applying the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights to Digital Technologies*, 2019
  A brief introduction to the UN Guiding Principles and why they are valuable. There are 3 core principles: the state has a duty to protect human rights, corporations have a responsibility to respect human rights and avoid actions that infringe on rights; victims should have access to effective remedies.

- Foreign Policy Analytics, *Securing our Digital Future*, September 2021
  A multiple contributor report that preliminary focuses on cybersecurity. The report outlines how the nature of the threat has changed with increased number and rate of attacks, especially by states. There is a strong emphasis throughout on the need for cooperation and collaboration across public and private sectors and globally to effectively respond to the threat. Multiple discussions about the importance of multilateral cooperation to develop rules, norms, and enforcement.

- Paris Call for trust and security in cyberspace 2018
  A multilateral statement of 9 principles (or norms) for building a globally secure cyberspace led by France. The third principle is to defend electoral processes. Supporters include nation-states, companies, CSOs, Chambers of Commerce from around the world, etc. The USG is not a supporter, but several states (e.g., Colorado) are supporters.

5G and Digital Infrastructure:

- Kristen Cordell, Carnegie, The ITU, *The Most Important UN Agency You've Never Heard Of*, January 2021
  Explains what the ITU is, how it is structured, and what role it plays in setting global technology standards, especially around the current focus on 5G. Cordell advocates for the USG to have a more robust engagement with the ITU.

- Nokia and FP Webinar, July 22, 2020, 5G Global Power Plays (Notes)
  There are presentations by a range of private sector, former government officials, and academic experts on the topic. Provides some helpful technical information about 5G and discusses how different countries are investing in the technology. Talks about the possible implications of 5G for the economy and different industries and the consequences of 5G for national security.

- United States Studies Center, *US China Technology Competition: Impacting a Rules-Based Order*, 2019
  Written from an Australian perspective. Discusses what are technical standards and how they are set by different international organizations. Highlights the core differences in US and PRC's approaches, where the PRC has a top-down approach, and the US has instead favored a bottom-up approach which gives the private sector significant say in the process. The PRC is advocating for the ITU to take on a greater international role in setting standards because unlike the other organizations involved it is state based.

- Brookings, China as a "Great Cyber Power" Beijing's Two Voices in Telecommunications, 2021
  Discusses how Huawei and the PRC speak with 2 different voices about telecommunications. The external messaging is about open markets and how Huawei should be treated like any other global company; the internal messaging is about limits on markets and the danger of being dependent on foreign technology. The report documents how President Xi has talked about the need for the PRC to become a cyber great power. Unlike some other reports, it uses Chinese language sources and CCP statements/communications to support its assessment of the PRC's perspective on digital technology and its desire to influence international standards.

- Brookings, *Huawei Meets History: Great Power and Telecommunications Risks*, 2021
  This report takes an historical approach, especially focusing on Britain's 19th century dominance of the telegraph networks and compares this historical case to the current debates about 5G. They argue that control over telecommunications is a vital strategic interest. The authors give the WWI example of how Britain's control over telecommunication technology enabled it to cut all of Germany's cables and made it dependent on British networks as proof that telecommunications have always had political implications. Most of the information is not directly relevant for development.

- CSIS, *Digital Silk Road* by Jonathan Hillman, 2021 (book launch discussion)
  Hillman discussed how the digital aspect of the BRI is not as well-studied. However, the PRC government's action in this area has intensified over the last few years, especially in the wake of the pandemic and the demand for digital technology.
  The low cost of Chinese digital exports is their main appeal in places as diverse as Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, and rural Montana. Also, Huawei went into markets that Western companies neglect.
  In addition to concerns about Huawei and 5G technology, Chinese companies are also providing cloud and e-government services.
  Hillman believes that democratic countries have a lot to offer and can compete, especially in areas where we already have good product offerings, such as cloud services. The movement into "open rand systems"--which refers to building networks where you are not dependent on a single supplier for all parts--another opportunity to compete. In addition, the PRC government's focus on maintaining control over their internet and companies produces costs and causes problems for its companies to compete in international markets.

Artificial Intelligence (including FRT and Surveillance):

- National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence Report, 2021
  - Webinar on report findings from the Atlantic Council here and my notes here.

  A massive (700+ page) report on AI in relation to US national security interests. The first section outlines the multitude of threats AI presents to the US, especially in the military/national security realm. It also discusses the need to have a democratic model of AI to have public trust. Section 2 discusses the technology competition from China and what the US needs to do to win it, including building a favorable international technology system of rules, norms, and institutions.

- NED, *AI and Democratic Norms,* 2020
  The report includes an overview of how AI and data integration enables digital authoritarianism; why there is a democratic version of digital sovereignty; AI and sharp power and international technical standards. The report focuses on how civil society can respond to each of these issues.

- Atlantic, *The Panopticon, China's Artificial Intelligence*, 2020
  Along with describing how the PRC government is using AI to increase surveillance (especially in Xinjiang), the author also discusses the PRC's historical leadership in technology development and how different Chinese regimes had used surveillance. Documents the PRC government's efforts to export its technology to Africa and Latin America. Paints a very disturbing picture of the future of AI surveillance in the PRC and its global consequences.

- Uganda uses Huawei Facial Recognition Tech to ID Protestors, 2020
  The news article documents how the Ugandan government is using technology from China, especially Huawei, to surveil the opposition especially in relation to the 2019 anti-Museveni protests.

- Carnegie Endowment Digital Surveillance AI Map
  The interactive AI Global Surveillance Index is a compilation of data on AI surveillance (legal and illegal) from 176 countries. The data illustrates the PRC government's important role in exporting AI surveillance technology. However, it also shows that democracies are the most prevalent users of this technology.

- Brookings, *It's Time to Negotiate Global Treaties on Artificial Intelligence, 2021*
  Editorial by the authors of Turning Point (see below), in which they argue that AI is issuing a new dangerous era in warfare. Building on the history of treaties about chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, West and Allen propose a new international treaty to limit the ability of AI in the military and maintain human control over lethal force.

- Book--Brookings, Darrell West and John Allen*, Turning Point: Policymaking in the Era of Artificial Intelligence,* 2021--Webinar/Book Talk
  The book talk (transcript available) provides an overview of West & Allen's book on AI. In *Turning Point,* they provide an explanation for how AI technology works through case studies of AI use in healthcare, education, transportation, e-commerce, and national defense. The book concludes with a set of recommendations for responsible AI, including drafting ethical principles, governance innovation to adapt to the need to regulate AI, punishing malicious use of AI, among other ideas. Although primarily focused on AI in the US context, they do discuss concerns about AI in authoritarian contexts and its use in mass surveillance. The book talk includes an interesting conversation about proposed EU regulation of AI.

- Brookings, Webinar: What Exactly is Good AI in Practice?
  A conversation/debate among academics, former congressman, and Microsoft's AI person. They discuss how to define responsible AI, including concepts such as transparent, ethical, fair, participatory. There is a need to embed ethics within the systems we have and will have and a need to educate people about what algorithms can and cannot do and what they should and should not do. The conversation was generally abstract with few specific recommendations.

- World Economic Forum, Globally Agreed Upon Minimum Standards for AI (PWC Study)
  Based on a study examining many of the existing rules, policies, and principles about ethical AI, outlines 9 summary principles for companies to follow. The principles are divided into "epistemic principles," which "constitute the prerequisites for an investigation of AI ethicality and represent the conditions of knowledge that enable organizations to

determine whether an AI system is consistent with an ethical principle" and general ethical principles which should guide how AI behaves when faced with moral decisions.

- Wilson Center, Technology Labs: AI, Ethics and Bias Codex,
  Provides definitions for ethical concepts related to AI (i.e., explainable AI) and types of bias related to AI. Outlines the OECD and DoD statements of principles on AI.

- Book--Wischmeyer and Rademacher (eds), *Regulating Artificial Intelligence, 2020*
  An edited volume with chapters focused on questions about the regulation of AI in different specific contexts (law enforcement, healthcare, social media, financial markets, etc.). In addition, there is a section covering the multiple different challenges for developing effective, transparent regulation of AI. There is a focus on regulation in Germany and the EU.

- Book--Barfield and Pagallo, *Advanced Introduction to Law and Artificial Intelligence,* 2020
  A comprehensive overview of current state, federal and international laws relevant for AI. It was written primarily for law school students. The authors include some discussion of how the development of potentially autonomous AI may present some policy and legal problems.

- Book: Jon Fasman: *We See It All: Liberty and Justice in an Age of Perpetual Surveillance,* 2021
  Written by a journalist, the book documents the use of AI by American law enforcement. It also covers the PRC's use of mass surveillance in Xinjiang and the export of its technology to Ecuador. Unlike other sources, it highlights a case where a grassroots movement against a city-wide surveillance system succeeded in preventing its deployment. He argues that there is a need for more regulation and greater public awareness about these technologies.

- The Role of the Arts and Humanities in Thinking About AI, Ada Lovelace Institute for AI, 2021
  Blog post by a philosopher who argues that the arts and humanities are essential for thinking about ethics in AI. The humanities highlight how technological innovation is not inevitable but rather the result of deliberate human choice. They also provide a more holistic understanding of ethics. Based on this, the author proposes that ethics about AI should involve pluralism, procedures, and participation.

- Sean Kanuck, Cambridge Journal of Ethics and International Affairs, Humor Ethics and Dignity: Being Human in the Age of Artificial intelligence, 2019.
  Kanuck outlines an argument about what, even in the age of AI, makes humans unique: ability to understand humor, and how context and inductive experience influence decisions about ethics and law. He makes a case for the enormous importance of

retaining human control over decisions using two case studies: driverless cars and lethal autonomous weapons.

- Alex Engler, Brookings, How Open Source Software Shapes AI Policy, Aug 2021
  Engler generally proposes that open source software (OSS), like Python, is beneficial for advancing AI technology because it makes AI easier to use and enables data scientists to develop more machine learning. He also argues that the open nature of the OSS helps to correct for bias and produces a more ethical AI. Therefore, he believes that policymakers should focus more on investing in OSS.

- Feldstein, Steven, the Road to Unfreedom: How Artificial Intelligence is Reshaping Repression, 2019
  The role of AI in digital repression is also discussed in his book (The Rise of Digital Repression). Feldstein argues that AI systems are helping accelerate the global resurgence of authoritarianism and that the PRC is contributing to the spread of AI technology to authoritarian regimes.

- Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) webinar, "The 21st Century World—Big Challenges & Big Ideas Series Session 8: Will Technology Save Us or Threaten Us?" Fei-Fei Li, Sequoia Capital Professor of Computer Science, Stanford Denning Family Co-Director of Stanford Institute of Human-Centered Artificial Intelligence (HAI), November 1, 2021.
  Governments have traditionally been involved in regulating technology and new developments. There is a need to regulate AI using a multi-stakeholder approach to regulation where civil society, higher ed, industry, and government are all involved.

  Democracy/Authoritarianism Consequences of AI:
  AI can help governments make better policy decisions and better understand complex data. However, it can also worsen divisions within society as seen with social media and the concerns about deep fakes. AI is more powerful when there is more data—therefore, it can be a centralizing tool, which can add authoritarianism. Technology cannot solve social problems. Need to have international cooperation to set the norms. There should be redlines on how technology is used and this is an area for intergovernmental regulation. She was hopeful that a multi-stakeholder approach will be able to innovate protocols to protect data privacy.

