



# Exploring the Future Focus of Interethnic Governance in Multi-Ethnic Countries in the Perspective of Globalisation

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**Abstract:** *The governance of inter-ethnic issues is an important part of national governance, including the selection of ethnic policy issues, the determination of ethnic policy intentions, the formulation of ethnic policy programmes, and the implementation of specific ethnic policies, all of which are to some extent subject to the basic constraints and regulation of the basic goals and strategic tasks of national governance. At the same time, inter-ethnic policy is an important element in the process of modernising national governance, and it is of great importance in promoting the process of modernising national governance to manage inter-ethnic relations, resolve conflicts between ethnic groups and maintain political stability in ethnic areas. The discussion on the governance of inter-ethnic issues is essentially a search for a more reasonable model of political relations to meet the needs of the development of the ethnic society within the unitary multi-ethnic state against the background of the overall promotion of the democratic political construction of the country. Therefore, the assessment and analysis of the mode and way of governance of inter-ethnic issues is a proper meaning of national governance in the nation-state.*

**Keywords:** Vision of Globalisation; Multi-Ethnic State; Governance of Inter-Ethnic Political Issues.

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## 1. Introduction

Since the 1990s, the world has experienced dramatic upheavals, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe marking the end of the Cold War era. The American scholar Fukuyama mentioned in his book *The End of History and the Last Man* that ‘with the end of the Cold War, a “new world order” is on the horizon, the international community will move towards peace, and social and political stability will become the norm in the world’. Realistically, however, history has not come to an end and the world pattern has not become one of normalised social harmony and political stability. Most of the upheavals and conflicts around the world have been deeply marked by ethnicity. In his book *Bowling Alone: The Decline and Revival of the American Community*, Robert PATNAN, a renowned scholar of Harvard University, pointed out that ‘even the number one democratic country like the United States has seen its ethnic problems worsening due to incessant immigration and a general decline in domestic cohesion’. From this, it can be seen that the governance of inter-ethnic issues is a key concern of political parties in the world.

## 2. The Logic of Governance on Inter-ethnic Issues must be Consistent with the Logic of National Governance

National governance is a multidimensional concept that can be analyzed and defined from different perspectives. Generally speaking, national governance is essentially the action and process of utilizing state power or state force to solve various outstanding problems facing the country. Thus, inter-ethnic governance in the macro sense of responding to and resolving problems and conflicts in domestic ethnic relations is carried out within the overall framework of national governance, is a part of national governance, and is subject to the fundamental constraints of the national governance framework. Inter-ethnic governance always revolves around national governance and is subordinate to and serves the realization of national governance goals. The rationality and legitimacy of inter-ethnic governance originates from the needs of national governance. Therefore, in terms of the logic of governance,

the logic of governance of domestic ethnic issues should be consistent with the logic of national governance. The governance of interethnic issues is an overarching structure, realized through a system consisting of meta-policy, backbone policy, specific policy, policy implementation and other links. The consistency of the logic of governance of inter-ethnic issues with the logic of governance of the State is manifested in the three aspects of the national institutional system, namely, the ethnic policy premised on ethnic equality, the modern system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the development of the institutionalization and legalization of ethnic affairs.

### **2.1 Improvement of ethnic policy premised on ethnic equality is an important direction in the governance of inter-ethnic issues.**

In a general sense, ethnic policy refers to the sum of measures and regulations adopted by the State and political parties to regulate ethnic relations and deal with ethnic issues, and it is the policy towards the ethnic groups in the country. Knowledge and understanding of the ethnic policies of the world's nations is the foundation of the study of the ethnic problems of the world's nations. The equality of ethnic groups is the basic logical premise and value guarantee for the formulation, implementation and evaluation of all ethnic policies. Ethnic policy is an important tool for the governance of inter-ethnic issues and an important manifestation of the logic of inter-ethnic governance.

As the world's first multi-ethnic socialist country, the establishment and dissolution of the Soviet Union played a pivotal role in the course of world history, and contributed significantly to the evolution and differentiation of the present-day world pattern. After the collapse of the USSR, many analyses have been conducted in the academic community to analyze the reasons for the collapse of the USSR, among which it is unanimously agreed that the negative factors brought about by the improper resolution of the Soviet Union's ethnic problem eroded both the Soviet state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and became one of the main reasons for the final split of the USSR. The Soviet Union ignored the core premise of ethnic equality and embodied a tendency towards grand nationalism in its ethnic policy, and as a result, sentiments of national independence continued to grow in the Union States, autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous districts, while ethnic separatism surged until it broke out completely, ultimately leading to a tragic situation in which the country's political system and system of government became untenable.

