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UGRA Project Report

Introduction

Over the past few months, I worked with Dr Rohan Mukherjee to produce an annotated bibliography for a project entitled 'Democratic Difference, Decline, and Authoritarianism'. This project aimed to investigate how the United States responded to democratic decline in two types of countries (namely, countries with which the United States has an alliance, and countries with which the U.S. does not have an alliance). In the context of this research, democratic decline was conceptualised either as an overt move to authoritarian rule, or a temporary breakdown in democracy. This project focused on two case studies. The first case study, involving a non-ally, was the United States' response to the period of Emergency in India (June 1975- March 1977) during the tenure of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The second case study focused on the United States' response to the imposition of martial law in the Philippines under President Ferdinand Marcos between 1972 and 1981.

Methodology and Collected Data

For this project, I used Google Sheets, Microsoft Excel and OneDrive to organise my notes and sources, and divided my research into three broad sections.

Firstly, I conducted a literature review of the existing International Relations literature on alliance politics and democratic decline. For this, I used JSTOR and Google Scholar, while also conducting in-journal searches through Taylor and Francis Online. Several sources that were reviewed during this portion of the research came from journals such as the Journal of Conflict Resolution and the Journal of Peace Research. This literature review was undertaken to assess the factors that caused changes in alliances, and how alliances tended to change over time. This was particularly useful for establishing context ahead of the Philippines case study. The review was also aimed at understanding how current IR scholarship views the link between alliances and democracy (that is, whether democracies are more likely to ally with each other, and how a dyadic democratic alliance varies from other types of alliances).

The second part of my research involved finding data on the U.S. response to the Emergency in India. The third part of my research involved replicating the same procedures for the Philippines. I focused on specific aspects of the relationship (among other focal points, I researched shifts in the U.S. response to India's nuclear programme, and basing rights and trade with the Philippines). To assess if and how the U.S.' relationship with these countries changed on account of democratic decline, I researched data and documents over an extended timeframe (for instance, in the Philippine case, I evaluated sources between 1965 and 1989).

These sections of my research involved finding secondary and primary sources for both case studies. For each primary and secondary source that proved useful, I included relevant publication data and short notes on sections of interest on the project spreadsheet. To find relevant secondary sources, I began by using the LSE Library's search functions. Subsequently, I conducted specific keyword searches on Google, and visited several bookstores around London. I also found additional secondary sources for the Indian case study during multiple trips to Mumbai, where my primary residence is located.

To find primary sources, I used documents within relevant volumes of *Foreign Relations of the United States* to gain an understanding of the high-level diplomatic communications during

this period. Simultaneously, I also used documents available from the Digital National Security Archive, which were sourced through a keyword search and then filtered for greater research accuracy. In addition, to understand if the U.S. responded to democratic decline by limiting or cutting off aid, I utilised data on the sale of arms from the U.S. to India and the Philippines as available on the Arms Transfers Database of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). I also used detailed data available on aid obligations and disbursement by various managing agencies in the U.S. from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)'s online database. Further, to understand the differences in presidential and Congressional opinion, I read the text of relevant Congressional hearings. The project also aimed to investigate other determinants of U.S. posture, such as visits by leaders to the U.S., and visits by high-ranking U.S. officials to India and the Philippines. Some portions of this data, such as information on visits by foreign leaders, and visits by the Secretary of State or the President, were available from the Department of State's Office of the Historian. However, information regarding Vice-Presidential visits to both countries was sourced from newspaper articles and documents from the DNSA and FRUS. Finally, to observe press coverage, and to assess its impact on Congressional, presidential and bureaucratic decision-making, I used articles from the *New York Times* (available via TimesMachine), the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Post*.

In addition, I constructed two timelines, one focusing on key events in the U.S. - India relationship between 1965 and 1985, and the other focusing on key events in the U.S. - Philippines relationship between 1960 and 1989. For the Philippines, I also researched earlier bilateral events that were relevant to the project, such as the signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty, the 1947 Agreement Concerning Military Bases, and the Laurel-Langley Agreement. To assist with Dr Mukherjee's research, I also compiled a list of boxes and files within the Ford Presidential Library where relevant information may have been available. To make this list, I utilised the Ford Library's online master list and, where available, its descriptions of sub-collections and series.

Contributions to Existing Literature

Although there is significant scholarship within IR about democratic peace, there is little information available on how democracies behave when one member of a democratic dyad undergoes a shift in its democratic status. This project aims to contribute to this gap in extant literature. Policymakers and observers may be able to apply its findings to the American posture regarding contemporary instances of democratic backsliding. It also adds nuance to existing studies of the U.S.' bilateral relationships during the Cold War by differentiating between branches of the American foreign policy decision-making apparatus.