  At HAI they focus on responsible use of AI and one that is centered in human rights and values. Any AI or technology applications should not change human values. AI does the physical labor but humans control the design and values. She gave the example of robotic surgery where the surgeon is still in the room and all of the decisions involved in the surgery are reflective of human values and controlled by human decisions.

  Cross-border Flows of Technology/International Collaboration:

Policy challenge to balance international flows and the benefits of collaboration with national security. US scientists benefit from international cooperation/collaboration. They need the government to provide the guidelines for how best to do that as they lack the expertise to make those assessments.

Biometric Data and ID:

- Wilson Center Technology Labs, Policy Primer: *Biometric and Facial Recognition Technology*
  Provides a brief overview of some of the safety and ethical considerations involved with biometric data. There is a helpful list of resources.

Data Privacy and Regulation:

- Alex Campbell, Just Security, *How Data Privacy Laws Can Fight Fake News*, 2019
  Campbell argues that data privacy laws should be one of the strategies used to fight disinformation because successful disinformation campaigns partially depend on the ability to micro-target the message to a specific audience to have the greatest impact. Data privacy laws, by limiting access to personal information that facilitates micro-targeting, may reduce the impact of disinformation because it will be more likely to be missed.

- New America, *The Evolution of China's Data Governance Regime: A Timeline*, *2019*
  Has a chronological overview of the PRC government's laws about cybersecurity and data governance.

- New America, *China's Draft Data Privacy Law Both Builds on and Complicates its Data Governance*, 2020
  Analyzes the PRC government's proposed Personal Information Protection Law (PIPL) and its relationship to the existing Cybersecurity Law and Civil Code section on privacy. Historically, the implementation of these types of laws has been haphazard and they have only been selectively enforced. The author discusses how the PIPL relates to the PRC government's goal to write the global standards on data security (e.g., its Global Data Security Initiative).

- Business and Human Rights Resource Center GDPR Page Analyzing Compliance and Non-Compliance, 2018-2020
  This online resource provides a link to news articles about the EU's GDPR, especially cases where companies have been charged to be in violation of the rules.

- ENISA, Privacy by Design, https://www.enisa.europa.eu/topics/data-protection/privacy-by-design?tab=details

Outlines the European Union's Internet Security Agency's (ENISA) position and policies on data privacy, including the idea of "privacy by design," or embedding privacy measures into the design of ICT.

- Atlantic Council, 360 Stratcom, "Technology, Transparency, and Democracy," December 6, 2021
  A discussion among Issie Lupowsky, Protocol (reporter), Chloe Colliver, Institute for Strategic Dialogue, Shashanka Muhan, Centre for Communication Governance (India), Alicia Wanless, Carnegie Endowment, Jason Pielemeier, Global Network Initiative about how to best regulate technology and the importance of transparency about algorithms, and how technology companies make decisions regarding content and takedown orders.

Human Rights by Design:

- SIPA Journal of International Affairs, Columbia**,** Promoting Human Rights By Design in Dual-Use Technology, 2018 (Deibert)
  An opinion piece from Citizen Lab that discusses the problems with dual-use technology, the need for greater government regulation, and the need for both businesses and investors to consider human rights. They advocate for technology companies to adopt a "human rights by design" approach where they start the design process with the assumption that they must respect human rights, especially protecting privacy and civil liberties. Technologists, industry associations, and investors all have a responsibility to protect human rights.

- Orrick, Betsy Popken, Human Rights By Design in Contact Tracing Apps, 2020
  Discuss the human rights considerations technology should think about when designing contact tracing apps being developed in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. Recommends that companies do a human rights impact assessment as part of their development process.

- Sage Journal and Open Access, Designing for Human rights in AI, 2020
  The authors (Dutch scholars) try to address the divide between abstract value language involved in discussions about ethical AI and technical aspects of design. They propose a Design for Values framework to be a guide for how to engage stakeholders and translate human rights into a "context-dependent design." Their proposed approaches focus on EU values.

- Cornell Law Journal, Article 25 of the GDPR on Privacy by Design, 2020
  Waldman presents a critique of the EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) protection of privacy. Despite other scholars referencing Article 25 (1) as a requirement for "privacy by design," she argues that Article 25 (1) is so vague that it does not reflect privacy by design and unless the European Court of Justice interprets the law in a

particular way Europeans will not have the data protection many assume. Includes a detailed discussion of what is privacy by design and a detailed legal analysis of Article 25(1).

- Donahoe, Eileen and Megan MacDuffee Metzger, "An Intelligent Human Rights Agenda for Artificial Intelligence," Power 3.0 Understanding Modern Authoritarian Influence, April 23, 2019
  A shortened version of a longer 2019 article in the Journal of Democracy. The authors advocate for the establishment of a "shared global framework," based on international human rights law, to guide and govern the development of AI that respects human rights and democratic accountability. They call on democratic governments to resist efforts by authoritarian governments to shift international norms away from human rights.

- World Economic Forum, Globally Agreed Upon Minimum Standards for AI (PWC Study)
  Based on a study examining many of the existing rules, policies, and principles about ethical AI, outlines 9 summary principles for companies to follow. The principles are divided into "epistemic principles," which "constitute the prerequisites for an investigation of AI ethicality and represent the conditions of knowledge that enable organizations to determine whether an AI system is consistent with an ethical principle" and general ethical principles which should guide how AI behaves when faced with moral decisions.

- OECD AI Recommendations (of the Council)
  The OECD adopted in May 2019 the first intergovernmental standards on AI, including recommendations focused on encouraging innovation, responsible stewardship of AI, and protection of human rights. The recommendations outline 5 principles for responsible AI: "inclusive growth," "human-centered values and fairness; transparency and explainability; robustness, security and safety; and accountability."

Platform Accountability:

- Global Network Initiative (GNI), *Content Regulation and Human Rights*, 2021
  In this report GNI analyzed more than 20 recent government initiatives in response to "online harm related to user-generated content." As a result of this analysis, they argue that good governance and human rights principles are good guides for how governments can best regulate internet content. They make several recommendations for how to protect human rights and reduce online harm: 1) The legislative process should be open, transparent, thoughtful, reflective and consult with diverse constituents. 2) "Laws and regulations governing the ICT sector should also be targeted and narrowly framed." 3) There should be an accountability mechanism to ensure regular assessment of whether the content regulation is working as intended and if not enable quick changes to rectify any problems.

- Book: Cass Sunstein, *#republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media*, 2017. Argues that social media platforms and the algorithms used by them produce personalized experiences and online "gated communities" that help to spread disinformation, increase polarization and fragment society. Sunstein seeks to explore what makes a "well-functioning" freedom of expression and believes that we need to think about more than just government censorship in the age of social media. He concludes by proposing various changes to make the internet more supportive of democracy and the nature of speech democracy requires. The recommendations focus on helping people move out of echo chambers and increasing their exposure to people, ideas, and things that they would not have chosen in their social media feeds.

- Book: David Kaye: *Speech Police: The Global Struggle to Govern the Internet,* 2019
  David Kaye is the UN's special rapporteur on free expression. In this book he examines the on-going debates about how (and if) speech on the internet should be regulated, who controls online speech. Discusses how the companies (e.g., Facebook, YouTube, Twitter) dominate public space (nature of platform power); how governments around the world (not US) look at the power of these companies and how they seek to reclaim control over the public space; proposes ideas for how to "solve" the problem. Incorporates multiple specific examples from around the world.
  Video of book talk: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W6PDZ-o5Khg .

- Book: Persily and Tucker, *Social Media and Democracy the State of the Field and Prospects for Reform,* 2020 (available via open access)
  An edited multidisciplinary academic book that seeks to "synthesize the existing research on social media and democracy," including chapters on disinformation, echo chambers, hate speech, bots, misinformation, new media, and platform accountability. They also examine some of the reforms proposed to address these threats for democracy and the overall state of the field of research on social media.

Internet Freedom:

- Lawfare Podcast with Marietje Schaake on reclaiming democratic control of the Internet
  A conversation with Marietje Schaake, a former "Member of European Parliament for 10 New America, The Digital Deciders: How a group of often overlooked countries could hold the keys to the future of the global internetyears for the Dutch liberal democratic party and now the international policy director at Stanford University's Cyber Policy Center and international policy fellow at Stanford's Institute for Human-Centered Artificial Intelligence," about the different American and European approaches to tech regulation. Marietje makes an argument for more regulation of the major social media platforms and how they cannot be left to themselves to manage these questions, especially involving regulating speech vs. protecting against hate speech.

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This report focuses on what they label the “digital deciders,” or states that are currently undecided about the trajectory of the internet. They argue that to build a free, open, transparent internet, you need a broader coalition that includes these states. The report includes data about the “digital deciders” to help policy-makers analyze these states to better discern if they are more interested in the “sovereign and controlled” or “open and global” views of the internet. The authors hope that this information would help diplomats determine what countries to prioritize for engagement and overall develop a better international strategy for cyberspace.

- Deibert in the Journal of Democracy: The Road to Digital Unfreedom: Three Painful Truths About Social Media
  Deibert, taking a pessimistic view, argues there are 3 major problems with social media: 1) its business model is based on relentless surveillance of consumers; 2) consumers may willing, but not wittingly, agree to this surveillance; 3) authoritarian governments are finding social media to be an effective tool to strengthen their rule. Deibert states that “social media must bear some of the blame for the descent into neo-fascism, tribal politics, and spreading ignorance and prejudice.” (p. 36). He believes that to save liberal democracy we will need a fundamental change to the whole information-communication system.

- Book--Ronald J. Deibert. *Reset: Reclaiming the Internet for Civil Society*. 2020--**Book Review** in J. Of Democracy by Larry Diamond (2021). Book talk at NED summary: NED: Reclaiming the Internet for Civil Society
  The book builds on the argument outlined above in the JoD article and adds a 4th—that the digital communication system is causing massive environmental damage. In response to the major problems Deibert believes social media is causing society, he argues we need a fundamental “reset” based on restraint of government and corporations. As part of this increased regulation and oversight, people need better privacy protections and more control over their data.

- Shanthi Kalathil, *Interred with Its Bones: The Death of Internet Freedom,* 2020

- Freedom House, *Freedom on the Net 2020*
  Freedom House’s annual report on the state of internet freedom begins by documenting the 10th year in a row of a decline in internet freedom around the world. It specifically focuses on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, especially how governments have censored information about the pandemic and the development of public health surveillance apps. The report includes many short examples from countries around the world. There is a helpful graph highlighting the main internet controls in approximately 60 countries (Iceland is the best; China is the worst in terms of the level of internet freedom). The report concludes with recommendations for government, technology companies, and civil society. FYI there are specific country reports online.

- Coda, June 2021, *The Global Impacts of Section 230 Reform*
  Discusses the current political debates in the United States about changing/repealing the 1996 law, Section 230, which prevents websites, like Facebook, from being held legally responsible for content users post online. The article argues that if the US Congress changes the law that it will have negative consequences on internet freedom around the world.