The CPC and its successive leaders have attached great importance to ethnic work and national unity, and have made it an important element of the Party's united front work, especially ethnic work. In the course of establishing the socialist system, the CPC has united and led the people of all ethnic groups throughout the country to promote exchanges, exchanges and mingling among all ethnic groups, and has endeavored to build socialist ethnic relations based on equality, solidarity and mutual assistance among all ethnic groups in accordance with the realities of the country. Under the guidance of this national relationship, China has, on the basis of the Marxist theory of nationalities and in the light of China's basic multi-ethnic situation and the objective reality of the persistence of the national problem, formulated a national policy that promotes the equality and unity of the various nationalities, their development and progress, and their common prosperity, and which should continue to be adhered to and perfected.

### **2.2 Exploration and development of a modern system of regional ethnic autonomy as an institutional guarantee for the governance of inter-ethnic issues**

The value and mission of the system of regional ethnic autonomy is to safeguard national unity and national solidarity. The implementation of the system of autonomy in regions inhabited by a large number of ethnic groups has long been an important institutional design of the national Government in easing ethnic conflicts and resolving ethnic problems, and its formation and development have been summarized in a long period of theoretical and practical exploration.

The issue of American Indian reservations was an attempt at and exploration of regional ethnic autonomy, and the signing of the Indian Self-Governance Act by President Ford in 1975, which encouraged self-governance for Indians on reservations, was the beginning of a new self-governance for American Indians. There are about 538,000 Indians living on 315 reservations in the U.S., but most of these reservations are not the birthplaces of these Indians, but are established by the government to demarcate and then move the Indians to them, and thus can also be regarded as regional autonomous areas. There are a total of 560 federally-recognized Indian tribes in the U.S., and their Indian tribal governments are the self-governing bodies of the Indians. One of the distinctive features of the nationalization policy of the Soviet Union, which was encouraged by Lenin and supported and implemented by Stalin at the time, was the nationalization of territories. The Scotland Act and the Northern Ireland

Act of the United Kingdom and the Catalonia Act of Spain are the attempts and explorations of European countries in solving the national problem with regard to regional ethnic autonomy, which include many positive and useful experiences as well as some profound lessons. In the light of China's basic national conditions as a unified multi-ethnic country, the system of regional ethnic autonomy is the basic political system of China, and is one of the political systems with Chinese characteristics created by the CPC under the guidance of the Marxist theory of nationalities, and on the basis of abandoning the traditional ways of governing Chinese nationalities, and in the practice of leading China's revolution and dealing with ethnic relations. In the course of implementing the system of regional ethnic autonomy, autonomous organs have been established in areas inhabited by various ethnic minorities to exercise the right of autonomy, the purpose and core of which is to safeguard the unity of the multi-ethnic State and to consolidate ethnic unity. The establishment of the system of regional national autonomy has not only enriched the Marxist theory of nationalities, but has also shaped the theory of nationalities with Chinese characteristics; it has not only promoted the development of the socialist system, but has also contributed to the improvement of China's socialist political system.

### **2.3 Adherence to and promotion of the institutionalization of ethnic affairs and the rule of law are powerful measures for the governance of inter-ethnic issues.**

The governance of ethnic affairs is an important part of national governance, and the modernization of the governance of ethnic affairs is a dual modernization of the governance system and the capacity to govern, with a composite and holistic character. The institutionalization of ethnic affairs and the development of the rule of law are inherent requirements and distinctive features of the modernization of governance of inter-ethnic issues.