- Tech for Democracy 2021 Conference, November 2021
  International conference hosted by the Danish government that engaged with multiple civil society organizations, activists, UN officials, technology company representatives, and Danish government officials. Included recent Nobel Peace prize winner, Ressa, who made a powerful case against the current business model of social media companies--calling them a "behavior modification system." Eileen Donahue, former US Ambassador the UN Human Rights Council and now at Stanford discussed how the digital authoritarian model is a competitor to democracy and argued that democracies must come together for a shared strategic digital agenda. The conference included the new "Copenhagen Pledge" about technology and democracy.

- Atlantic Council, 360/Stratcom Virtual Conference, "Right to Information" , December 6, 2021
  A discussion among Graham Brookie, Digital Forensic Research Lab, Atlantic Council, Barbara Bukovska, Article 19, Katherine Maher, Digital Forensic Research Lab and Nanjala Nyabola, independent researcher, Digital Forensic Research Lab about the crisis of information integrity in the world today, focused on "how do we better articulate a right to information?"

Disinformation

General

- Foreign Affairs, *The Real Target of Authoritarian Disinformation*, April 2021 (requires a subscription to access)
- Jill Goldenziel, How US Law Hampers the fight against Information Warfare
  The authors argue that the US' open society and free speech protections make it especially vulnerable to foreign interference, such as Russian electoral interference. Therefore, the authors provide a legal argument for why and how the US can reform its laws, policies, and the legal interpretation of the First Amendment to successfully fight

disinformation campaigns. Includes detailed recommendations for legal changes, such as criminalizing disinformation campaigns that target elections.

- Atlantic Council Digital Forensics Lab, *Democratic Offense Against Disinformation*, 2020
  Proposes a more offensive approach to disinformation, arguing that democracies need to move beyond responding to each case of disinformation and instead work to prevent it in the first place. The authors argue this "offensive" approach should include an integrated strategy/policy that uses cyber tools to disrupt foreign disinformation operations, apply sanctions against disinformation actors, and support free media. Report also includes an assessment of current (as of 2020) EU, US, UN, NATO, and European states' efforts to counter disinformation.

- U.S. Agency for Global Media, *Addressing Disinformation Insights and Best Practices*,
  Clearly delineates the differences among disinformation, misinformation, malinformation, fake news, and soft power. Discusses USAGM efforts to address disinformation, including providing accurate information through a variety of media formats and directly debunking false information. Makes 7 media focused recommendations for how to counter disinformation.

- US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, *Public Diplomacy and the New "Old" War Countering State-sponsored Disinformation*, 2020.
  Using qualitative and quantitative data to assess the DoS public diplomacy efforts to counter state sponsored disinformation and suggest recommendations for improvements. In addition, they discuss the various bureaucratic changes related to public diplomacy, including the formation of the Global Engagement Center and the Bureau of Global Public Affairs.

- Alliance for Securing Democracy, Hamilton 2.0 Dashboard, 2022
  The Dashboard "provides a summary analysis of the narratives and topics promoted by Russian, Chinese, and Iranian government officials and state-funded media on Twitter, YouTube, state-sponsored news websites, and via official diplomatic statements at the United Nations."

- Book--Philip Howard, *Lie Machines: How to Save America from Troll Armies, Deceitful Robots, Junk News Operations and Political Operatives,* 2020.
  Howard begins with the assumption that technology and information communication systems play a key role in understanding and defining politics, democracy, and authoritarianism today (politics is a sociotechnical system). He then spends the majority of the book explaining how lie machines ("social and technical mechanisms for putting an untrue claim into service of political ideology") are created, spread and marketed. Howard includes discussions of the role of bots, troll armies, political consultants, Russia's IRA, and AI. The book includes cases from Brazil and Poland along with a discussion of Brexit. Howard concludes by arguing how you protect democracy is by

ending the data monopoly of social media companies and giving people more information and control over how their personal information is collected, used, and shared.

- Book: Persily and Tucker, *Social Media and Democracy the State of the Field and Prospects for Reform,* 2020 (available via open access)
  An edited multidisciplinary academic book that seeks to "synthesize the existing research on social media and democracy," including chapters on disinformation, echo chambers, hate speech, bots, misinformation, new media, and platform accountability. They also examine some of the reforms proposed to address these threats for democracy and the overall state of the field of research on social media.

- Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) Countering Disinformation Guide (April 2021).
  Created by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the International Republican Institute (IRI), and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) with funding from USAID through the Global Elections and Political Transitions Award. The resource "combines the collective wisdom of organizations on the front lines of combatting disinformation globally. This living project provides an outline of what's being done to address the challenge in key areas and provides a searchable database of the organizations around the world engaged in making the digital landscape safe for democracy."

- Democracy! The Podcast, "Under Attack: Malign Influence & Disinformation." CEPPS, broadcast on August 17, 2021.
  Discuss efforts to counter disinformation and malign influence in Armenia and Ukraine. Includes an interview with IRI President Daniel Twining.

- New York Times, Researchers say a coordinated misinformation campaign on Twitter backed Kenya's president. 2021
  Researchers found that in response to the Pandora Papers documenting how Kenya's president, Uhuru Kenyatta, and his family had ties to offshore companies with hidden assets that there was a coordinated disinformation campaign on Twitter. The disinformation campaign involved tweets seeking to discredit the reports about Kenyatta's wealth and engaging in pro-government propaganda.

- USAID, "How Information Disorder Destabilizes Democracy and Strengthens Authoritarianism: Evidence, Trends, and Actionable Mitigation Strategies from Asia and the Pacific" November 6, 2021 webinar, report to follow
  Presentation by multiple scholars who participated in the USAID Emerging Opportunities Project. They analyzed the dynamics, causes, and potential solutions to disinformation in Kyrgyz Republic, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, and Thailand. Several common themes: historical perspective is important, the negative message is that democracy = chaos, the

positive is pro-regime messaging that exaggerates their achievements. One of the surprising findings of the research is that people will knowingly share false information to signal group belonging. Therefore, fact checking programs are insufficient to counter-disinformation. The context in each case was important and different--e.g. Kyrgyz Republic--Russia was a major player, but not in any other case; limited access to internet in Papua New Guinea changes the dynamic; false claims about witchcraft a major disinformation campaign in Papua New Guinea; Thailand had the most centralized, developed government-led effort of all of the cases.

- InterAction, "Disinformation, Civil Society, and NGOs: How Do We Solve Humanity's Greatest Challenges without a Shared Reality?" November 18, 2021
  Virtual panel related to the launch of their Disinformation Toolkit 2.0. Discussed the rise in disinformation attacks on NGOs in recent years and how NGOs should respond. Having allies and good relations with the media are important. Also covered IREX's digital wellness programs in the Baltic region and Indonesia.

- GLOBESEC, Centre for Democracy and Resilience, Vulnerability Index, 2021
  A detailed assessment based on analysis of 5 dimensions–public attitudes, public landscape, public administration, information landscape, and civic and academic space–of the vulnerability of Central and SE European states to foreign disinformation campaigns. Report incorporates public opinion surveys, expert interviews, and existing indices (e.g. V-Dem). They found that public attitudes are the main source of vulnerability, especially sympathy to pro-Russian messaging. Extensive, relevant, and interesting findings across the 8 countries studied.

- German Marshall Fund, "Responses to Foreign Information Operations: what's worked, what hasn't, and what should we be doing instead?" December 2021
  A virtual discussion about foreign information operations and potential strategies to counter it. (Notes)

- Global Americans, Measuring the Impact of Misinformation, Disinformation and Propaganda in Latin America, 2022 (slides from USAID presentation)
  A detailed, sophisticated analysis of MDM involving quantitative and qualitative research in five Latin American countries: Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela. The report seeks to answer the question "how is misinformation, disinformation, and propaganda disseminated in Latin America by foreign state media sources and consumed by Latin American audiences, and what are the regional policy implications of such consumption?" Among the many conclusions, the authors note that PRC and Russian information campaigns in the region have a different focus. The PRC is trying to build a positive PRC image and support its business interests. The Kremlin is seeking to discredit the US and sow turmoil.

Strengthening Media

- Edward Lucas, NED, *Firming up Democracy's soft underbelly--Authoritarian influence and the Media Vulnerability*, 2020
  Discusses how the unregulated media market in some democracies can make it vulnerable to foreign influence and competition. Lucas also highlights the financial difficulties media organizations face, especially those in smaller markets. Recommends normative, legal, and practical actions in response, including media literacy education, norms for responsible journalism, and protections for individual journalists.

- NED, Sarah Cook, *China's Global Media Footprint: Democratic Responses to Expanding Authoritarian Influence*, 2020
  The analysis divides the PRC's efforts to manipulate foreign information environments into 4 categories: propaganda, disinformation, censorship, and controlling information delivery systems outside of the PRC. Discusses recent civil society attempts from a variety of countries to reduce or counter the PRC's influence on the media. Concludes with recommendations for how to develop a broader approach to address foreign authoritarian, but especially Chinese, influence in the media and build resilience.

- Kevin Sheives, "How to Support a Globally Connected Counter-Disinformation Network, War on the Rocks," January 20, 2022
  Sheives argues that civil society is the best placed to counter disinformation and provides examples of the work civil society organizations are doing around the world to creatively counter disinformation. He further advocates for Western donors, companies, and governments to help civil society organizations by providing data, training, and developing flexible, longer-term funding mechanisms.

Regaining Control of the Narrative

- Open Global Rights, *Guide to Hope Based Messaging*
  This website presents a hope-based communications strategy for discussing human rights which involves 5 core shifts from traditional messaging on human rights: 1) talk about solutions, not just the abuses and problems; 2) highlight what you stand for not what you oppose (e.g., the policy you want and how government could implement it); 3) create opportunities, focus on hope, joy and solidarity in your messaging; 4) rehumanize people and focus on heroes, not victims; 5) talk about success and less about human rights as being under threat—in other words we can succeed and make a difference.

Authoritarian Economic Tactics

Dept Diplomacy

- AidData, Center for Global Development, *How China Lends*, March 2021
- How much does the world owe China--Harvard Business Review
  The Harvard Business Review article provides a summary of the longer CGD report listed above. It discusses how the PRC does not report on international lending resulting in incomplete data. They developed a new data set of Chinese loans from 1947-2017 that shows that in total the PRC has loaned $1.5 trillion to 150+ countries making it the largest official creditor in the world.

- AidData, Center for Global Development, Examining the Debt Implications of BRI from a Policy Perspective, May 2021
  Unlike many sources on BRI, this report includes a systematic analysis of the debt implications of the PRC's BRI program in all 68 recipient (or possible recipient) countries. Through assessing both a country's overall debt burden and the scale of BRI projects, they conclude that there are 8 countries where BRI presents a debt sustainability problem: Djibouti, The Kyrgyz Republic, Laos, the Maldives, Mongolia, Montenegro, Pakistan, and Tajikistan. The report concludes with a series of recommendations primarily directed toward the PRC about how it should better align BRI with existing lending and investment multilateral standards and prevent debt problems.

- Oxus Society: *Chinese Business in Central Asia: how Chinese lending erodes justice*, March 2021
  Examines 3 cases of Chinese investment in Central Asia--"Bishkek's [Kyrgyzstan] central heating facility, an environmental disaster in an oil field near Aktau [Kazakhstan], and sub-contracting disputes in Bishkek and Osh"—to demonstrate how BRI is encouraging crony capitalism in the region.

- Politico, How an African State learned to Play the West off China, Ethiopia, 2020
  Article from 2020 (prior to the fighting in Tigray) discusses how Western investment in Ethiopia is increasing, including loans from the IMF and World Bank. The Western investment combined with a reduction in Chinese investment is seen as evidence of Prime Minister Abiy pursuing a different economic strategy.

- CSIS: Becoming a Chinese Client State, 2020
  This report provides a detailed analysis of Chinese investment in Serbia and its political and economic consequences. It includes a discussion of how the government of President Vučić has used Chinese investment to develop and maintain patronage networks and the expansion of Chinese companies into Serbia's digital infrastructure. The authors recommend that in response the US & EU launch a public education campaign to highlight how Chinese investment is detrimental to Serbian citizens and all the positive assistance that the EU provides.

- China Global Investment Tracker
  An interactive map produced by AEI that includes comprehensive data on the PRC's global investment and construction and includes more than 4000 transactions across economic sectors.

- AidData China Page College of William and Mary
  Includes multiple reports produced by their research lab about the impact of China's soft power and public diplomacy in Asia and the Pacific. Takes an interdisciplinary and innovative approach. They helped produce the CGD report "How China Lends" listed above.

- *New York Times*: A Pricey Drive Down Montenegro's Highway 'From Nowhere to Nowhere'
  Describes the case of the failed BRI investment in a highway in Montenegro, which literally goes nowhere despite costing $1 billion. The loan from the PRC is now equivalent to 1/3 of Montenegro's government budget. It is seen as a major case of corruption in Montenegro. The Montenegrin government is looking to the EU for financial assistance.

- NPR, China invested in Pakistan's Infrastructure but Corruption, Covid-19 Stall Projects
  News story that discusses the problems with Chinese BRI investment in Pakistan.

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, How Central Asians Pushed Chinese Firms to Localize, 2021
  This detailed report outlines how Chinese investment has changed over time in Central Asia. It includes specific information about the companies and projects receiving Chinese funds and local attitudes about Chinese investment. The second half of the report discusses how because of a combination of demands from Central Asian governments and economic benefits for Chinese companies (wages are lower) there has been a move towards Chinese companies hiring local workers. Because of the limited technical skills of local Central Asian workers, Chinese companies are having to invest in training. The report makes a strong case about the agency of Central Asian states even in the face of the PRC's economic leverage.

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, China's Influence in Southeastern, Central, and Eastern Europe: Vulnerabilities and Resilience in Four Countries, 2021
  While the PRC's expanding footprint in Southeastern, Central, and Eastern Europe can bring socioeconomic opportunities, it can also exacerbate governance shortfalls, undermine political and economic stability, and complicate the EU's ability to reach consensus on key issues. **How countries manage their vulnerabilities and build resilience in their interactions with the PRC is the key focus of this paper.** It examines four countries in Southeastern, Central, and Eastern Europe—Greece, Hungary, Romania, and Georgia—who, despite their diversity, share certain common

characteristics that affect their relations with the PRC such as an eagerness to boost trade and investment from the PRC.

Main conclusions:

- The PRC government's soft power efforts are mostly directed at certain key influential elites in business, politics, academia, or NGOs.
- The PRC government is interested in building a "community of friends" particularly around smaller countries (BRI and 17+1).
- Unlike elsewhere in Europe, where the PRC government has lately engaged in so-called wolf warrior diplomacy tactics, none of the four case countries have experienced any overtly aggressive PRC government's diplomacy or massive influence operations on social media. Even so, public perceptions of China have deteriorated across the region (as they also have elsewhere across Europe), although Greece and Hungary are still among the most China-friendly countries in Europe.
- The PRC government's soft power efforts appear to have had fairly little impact on improving China's image in the region.

Recommendations to the United States, the EU, and regional countries:

- Avoid depicting Southeastern, Central, and Eastern Europe as a Chinese Trojan horse
- Don't overplay the PRC's economic influence
- Better understand local interests
- Avoid assigning strategic significance to all of the PRC government's actions
- Promote good governance and build local resilience
- Strengthen civil society capacity
- Don't overfocus on soft power
- Be present and provide alternatives
- Hold Orbán and his cronies accountable
- Leverage Western attractiveness
- Reassure smaller states that the West has a lot to offer
- Deny the PRC government diplomatic openings

Critics of the Debt Trap Argument:

- Chatham House, Debunking the Myth of Debt Diplomacy, Aug 2020
  Argues that rhetoric about BRI being a geopolitical/geostrategic tool of the PRC government is inaccurate and overblown. Through examining the cases of Chinese investment in Sri Lanka and Malaysia, provides evidence that the recipient countries actively sought Chinese investment, Western financial markets, not the PRC, is the main source of lending and therefore debt in both countries, and that PRC's BRI is not a cohesive policy or development approach.

- The Atlantic, *The Chinese "Debt Trap" is a Myth*, 2021
  Investigates in detail the case of the Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka. Argues that it is not an example of a Chinese debt trap but rather the result of corruption and poor decisions by the Sri Lankan government and that Sri Lanka overall owed more debt to Western creditors than the PRC.

Corruption:

- Josh Rudolph, The Development Response to Kleptocracy and Strategic Corruption, Alliance for Securing Democracy, January 2022
  The report discusses 3 types of strategic corruption, used by the PRC and the Kremlin——corrosive capital, malign influence, and election interference. Calls on Western foreign assistance to respond to this problem by 1) using local political analysis to inform aid decisions; 2) making aid responsive to political shifts, especially anti-corruption opportunities; 3) aid targeting kleptocracy needs to be coordinated at the regional and global level; 4) anti-corruption programming should be integrated across multiple sectors.

- Josh Rudolph and Thomas Morley, German Marshall Fund, *Covert Money, Financial Loopholes Exploited by Authoritarians to Fund Political Interference in Democracies*, 2020
  This detailed report focuses on the concept of "malign finance" which is "the funding of foreign political parties, candidates, campaigns, well-connected elites, or politically influential groups, often through non-transparent structures designed to obfuscate ties to a nation state or its proxies." Although the research and cases in the report come from democracies around the globe, the report's recommendations are based on 7 US legal loopholes that the authors believe need to be closed to prevent foreign interference in US politics and elections. Their research produced the Alliance for Securing Democracy Authoritarian Interference Tracker database which has documented Russia's foreign interference in 40 countries since 2000. They are working on adding data about China.

- BTI 2020: *Abuse of Power and Clientelism Undermine Democracy and the Market Economy*, 2020
  Report focuses on documenting the decline of democracy, rise of inequality, increased political polarization, and the erosion of good governance during the 2017-2019 period. There is limited information about corruption.

- Foreign Affairs, *The Rise of Strategic Corruption: How States Weaponize Graft*, 2020
  Provides a definition of strategic corruption (corruption as an instrument of national strategy or weaponized corruption) and discusses how democratic countries because of their openness are vulnerable. Explains in detail the Ukraine scandal that led to President Trump's first impeachment trial and argues it is a form of strategic corruption

that can be traced back to Russia. Also discusses the PRC's BRI and corruption. Points to Russian influence in London as an example of what happens when strategic corruption goes unchecked. Suggests some policy reforms in the US to make the country less vulnerable to strategic corruption.

- Foreign Affairs: The Strategies are Foreign but the Corruption is American, a Response to Strategic Corruption, 2020
  A response to and critique of the "Rise of Strategic Corruption" article. Argues that the authors had portrayed the US too much as a victim and argues that American elites have corrupted their own country. States that historically corruption comes in waves followed by periods of reform and that the American political elite are primarily to be blamed for the current vulnerabilities to strategic corruption.

- NED, *A New Hidden Hand: Authoritarian Capitalism and the Repurposing of Democracy*, 2020
  Defines "corrosive capital" as a form of corruption that is backed, "and sometimes orchestrated, by a state power for political rather than economic goals—or to advance a comprehensive authoritarian agenda with inseparable political and economic objectives." Corrosive capital is another term for strategic corruption. Discusses in detail the PRC's use of corrosive capital via the BRI, with special attention on a case from the Czech Republic.

- Atlantic, Franklin Foyer, China's Bargain on Global Influence is paying off, 2020
  Investigates how the PRC has been effective in gaining greater influence in intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), such as the WHO, despite not contributing as much money as the USG. The PRC is actively pursuing an agenda of using its membership in IGOs to increase its global political and economic influence.

- NED, *Deals in the Dark: Russian Corrosive Capital in Latin America*, 2020
  Provides good definitions of corrosive capital & state capture. It focuses on how Russia has used relatively modest investments in and trade with Argentina and Bolivia to gain political influence and further its geopolitical interests. For example, when the Argentine government of President Macri wanted to cancel RT's TV license Russia used its role as an important market of Argentine beef exports to force Macri to backdown and allow RT to continue to operate. Suggests various ways by which civil society should respond to the problem of corrosive capital and sharp power.

- Hudson Institute: Kate Sibley, Ben Judah, Countering Kleptocracy, a New US Strategy for Fighting Authoritarian Corruption, 2020
  Lays out an argument for fighting corruption as a strategic necessity and proposes a comprehensive strategy for dealing with strategic corruption and global kleptocracy. The 70 recommendations include proposed reforms to the US financial system, policies for reducing corruption overseas, and how the US can be a global leader against corruption.

- Moldova.org, the cost for Russia to Buy the Moldovan Election, 2021
  Discusses Russia's supposed plans to interfere in the 2020 Moldovan presidential election. The Russian planned interference failed to help the pro-Russia Igor Dodon win the election partially because Russia's strategy was leaked so they possibly abandoned their plans to interfere. The article provides a recent example of a long-running strategy of Russian interference in neighboring states' elections.

- Fletcher School, Tufts, Corruption in Fragile States Blog, Social Norms vs. Anti-Corruption Laws: And the Winner Is?? 2020
  Discusses recent research on the role of social norms in explaining how people respond to anti-corruption laws. Based on a Ugandan case study of civil servants, they found that the social norms among civil servants to protect fellow civil servants dramatically reduces the effectiveness of the anti-corruption law.

- Corruption in Fragile States Blog
  Blog produced by the Corruption, Justice and Legitimacy Program at the Fletcher School at Tufts University. A good resource of recent research on anti-corruption policies.

- Josh Rudolph on the Power Vertical Podcast: How the United States can Combat Russian Kleptocracy on the Power Vertical, 2020
- Power Vertical Podcast: Corruption is the New Communism, 2020
  Podcast out of University of Texas with a general focus on Russia. This episode discusses current anti-kleptocracy legislative efforts in US Congress, including the CROOK (Countering Russian and Other Overseas Kleptocracy) act. The guests, including Josh Rudolph argue that anti-corruption has bipartisan support and that the issue of accountability is a fundamental American value and appeals to people around the world, i.e., no one wants to live in a corrupt society.

- The Global Anticorruption Blog, Corruption should be a laughing Matter
  Discusses how the use of humor in anti-corruption campaigns can be effective as people do not fear what they laugh at and because it helps spread the message.

Authoritarian National Resource Extraction/Capture Tactics

- Bloomberg, China's Land Grab in Bhutan is the New Face of War.
  The article discusses how the PRC, as part of its campaign in Tibet and against India, seized some of Bhutan's land and solidified its control by constructing roads, villages, and security posts there.

Revising the Global Liberal Order: Overapplication of National Security Legislation, Lawfare and Authoritarian International Law

- ICNL Law Journal, Counter-Terrorism and the Enabling Legal and Political Environment for Civil Society, a Comparative Analysis of "War on Terror" States, 2008
- Book--Ben Rhodes, After the Fall: Being American in the World We've Made, 2021 (Impact of US Patriot Act on global anti-terrorism regimes and unconstrained use of surveillance)

- Brookings, *China's long game on human rights at the UN*, 2018
  The author uses his analysis of 7 specific votes at the UN Human Rights Council (2016-2018) to argue that the PRC government's strategy about human rights at the UN are two-pronged--1) block international criticism of its human rights record; 2) promote its interpretation of state sovereignty, weakening international human rights norms.

- Texas National Security Review, Xi's Vision for Transforming Global Governance, 2018
- ASIL Law Review Article: "Authoritarian International Law," 2021
  Ginsburg argues that authoritarian regimes are using regional and international law to serve their own ends--protecting their rule. Moreover, that rising authoritarianism will lead to shifts in international law away from human rights protection and less transparency. We are seeing the development of authoritarian international law, "defined as legal rhetoric, practices, and rules specifically designed to extend the survival and reach of authoritarian rule across space and/or time. Podcast with Tom Ginsburg on his article: Authoritarian Int'l Law (***harbinger of even darker times to come***), 2021

- Jill Goldenziel, *Law as Battlefield: US, China and the Global Escalation of Lawfare*, 2021
- Jill Goldenziel, Art of Lawfare: The U.S., China and Law as a Weapon of War webinar, 2022
  The PRC has 3 forms of warfare: public opinion warfare, psychological (influence foreign decision-makers), and legal warfare (shaping the legal context in favor of the PRC). There has been limited US attention to lawfare, which she defines as purposeful use of law to achieve a particular strategic, operational or tactical objective against an adversary or to bolster the legitimacy of one's own, or weaken the legitimacy of your adversary. 5 types of lawfare: battlefield, instrumental, information (use of law to control the narrative of conflict), institutional (new laws and institutions to support one's strategic efforts), and proxy warfare (legal action against adversary proxies). The PRC's actions in the South China Sea are an example of lawfare.

- Podcast War on the Rocks: A whole New Global Order, 2021

- Robert D. Williams (Brookings) International Law with Chinese Characteristics: Beijing and the Rules Based International Order
  Williams has 3 main conclusions: 1) “China exhibits a flexible and functional approach to international law that enables it to benefit from and exploit the international order without the need to advocate fundamental changes to the letter of the law in most areas.” 2) “China is increasingly seeking to shape legal norms.” 3) “International law can also shape the context for the choices of Chinese leaders and their perceptions of their interests.” Williams comes to these conclusions through examining China’s recent actions in the areas of trade, maritime and territorial disputes, Hong Kong, human rights, climate change, and cybersecurity and autonomous weapons.

- Global Times, More than 90 Countries Support China on UN Human Rights Body Amid Rampant Anti-China Campaign, June 2021 (led by Belarus)
  90+ countries supported the PRC government’s position in its actions in Xinjiang province against the Uighurs at the UN Human Rights Council. Written from the PRC government’s perspective the news article clearly highlights the PRC’s influence in the UN. The PRC government labeled reporting about its human rights violations as disinformation, false rumors.

- CSIS, The Future of US Leadership in Multilateral Development Institutions: A Playbook for the Next 10 Years, September 2021
  The authors argue that US leadership and influence in multilateral organizations has declined over the last 30 years. In contrast, The PRC government has significantly increased its influence, especially within the UN and its related agencies. The report highlights 3 main challenges hampering US efforts within multilateral organizations: 1) lack of a centralized effort to monitor and plan for upcoming leadership elections in multilateral organizations; 2) lack of coordination with allies to put forth the best candidates; 3) limited support for Americans in entry and mid-level positions. In response, they make the following recommendations: place greater importance and attention on multilateral organizations, including a “Multilateral Policy Council" within the NSC, improve coordination with allies, and recruit and support Americans to serve at all levels of multilateral organizations.

- Hal Brands, “The Eurasian Nightmare: Chinese-Russian Convergence and the Future of American Order,” Foreign Affairs February 2022

- Atlantic Council and Asia Society, “A new China-Russia “alliance”? Featuring Stephen Hadley & Former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd,” February 2022, webinar

National Security and the Gray Zone (Threats below the threshold of War)

- Rand Corporation, *Gaining Competitive Advantage in the Gray Zone: Response Options for Coercive Aggression Below the Threshold of Major War*, 2021
  Lengthy, detailed report that defines the gray zone and provides a typology of gray zone tactics. It focuses on cases from Europe, where Russia is the aggressor and Asia, where the PRC is the aggressor. Proposes a gray zone strategy for the USG and outlines military, diplomatic, economic, and informational responses. The European cases and the section on informational responses are the most relevant.

- Just Security, *Overlooking the Policy Connections: Fragility, Democracy and Geopolitical Competition*, 2021
  Argues the need to bridge divides within the foreign policy community and develop a more integrated approach to the interconnected problems of fragile states, conflict, democracy and countering the PRC and Russia who take advantage of fragile states. Highlights how mitigating conflict and supporting democracy are connected and calls for the upcoming democracy summit to consider fragile democracies.

- CSIS, Adapting to Competition in the Gray Zone, 2019
  Taking a less military focus than the RAND report, this CSIS report focuses on 7 aspects of the gray zone toolkit: disinformation, political coercion, economic coercion, cyber operations, space operations, proxy support, and provocation by state-controlled forces. Provides a clear, detailed overview of the various branches of the USG involved in the gray zone and assesses both what has been done and suggests government reforms. The report argues that the DoS and USAID are main actors against Russian and Chinese political and economic coercion.

- Ian Bogost, 'Netwar' Could Be Even Worse Than Cyberwar, The Atlantic, Feb 22, 2022
  Bogost discusses the evolution of warfare and how conflict no longer needs to be waged by states and instead multiple different actors can now engage. He also highlights how the effects could be devastating.

Actor-Specific Analyses

PRC

General:

- Hoover Institute (Webinar): *Telling China's Story: The Chinese Communist Party's Campaign to Influence Global Narratives*, *(Report)* July 2020
  The report focuses on answering the question: "what is the scope and nature of China's overt and covert capabilities, and how do those capabilities complement one another?" Includes a good overview of the Central Propaganda Office and United Front-- the 2 parts of the government most engaged in influence campaigns. The authors analyze 3 cases: PRC's influence operations related to the 2019-2020 Hong Kong protests, Taiwan's January 2020 election, and the Covid-19 pandemic. The report concludes by comparing PRC's activities with Russia's approach, arguing that Russia is focused more on eroding the US-led international order whereas the PRC government is concentrating on developing a positive global opinion and establishing the country as a global hegemon.

- Stanford Cyber Policy Center/New America (Webinar), Teetering on the Edge of Uncontrolled Decoupling** My Notes Here, 2020

- CSIS, Countering China's Influence, Lessons from Australia, 2020
  Discusses Australia's challenges in managing its divergent economic and security interests in relation to the PRC, especially after reports were made public about the PRC's attempts to influence politics, universities, media, and CSOs in Australia. Offers lessons on how the CCP's activities to influence other states go beyond normal, legitimate public diplomacy. The author argues that Australia's strong democratic culture, political will to make legislative changes, and increased transparency all enabled Australia to be resilient against the PRC threat.

- IRI Countering China's Malign Influence Report 2020
  Discusses in detail both the nature of CCP influence in 12 "vulnerable democracies" (Cambodia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Serbia, Ecuador, Zambia, Mongolia, Hungary, The Gambia, Myanmar, Malaysia and the Maldives) and democratic efforts to resist the PRC government's influence. They focus on the BRI and the PRC's manipulation of the information environment. The report concludes that the cases of successful democratic resilience are the result of "the capacity of independent media, civil society, political parties and private enterprise to force greater transparency."

- China's Approach to Global Governance CFR

Interactive report drawing on China's history to explain its approach to global governance. Provides a good, quick overview of relevant Chinese history.

- China File 9: 2013--leaked memo illustrating CCP ambitions --https://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation
  The leaked official PRC government document from 2013 outlines how the PRC sees the world as defined by ideological struggle. It calls on the party leadership to protect against 7 threats, including civil society, universal values, promotion of Western democracy, freedom of the press, and neoliberalism. Since the document was written, President Xi and the CCP have cracked down on political liberties in China, increased their control over Hong Kong, and pursued an assertive foreign policy. Therefore, experts see the document as a valid statement of the views of the CCP leadership.

- NED, Sarah Cook, *China's Global Media Footprint: Democratic Responses to Expanding Authoritarian Influence,* 2020
  The analysis divides the PRC's efforts to manipulate foreign information environments into 4 categories: propaganda, disinformation, censorship, and controlling information delivery systems outside of the PRC. Discusses recent civil society attempts from a variety of countries to reduce or counter the PRC government's influence on the media. Concludes with recommendations for how to develop a broader approach to address foreign authoritarian, but especially the PRC government's, influence in the media and build resilience.

- War on the Rocks, July 2020: Explaining China's New Assertiveness
  Documents the PRC government's increased assertiveness around the world and in multiple spheres (economic, political, information technology, etc.). The authors present 4 possible explanations for the PRC government's behavior: 1) "Beijing is taking advantage of political and economic weaknesses and distractions in the rest of the world"; 2) the CCP believes its own rhetoric about its success and believe they can rival the US as a global power; 3) it is a response to its own challenges and an attempt to push back against criticism; 4) "China's actions arise not out of a sense of strength, but of weakness, and a belief that its threat environment has changed in a more fundamentally dangerous way."

- Brookings, *How China's Wolf Warrior Diplomats use Twitter*, 2020
  Discusses how the PRC government's "wolf warrior" diplomats— "refers to a new approach among the Chinese diplomatic corps to more aggressively defend their home country online"--use Twitter to spread false information, conspiracies, and anti-Western messages.

- Robert Kaplan, FP, *The One Sided War of Ideas with China, 2021*

Kaplan argues that the PRC government is not interested in promoting a political ideology around the world and instead is primarily focused on geographic concerns and trade.

- European Think Tank Network on China (ETNC), Series of Reports on Europe-China Relations from 2020 and 2021.
  Reports include: China's Soft Power in Europe: Falling on Hard Times; Covid-19 and Europe-China Relations; Europe in the Face of US-China Rivalry; Political Values in Europe-China Relations; Chinese investment in Europe; Europe and China's New Silk Roads. The most recent report, China's Soft Power in Europe, argues that European perceptions of China have grown more negative and the PRC government's soft power is declining because of the Covid-19 pandemic, the PRC government's crackdown in Hong Kong and Xinjiang, and the growing US-China rivalry.

- CSIS, *Countering Malign Russian and Chinese Influence Activities*, 2020
  Provides an overview of Russian and PRC government influence operations. The report covers specific cases of Russian disinformation campaigns in Germany and the United Kingdom and finds that "high public trust in traditional media is a source of immunity to foreign information operations." The PRC government interference in Japan and Australia are covered. Japan is found to be resilient to Chinese influence because of its homogeneity, strict campaign finance rules, media landscape, and overall suspicion of the PRC.

- Chinese https://www.nber.org/papers/w28547
  Working paper from the National Bureau of Economic Research on "Doing Business in China: Parental Background and Government Intervention Determine Who Owns Businesses." The authors test the hypothesis that parents who are government workers in the PRC may be more likely to become business owners.

- Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI), "Mapping China's Tech Giants," https://chinatechmap.aspi.org.au/#/homepage (June 2021).
  Up to date information on the activities of Chinese technology companies around the world.

- Atlantic, Franklin Foyer, China's Bargain on Global Influence is paying off, 2020
  Investigates how the PRC has been effective in gaining greater influence in intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), such as the WHO, despite not contributing as much money as the USG. The PRC is actively pursuing an agenda of using its membership in IGOs to increase its global political and economic influence.

- Democracy in Africa, "How Popular is China in Africa? And how do people think about its role?"
  The results from the 2019/20 Afrobarometer survey found that Africans generally prefer the US over China as a development model, believe China has been positive for Africa, but are concerned about the level of debt.

- Democracy in Africa, "Authoritarian regimes and democratisation in Africa: China and Russia compared."
  Provides an overview of the state of democracy and authoritarianism in Africa. Argues that the PRC's economic investment supports authoritarian regimes. In contrast, Russia has provided diplomatic support for authoritarian regimes, supplied armaments, and facilitated corruption.

- Democracy in Africa, "How Nigeria can best work with China in the future."
  Discuss Nigerian-Chinese relations, including some historical background. "As of 31 March 2020, Chinese loans to Nigeria stood at US$3.121 billion, which is 11.28% of the country's external debt of US$27.67 billion." Four areas of concern about the PRC's economic ties with Nigeria are: damage to Nigeria's textile and shoe industry from cheap Chinese imports; poor treatment of Nigerian workers by Chinese companies; negative reports about Chinese company behavior in Nigeria; concerns about the size of Chinese loans to Nigeria.

- IRI, Global Thought Work – Case Studies on PRC Influence in Africa's Information Space, 2022.

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "China's Influence in Southeastern, Central, and Eastern Europe: Vulnerabilities and Resilience in Four Countries" 2021
  Greece, Romania, Georgia, and Hungary were selected for this study because they each share at least one of three characteristics that leave them potentially exposed to malign PRC government influence:
  1. State institutions are weak, making it harder to vet or monitor Chinese economic or political activities. Examples include poor investment screening mechanisms and weak regulatory, law enforcement, anti-corruption, or judicial agencies.
  2. Captured or "capture-able" states and systems, in which the political apparatus and/or civil society are subject to foreign penetration. Chronic crony capitalism, where elites have embraced the PRC for personal or financial gain, has facilitated the PRC government's political influence, as have underfunded research institutions that accept Chinese funding, to provide Beijing-friendly voices and help justify questionable business arrangements.

3. Civil society has relatively few independent voices, and independent media often lack the power to expose instances of corruption and other wrongdoing.

- Pew Research Center, Large Majorities Say China Does Not Respect the Personal Freedoms of Its People, 2021
  Results from polling across Europe and Asia about people's perceptions of the PRC. The polls show record high unfavorable views of the PRC government across the countries surveyed. In addition, the results show that in all countries, with the exception of Singapore, more than 80% of the population does not think that the PRC government respects the personal freedoms of its people.

- Foreign Affairs, Elizabeth Economy, Xi Jinping's New World Order, Jan/Feb 2022
  Economy argues that Xi Jinping is seeking to remark on the global order based on the centrality of the PRC in the international system. However, she argues that Xi's belief about the PRC rising and the West may lead him to miss the blowback and resistance developing around the world to the PRC's global agenda.

Focused on Digital and China

- National Bureau of Asian Research, "China's Digital Ambitions: A Global Strategy to Supplant the Liberal Order," 2022.
  A large multi-authored report examining the various dynamics of China's global digital strategy, arguing that "China is strategically and deliberately capitalizing on the digital revolution as an opportunity to define and assert control over international resources, markets, and governance." The authors argue that the PRC's digital strategy is not a *fait accompli* and that successfully countering the PRC's actions requires "multilateral coordination in creative ways that emphasize both defensive measures and a proactive vision. This will necessitate recognizing that today's competition is not yesterday's; it is being contested on new battlefields, with new tools, and to a different end. Winning requires rewriting the playbook."

- New America, *The Evolution of China's Data Governance Regime: A Timeline, 2019*
  Has a chronological overview of the PRC government's laws about cybersecurity and data governance.

- New America, *China's Draft Data Privacy Law Both Builds on and Complicates its Data Governance,* 2020
  Analyzes the PRC government's proposed Personal Information Protection Law (PIPL) and its relationship to the existing Cybersecurity Law and Civil Code

section on privacy. Historically, the implementation of these types of laws has been haphazard and they have only been selectively enforced. The author discusses how the PIPL relates to the PRC government's goal to write the global standards on data security (e.g., its Global Data Security Initiative).

- China's Digital Silk Road—CFR
  Blog post that outlines 4 aspects of the PRC government's digital BRI—Chinese investment in digital infrastructure abroad; domestic focus on developing technology; PRC values economic interdependence; the PRC is using diplomacy to construct international governance and norms in its favor.

- General Resource: DigiChina at Stanford
  DigiChina seeks to understand Chinese digital developments. Primarily includes translations of public Chinese documents, reports, and articles. Major focus on AI.

- NED, *Double Edged Sword: China's Sharp Power and Exploitation of Emerging Technologies*, 2021
  Discusses the PRC government's smart cities technology, role of Huawei in 5G infrastructure, and its export of technology to other countries. Also, describes how the PRC government is seeking dominance in the setting of international technology standards, including its role in relevant international organizations, such as the ITU. Proposes how civil society should respond to these threats to democracy.

- SFRC Report: The New Big Brother: China and Digital Authoritarianism, 2020
  Provides a comprehensive overview of the PRC government's digital authoritarianism at home, its export of technology abroad, and its efforts to influence international fora and organizations engaged in establishing the rules and standards for technology. Includes cases of the export of Chinese digital repression technology to Venezuela, Central Asia, Zimbabwe, and Ecuador.

- United States Studies Center, *US China Technology Competition: Impacting a Rules-Based Order*, 2019
- Written from an Australian perspective. Discusses what are technical standards and how they are set by different international organizations. Highlights the core differences in US and PRC's approaches, where the PRC has a top-down approach, and the US has instead favored a bottom-up approach which gives the private sector significant say in the process. The PRC is advocating for the ITU to take on a greater international role in setting standards because unlike the other organizations involved it is state based.

- Brookings, China as a “Great Cyber Power” Beijing’s Two Voices in Telecommunications, 2021
  Discusses how Huawei and the PRC speak with 2 different voices about telecommunications. The external messaging is about open markets and how Huawei should be treated like any other global company; the internal messaging is about limits on markets and the danger of being dependent on foreign technology. The report documents how President Xi has talked about the need for the PRC to become a cyber great power. Unlike some other reports, it uses Chinese language sources and CCP statements/communications to support its assessment of the PRC’s perspective on digital technology and its desire to influence international standards.

- Brookings, *Huawei Meets History: Great Power and Telecommunications Risks*, 2021
  This report takes an historical approach, especially focusing on Britain’s 19th century dominance of the telegraph networks and compares this historical case to the current debates about 5G. They argue that control over telecommunications is a vital strategic interest. The authors give the WWI example of how Britain’s control over telecommunication technology enabled it to cut all of Germany’s cables and made it dependent on British networks as proof that telecommunications have always had political implications. Most of the information is not directly relevant for development.

- Atlantic, *The Panopticon, China’s Artificial Intelligence*, 2020
  Along with describing how the PRC government is using AI to increase surveillance (especially in Xinjiang), the author also discusses the PRC’s historical leadership in technology development and how different Chinese regimes had used surveillance. Documents the PRC government’s efforts to export its technology to Africa and Latin America. Paints a very disturbing picture of the future of AI surveillance in the PRC and its global consequences.

- Hoover Institute, The Trappings of the Mauritius Safe City Project, 2022
  Discusses the role of Huawei in developing a “safe city” project in conjunction with the Mauritian police and Mauritius Telecom. It corresponds with a worsening legal and regulatory environment for freedom of expression online. The report also documents how the deal with Huawei is opaque.

- Uganda uses Huawei Facial Recognition Tech to ID Protestors, 2020
  The news article documents how the Ugandan government is using technology from China, especially Huawei, to surveil the opposition especially in relation to the 2019 anti-Museveni protests.

- CSIS, *Digital Silk Road* by Jonathan Hillman, 2021 (book launch discussion)

Hillman discussed how the digital aspect of the BRI is not as well-studied. However, Chinese action in this area has intensified over the last few years, especially in the wake of the pandemic and the demand for digital technology. The low cost of Chinese digital exports is their main appeal in places as diverse as Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, and rural Montana. Also, Huawei went into markets that Western companies neglect.
In addition to concerns about Huawei and 5G technology, Chinese companies are also supplying subsea internet cables and providing cloud and e-government services.
Hillman believes that democratic countries have a lot to offer and can compete, especially in areas where we already have good product offerings, such as cloud services. The movement into "open rand systems"--which refers to building networks where you are not dependent on a single supplier for all parts--another opportunity to compete. In addition, the PRC government's focus on maintaining control over their internet and companies produces costs and causes problems for its companies to compete in international markets.

Debt Diplomacy and China

- AidData, Center for Global Development, *How China Lends*, March 2021
- How much does the world owe China--Harvard Business Review
  The Harvard Business Review article provides a summary of the longer CGD report listed above. It discusses how the PRC does not report on international lending resulting in incomplete data. They developed a new data set of Chinese loans from 1947-2017 that shows that in total China has loaned $1.5 trillion to 150+ countries making it the largest official creditor in the world.

- Oxus Society: *Chinese Business in Central Asia: how Chinese lending erodes justice*, March 2021
  Examines 3 cases of Chinese investment in Central Asia--"Bishkek's [Kyrgyzstan] central heating facility, an environmental disaster in an oil field near Aktau [Kazakhstan], and sub-contracting disputes in Bishkek and Osh"—to demonstrate how BRI is encouraging crony capitalism in the region.

- CSIS: Becoming a Chinese Client State, 2020
  This report provides a detailed analysis of Chinese investment in Serbia and its political and economic consequences. It includes a discussion of how the government of President Vučić has used Chinese investment to develop and maintain patronage networks and the expansion of Chinese companies into Serbia's digital infrastructure. The authors recommend that in response the US & EU launch a public education campaign to highlight how Chinese investment is detrimental to Serbian citizens and all the positive assistance that the EU provides.

- China Global Investment Tracker
  An interactive map produced by AEI that includes comprehensive data on the PRC's global investment and construction and includes more than 4000 transactions across economic sectors.

- AidData China Page College of William and Mary
  Includes multiple reports produced by their research lab about the impact of the PRC government's soft power and public diplomacy in Asia and the Pacific. Takes an interdisciplinary and innovative approach. They helped produce the CGD report "How China Lends" listed above.

- Bloomberg, China's Land Grab in Bhutan is the New Face of War.
  The article discusses how the PRC, as part of its campaign in Tibet and against India, seized some of Bhutan's land and solidified its control by constructing roads, villages, and security posts there.

  AidData, Banking on the Belt and Road, 2021
  https://www.aiddata.org/publications/banking-on-the-belt-and-road

Focuses on Chinese-American Relations:

- Brookings, Webinar: The Long Game: China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order.
  Webinar discussion of Rush Doshi's new book on China, *The Long Game*. Using Chinese primary materials, Doshi argues that the PRC government has pursued a policy designed to displace the United States from its leadership position in East Asia and globally. He breaks down the PRC government's policy into 3 stages, 1980s-2000s, 2008-2016, and post 2016, with at each stage the PRC government becoming more assertive. He focuses on the PRC government's "grand strategy." Doshi concludes with some suggestions for how the US can counter the PRC. Several panelists in the webinar raise some questions about Doshi's argument. There is a written transcript of the webinar available online.

- Atlantic Council, US China Competition: Measuring Global Influence
  This report introduces a new multidimensional (economic, security, political) way to measure influence, the Formal Bilateral Influence Capacity (FBIC) Index. Based on this index, they evaluate which country has the most influence per country around the world and how this has changed over time as they examine data going back 40 years. The report focuses on Southeast Asia. It concludes with recommendations for greater US engagement with ASEAN and SE Asian states.

- Larry Diamond, Hoover Institute, *Chinese Influence and America's Interest: Promoting Constructive Vigilance*, 2018
  A lengthy report written by leading American scholars on China that attempts to document the PRC government's growing "influence operations inside the US." The main findings of the report are: 1) the PRC government seeking to influence American politicians; 2) the development of Confucius Institutes on American university campus are a way for the PRC government to influence US student bodies; 3) the PRC government tries to influence think tanks, scholars, researchers; 4) in the business realm the PRC government uses Chinese businesses to access technology and has made foreign businesses agree with PRC policy on Taiwan, Tibet, etc. to maintain access to the Chinese market; 5) the PRC government has reduced independent Chinese-language media in the US; 6) the PRC government attempts to silent critiques among the Chinese American community; 7) there is a sustained effort to "misappropriate" technology. The authors advocate for 3 strategies in response—promoting transparency and integrity at home and engaging in selective reciprocity or tit-for-tat retaliation.

- CFR, March 2021, Hillman and Sacks, *China's Belt and Road: Implications for the United States* Panel discussion on the report: https://www.cfr.org/event/responding-chinas-belt-and-road-initiative
  An independent task force report on the PRC government's BRI that focuses on the consequences for the US in the areas of economics, politics, climate change, environment, security, and global health. It argues that China's success is partially because the US has retreated and "BRI has filled a void left by the United States and its allies." The second half of the report offers detailed policy recommendations for the US that emphasize reducing the economic risks of BRI, improving the multilateral response, increasing US competitiveness, and protecting US security interests in BRI countries.

- Aaron Friedberg, "Asking the Right Questions on China's Ambitions" on War on the Rocks Podcast Mar 2019
  A discussion between professor Aaron Friedberg, China expert, and professor Brad Smith about US-China relations. The conversation has a geopolitical focus. It includes some historical overview of how the relationship has developed and changed over the last 30 years. Discusses how the US, especially through its economic relations, has helped China grow into a powerful state.

- Brookings, Engaging China, virtual book discussion, October 2021
  The 3 panelists, David Lampton, Susan Thornton, and Robert Daly, discussed the history of US-China relations, focusing on the question of "engagement." They argue against revisionist history that claims the US engagement policy was a failure. Instead they stated that engagement was never a strategy, but rather

that both the US and the PRC found bilateral constructive engagement beneficial. In addition, they stated that the US has made mistakes, that engagement was society-society, and that the change undertaken by President Xi was not foreseeable.

- Tarun Chhabra, Brookings, FP The China Challenge, Democracy and US Grand Strategy, 2020
  Chhabra outlines an argument that the PRC is a greater threat to the US than the Soviet Union was during the Cold War because the PRC's authoritarianism is more adaptable, its mass surveillance capabilities enable them to maintain high levels of control, their economic system is stronger, and the PRC government is willing to take advantage of economic interdependence. In response, he argues that the US should place liberal values at the center of US grand strategy.

- U Penn Project on the Future of US-China Relations: https://web.sas.upenn.edu/future-of-us-china-relations/human-rights-law-and-democracy/
  Includes a collection of essays on the state of democracy and human rights in China, several working papers on technology-related issues in US-China relations (including debates about TikTok and Huawei). There are also a series of 2020 webinar discussions on technology, human rights/democracy/rule of law, trade and competition all in relation to the future of US-China relations.

- Kevin Rudd, Asia Society, *The Avoidable War: The Decade of Living Dangerously: Navigating the Shoals of US China Relations*, 2021 (collection of speeches and essays)
  The collection by the former Australian PM includes essays on the Covid-19 pandemic, influence of Chinese domestic politics on its foreign policy, geopolitics of the PRC government's climate policy, and concerns about US and Chinese "saber rattling."

- Newsweek: Pentagon puts Pressure on US Universities to Cut Ties with Confucius Institutes
  The DoD's decision to not fund Language Flagship programs at American universities with Confucius Institutes led to multiple universities closing their Confucius Institutes. The DoD sees the Confucius Institutes as a way the PRC government seeks to influence American universities and students.

- Atlantic Council Strategy Papers, *The Longer Telegram: Toward a New American China Strategy*, 2021.
  The author (anonymous) focuses on PRC President Xi Jinping and his influence on Chinese foreign policy. Outlines a summary of their assessment of Xi's objectives in relation to the US. They criticize the USG for failing to have a

coherent, unified strategy toward the PRC and argue that we need the equivalent of George Kennan's 1946 long telegram on the Soviet Union. Advocates for a USG strategy that understands the internal dynamics of the CCP and uses that information to frustrate Xi's goals to supplant the US as military, economic, and financial power.

Chinese Development Agenda:

- CSIS China Power Podcast, *The Chinese Development Agenda*
- PRC White Paper on the PRC Development Cooperation Strategy
- Kristen Cordell, Carnegie, *China's Development Model: A New Approach or More of the Same?* 2021

Russia

- Andrea Kendall-Taylor, Center for New American Security, *Sino-Russia Defense Cooperation,* (Series) 2020.
  A series of articles posted on War on the Rocks about Sino-Russian Defense cooperation.
- Andrea Kendall-Taylor, Center for New American Security, CNAS Dangerous Synergies, 2020.
- Max Glicker, Lukas Mejia, Rachel Chernaskey, and Clint Watts, "Russia's Disinformation Ecosystem - A Snapshot," *Miburo*, 2021.

- NED, *Deals in the Dark: Russian Corrosive Capital in Latin America,* 2020
  Provides good definitions of corrosive capital & state capture. It focuses on how Russia has used relatively modest investments in and trade with Argentina and Bolivia to gain political influence and further its geopolitical interests. For example, when the Argentine government of President Macri wanted to cancel RT's TV license Russia used its role as an important market of Argentine beef exports to force Macri to back down and allow RT to continue to operate. Suggests various ways by which civil society should respond to the problem of corrosive capital and sharp power.

- GEC Special Report: Pillars of Russia's Disinformation and Propaganda Ecosystem (Aug 2020)
- CSIS, *Countering Malign Russian and Chinese Influence Activities,* 2020
- Just Security, *Countering Russia's Malign Influence Operations,* 2019
- Penn Biden Center for Diplomacy and Engagement, *Undermining Democracy: Kremlin's Tools of Malign Political Influence,* 2019.
- Carnegie, *Digital Authoritarianism with Russian Characteristics?* April 2021

- Book--Kathryn E. Stoner, *Russia Resurrected: Its Power and Purpose in a New Global Order*, 2021. Chapter 7 is most relevant.
  Chapter 7 discusses Russia's understanding of soft and sharp power and why it uses these tools. The examples Stoner uses are familiar (e.g., "Pizzagate" during the 2016 presidential campaign), but she provides a good explanation for why the Russian government has adopted these strategies and how they fit into the broader developments in Russia's domestic and foreign policy over the last 20 years.

- Moldova.org, the cost for Russia to Buy the Moldovan Election, 2021
  Discusses Russia's supposed plans to interfere in the 2020 Moldovan presidential election. The Russian planned interference failed to help the pro-Russia Igor Dodon win the election partially because Russia's strategy was leaked so they possibly abandoned their plans to interfere. The article provides a recent example of a long-running strategy of Russian interference in neighboring states' elections.

- Democracy in Africa, "Authoritarian regimes and democratisation in Africa: China and Russia compared."
  Provides an overview of the state of democracy and authoritarianism in Africa. Argues that the PRC's economic investment supports authoritarian regimes. In contrast, Russia has provided diplomatic support for authoritarian regimes, supplied armaments, and facilitated corruption.

- Democracy in Africa, "Russia in Africa – Undermining democracy through elite capture."
  Discusses Russia's strategies of elite cooptation, election meddling, and disinformation campaigns against democracy in Africa. In addition, the Russian government has been using Russian mercenaries organizations to gain influence in countries like the Central African Republic, where the Wagner Group--an off-shoot of the Russian intelligence agency the GRU--has engaged in human rights abuses and helped support the autocratic rule of CAR President Touadéra. Ironically, "Russia uses the hallmarks of democracy—elections, open information platforms, and media—to orchestrate outcomes that advance Russian interests while sowing dissension and disillusionment among citizens in democracy itself."

- Chatham House, Russia's Presence in Mali Raises Concerns, December 2021
  The article discusses how with the French withdrawal from Mali, the government has been pursuing relations with the Russian Wagner Group. Russia is seeking to portray itself as an ally in the fight against insurgents.

- Book--Treisman, Daniel (ed). *The New Autocracy Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia*. Brookings, 2018.
- US State Department, Russia's Top Five Persistent Disinformation Narratives, 2022
- Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Erica Frantz, "The Beginning of the End for Putin? Dictatorships Look Stable—Until They Aren't", Foreign Affairs, March 2, 2022

Kendall-Taylor and Frantz discuss the consequences of the war in Ukraine for Putin. Discussing the various ways Putin has strengthened his control over Russia, including his domination of the information environment, they argue that Putin is unlikely to be overthrown by popular protests. However, the war is eroding Putin's support within Russia and may produce longer-term vulnerabilities.

Iran

- NY Times, China and Iran Trade and Military Deal, 2020
  Based on a leaked document, the article covers the potential deal between Iran and the PRC involving both increased economic and military relations. The deal would include Chinese investment in Iranian transportation infrastructure, ports, telecommunications, 5G infrastructure and digital technology in exchange for a discounted supply of Iranian oil.

Data Sources

- China Global Investment Tracker
  An interactive map produced by AEI that includes comprehensive data on the PRC's global investment and construction and includes more than 4000 transactions across economic sectors.

- AidData China Page College of William and Mary
  Includes multiple reports produced by their research lab about the impact of the PRC government in Asia and the Pacific. Takes an interdisciplinary and innovative approach. They helped produce the CGD report "How China Lends" listed above.
  AidData's Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset, Version 2.0
  AidData Beijing's Public Diplomacy Data Set

- Johns Hopkins China*Africa Research Initiative
  "Launched in 2014, the SAIS China Africa Research Initiative (SAIS-CARI) is based at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in Washington D.C. SAIS-CARI was set up to promote evidence-based understanding of the relations between China and African countries through high quality data collection, field research, conferences, and collaboration."

U.S. Government Resources (Public)

- *Interim National Security Strategic Guidance, 2021*
  This official White House document outlines the Biden Administration's foreign policy and national security policies. The most relevant points are the emphasis on the threats to democracy, the need to demonstrate the democracies can deliver, the threat presented from the rise of the PRC, and the need to defend/revitalize democracy around the world.

- *Summary of the Irregular Warfare Annex to the National Defense Strategy,* 2020
  The report outlines the DoD's plan to institutionalize irregular warfare and the threat it presents into the Department's policies, strategies, plans, and institutional processes. Their definition of irregular warfare includes disinformation and economic coercion. Irregular warfare appears definitionally similar to "gray zone."

- Amb. Power Senate Nomination Hearing March 2021 Hearing Transcript and link to hearing
  In her statement to the Senate, Administrator Power states if confirmed she will work to enhance USAID's leadership in 4 areas: the Covid-19 pandemic, climate change, conflict and state collapse, and democratic backsliding.

- Amb. Power, Foreign Affairs, *The Can Do Power, America's Advantage and Biden's Chance* Jan/Feb 2021
  Administrator Power outlines a strategy for restoring American global leadership and restoring belief in American competence and responding to the rise of China. Power focuses on 3 main areas where the US can take immediate action to demonstrate its leadership and competence: "spearhead global vaccine distribution," making American universities again attractive to foreign students, and leading a "global initiative to combat corruption."

Academic Literature on Promoting Authoritarianism

Theories about Authoritarian Promotion & Learning:

- Coppedge, Michael, Benjamin Denison, Paul Friesen, Lucía Tiscornia, Yang Xu. "International Inuence: The Hidden Dimension." V-Dem Working Paper (May 2021). Predominantly about democratization, but includes helpful theory development and OLS regression testing of possible avenues of international influence that may be relevant for authoritarian promotion.

- Kneuer, Marianne and Thomas Demmelhuber, eds. *Authoritarian Gravity Centers: A Cross-Regional Study of Authoritarian Promotion and Diffusion*. London: Routledge, 2020. (Book)
  Kneuer and Demmelhuber advance a theory about regional authoritarian promotion and introduce the concept of "authoritarian gravity centres (AGCs)." They argue that autocracies actively export autocratic ideas, strategies, and policies, and can serve as a role model. They discuss the motivations of AGCs, the modes of influence, and reactions of recipient states. AGCs include Russia, Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, and Venezuela.

- Tansey, Oisin, Kevin Koehler, and Alexander Schmotz. "Ties to the Rest: Autocratic Linkages and Regime Survival." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 9 (2017): 1221–1254.
  The authors adapt Levitsky and Way's linkage and leverage argument about democracy promotion for autocratic promotion. They introduce and define the concept of autocratic linkage: linkages between autocratic states that occur on 4 dimensions—trade, migration, diplomatic ties, and geographic proximity. Combine quantitative and qualitative analysis to argue that autocratic linkage increases regime survival.

- Tolstrup, Jakob. "Black Knights and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: Why and How Russia Supports Authoritarian Incumbents in post-Soviet States." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (2015): 673-690.
  Develops 5 mechanisms through which autocratic regimes can support undemocratic election outcomes in hybrid or authoritarian regimes: signaling invincibility through campaign resources and help with electoral fraud, deterring elite defection from the autocratic regime, undermining opposition activities, helping deal with popular protests, and countervailing pro-democracy pressure from US/EU. Argues autocratic states are most likely to interfere in elections when they fear that an opposition victory will lead to a radical change threatening their strategic interests.

- Von Soest, Christian. "Democracy Prevention: The International Collaboration of Authoritarian Regimes." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (2015): 623-638.
  Theorizes about how and why autocracy promotion occurs. Argues that authoritarian states engage in authoritarian promotion for self-serving reasons, not ideology. They are seeking to ensure their survival by supporting autocratic regimes, especially in regions seen as geopolitically significant. Discusses the differences between authoritarian diffusion, learning, collaboration, and support.

- Weyland, Kurt. “Autocratic Diffusion and Cooperation: The Impact of Interests vs. Ideology.” *Democratization* 24, no. 7 (2017): 1235-1252.
  Discusses the different types of autocratic diffusion. One type is ideologically driven, such as the Bolivarianism of Chavez. However, this is rare in the contemporary era where most autocratic regimes lack ideological foundations and are instead driven by the goal to prevent democratic diffusion and ensure their own regime's survival.

Critical Arguments (Think Autocratic Promotion Is Limited or Unproven):

- Brownlee, Jason. “The Limited Reach of Authoritarian Powers.” *Democratization* 24, no. 7 (2017): 1326-1344.
  Emphasizes the importance of local conditions, not external actors, to explain regime outcomes, including democratic breakdown. Argues that potential autocracy promoters, like Russia, may be more concerned about which leaders are in power than whether a regime is democratic or not. Brownlee argues that the evidence shows that authoritarian states have acted to prevent democratization in their regions but are not globally subverting democracy. [more recent data may challenge some of Brownlee’s conclusions as the erosion of democracy has continued since he conducted his research 4-5 years ago]

- Tansey, Oisin. “The Problem with Autocracy Promotion.” *Democratization* 23, no. 1 (2016): 141-163.
  Is generally critical of recent work on autocratic promotion and argues that current research has not proven that autocracy promotion is a unified foreign policy approach deliberately seeking to establish an autocratic state abroad. In other words, current research has failed to prove the motives of states. Tansey offers a new, more narrowly defined understanding of autocracy promotion that requires there be evidence that the authoritarian promoter wants to support autocracy and has an ideological commitment to autocracy.

- Way, Lucan. “The Limits of Autocracy Promotion: The Case of Russia in ‘Near Abroad’.” *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (2015): 691-706.
  Argues that Russia has been inconsistent in its support of authoritarianism in neighboring states and that given the overall low level of democracy in those states that we cannot prove Russia’s actions have had a major impact. Overall, Way is skeptical that autocratic promotion is a threat to democracy today.

Academic Theories about Authoritarianism

Background/Overview of Theorizing about How Authoritarian Regimes Work:

- *Annals of Comparative Democratization*. "What Do We Know About Contemporary Autocracies and Autocratization?" January 2019.
  Multiple relatively short articles written by prominent scholars that provide an overview of the current academic research on autocracy/authoritarianism. Covers the topics of democratic resilience, rise of more personalistic authoritarian regimes, the role of elections in authoritarian regimes, and the importance of considering ideology.

- Cooley, Alexander. "Countering Democratic Norms." *Journal of Democracy* 26, no. 3 (July 2015): 49-63.
  Discusses how authoritarian regimes, especially Russia, have used norms about state security (especially counterterrorism), "civilizational diversity" (e.g., Western norms do not apply here), and traditional values to counter the diffusion of democracy. Also discusses the rise of GONGOs and pro-authoritarian regional organizations like ALBA.

- Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. "Elections under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (2009): 403-22.
  A detailed discussion of the role of elections in dictatorships, including exploring the specific mechanisms by how dictators use elections to stay in power and the decision-making of voters, opposition leaders, and elites in relation to those elections. One of the first major academic works that really explored this question.

- Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. *How Dictatorships Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. (Book)
  An influential, large-scale project by leading scholars that uses a systematic approach based on analysis of 200 dictatorial regimes to theorize how dictators come to power, how they govern, and how they lose power. Focuses on the importance of the initial seizure group (political parties, military, or ruling family) for explaining the politics of dictatorships. They conclude with several policy recommendations.

- Guriev, Sergei and Daniel Treisman. "Popularity of Authoritarian Leaders." *World Politics* (2020).

- Lührmann, Anna, Juraj Medzihorsky, Staan I. Lindberg. "Walking the Talk: How to Identify Anti-Pluralist Parties." V-Dem Working Paper, March 2021.

- Reuter, Ora John. "Why Do Ruling Parties Extend Authoritarian Rule? Examining the Role of Elite Institutions and Mass Organization." V-Dem Working Paper, April 2021.

- Svolik, Milan W. “Power Sharing and Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes.” *American Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 2 (2009): 477-494.
  One of the important dynamics in an authoritarian regime is the relationship between the dictator and ruling coalition--the individuals who support the government and hold enough power along with the dictator to be sufficient to maintain power. Using a formal modeling approach, Svolik argues that in authoritarian politics the nature of power sharing between these two groups influences the longevity of the dictator and the stability of the regime.

- Triesman, Daniel. “Democracy by Mistake: How the Errors of Autocrats Trigger Transitions to Freer Government.” *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 3 (August 2020): 792-810.

- Weidmann, Nils B. and Espen Geelmuyden Rød. *The Internet and Political Protest in Autocracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. (Book)
  Weidmann and Rod take a nuanced approach to how the internet is influencing protests in autocracies. They find that digital repression helps keep the levels of protests low, but once a protest movement starts Internet technology can intensify and help spread the unrest to other cities, especially if there are higher levels of connectivity. They developed a new database of mass mobilization in autocracies and used that to engage in statistical analysis of protests in 60 autocracies at the city level.

Recent publications:

- Kavasoglu, Berker. “Opposition Parties and Elite Co-optation in Electoral Autocracies.” V-Dem Working Paper (2021).

- Kreko, Peter. “How Authoritarians Inflate Their Image.” *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 3 (July 2021): 109-123.
  Kreko argues that authoritarian powers, especially Russia, are inflating their image on the global stage to look more economically, politically, and militarily powerful than they actually are, and therefore exaggerating their power and influence. Focusing on Europe, argues that the images of Russia & China have become distorted because of the combination of disinformation campaigns, investments for political purposes, receptive national politicians (e.g., Orban in Hungary), and the diminished attraction of the Western democratic economic liberal model.

- Melendez-Sanchez, Manuel. “Latin America Erupts: Millennial Authoritarianism in El Salvador.” *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 3 (July 2021): 19-32.

Argues that Nayib Bukele managed to rise to power in El Salvador because of “millennial authoritarianism,” a “political strategy that combines traditional populist appeals, classic authoritarian behavior, and a youthful and modern brand built primarily via social media.”

“Democratic Regressions in Asia,” Special Issue, *Democratization, 2021.*

Special issue of the journal *Democratization* focusing on democratic decline and revival in the Asia-Pacific region, divided into two sections: thematic and case studies. Articles include an introduction covering the state of the research and patterns of democratic regression in the region, the scope and causes of democratic backsliding in comparative perspective (by the prominent American democracy scholar, Larry Diamond), the causes and mechanisms of democratic regressions, deconsolidation in Japan, Korea and Taiwan; civil society resistance to autocratization in Indonesia; pathways of backsliding in Bangladesh; the role of local election monitors in democratic revival across the region; elite capture and civil society (Bangladesh, Philippines and Thailand); China’s autocratic influence on Hong Kong as well as backsliding in regional governance mechanisms/ASEAN and foriegn policy in Southeast Asia.

Academic Theories on Democratic Decline

- Maerz, Seraphine F., Carsten Q. Schneider. “Public Discourse and Autocratization: Infringing on Autonomy, Sabotaging Accountability.” V-Dem Working Paper, February 2021.

- Lührmann, Anna, and Bryan Rooney. “Autocratization by Decree: States of Emergency and Democratic Decline.” V-Dem Working Paper, April 2020.

“Worried about the state of democracy?” Washington Post