The United States, as a nascent multi-immigrant, multi-racial country with a history of less than 300 years, is the first to introduce institutionalized rule of law thinking into the logic of inter-ethnic governance in the form of legislation. The United States, in response to the bias of biological racism, emphasizes that undifferentiated individuals have undifferentiated rights, and clarifies the equal rights of members of various ethnic groups, i.e., individuals, at the legal level, replacing ethnic rights with civil rights, and guaranteeing the principle equality of all ethnic groups in the United States in terms of equality rights, election rights and employment rights in the form of legislation based on the Constitution. For example, the 13th Amendment (1865), the 14th Amendment (1866), and the 15th Amendment (1869) to the U.S. Constitution are constitutional guarantees of citizenship rights given to blacks after the U.S. Civil War. In its jurisprudence on equal rights, the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld the principle of equality of the races as proclaimed in the U.S. Constitution, and in the Brown case of 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the segregated education system was unconstitutional under the principle of "segregation but fairness" and abolished it. After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in order to speed up the process of racial integration, the U.S. Supreme Court successively required the abolition of "dual-track" schools, which were obviously racially discriminatory, and stipulated that a certain percentage of black students must be enrolled in each school in order to achieve "integration" of black and white students. 1971 also required the U.S. Supreme Court to require the use of transportation in schools to solve the problem of "integration" of black and white students. In 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court also required schools to use transportation in order to solve the problem of students' difficulties in accessing schools in the case of "black-white" schools. At the same time, the United States has adopted a policy of strict restrictions on the geographic ethnic residence of immigrant groups in an effort to prevent the formation of geographic ethnic rights. The use of institutionalization and the rule of law as the core standards to continuously promote the resolution and improvement of ethnic issues, thereby achieving the goal of modernized governance, is an important lesson for the United States in the governance of inter-ethnic issues.

Given the reality of China as a unified, multi-ethnic country, continuously upgrading the level of modernization in the governance of ethnic affairs is an inevitable requirement for promoting the modernization of the national governance system and governance capacity. The institutionalization of the governance of ethnic affairs in China and the rule of law should be continuously upgraded, and the rule of law system for the governance of ethnic affairs should be perfected, including a complete system of ethnic laws and norms, an efficient system for the implementation of the rule of law for ethnic affairs, a rigorous system for the supervision of the rule of law for ethnic affairs, and a strong system for the safeguarding of the rule of law for ethnic affairs.

### **3. Multi-ethnic States should Build a National Community Centered on Political Identity**

The modern national community is different from the traditional national community based on blood lineage, which is a highly unified political, economic and cultural community formed by the continuous interaction and integration of people of different ethnic origins and different regions. Reviewing the governance strategy and

effectiveness of interethnic issues in the United States, it is not difficult to find that the stability of ethnic relations in the United States is not unrelated to the United States actively constructing the national community of the United States of America. The common economic life and common economic interests reinforced by the highly developed market economy of the United States, which covers the whole country, have nurtured the sense of American community among all regions and ethnic groups in the United States.

### **3.1 National identity to lead the building of political identity in multi-ethnic countries**

The issue of political identity is one of the core issues of national governance and political construction in multi-ethnic countries. The essence of political identity can be summarized as follows: the political identity of a multi-ethnic state is a question of whom the various ethnic groups that make up the multi-ethnic state identify with and support politically, and the political formations derived therefrom constitute the identity politics of the multi-ethnic state. Obtaining recognition and support is the key to the survival of any political community in the process of historical development, and the political community is mostly characterized by the form of the state in its political form. Therefore, in multi-ethnic countries, building political identity through national identity building is a powerful way of managing inter-ethnic problems and shaping national cohesion.

The nation-state is the dominant form of state in the world since modern times, and the international system since modern times is the international system with the nation-state as the dominant one. And the nation-state inevitably faces an insurmountable problem: the nation that combines with the state and supports the system of the nation-state is a political community constructed under a specific social and historical condition, with a relatively low degree of internal homogeneity and wholeness, or even a platter composed of various historical and cultural groups. Since the 1980s, the level of national identity of the U.S. public has gone through continuous stabilization in the midst of prosperity, repeated ups and downs under external shocks, and accelerated decline in the populist era. Nowadays, the absolute level and relative position of national identity in the U.S. are both at record lows, and it is always difficult to bridge the differences in national identity among groups, with American people born earlier and with lower education levels always being the group with the highest national identity, and the generational divide in national identity is still worsening. Religious belief, ideology, political trust and media exposure have all had some impact on the national identity of the American public, but the mechanisms of generating national identity differ across groups. These combined reasons have resulted in many social problems such as weak cultural homogeneity of American national groups and narrow coverage of political socialization, further reflecting the objective reality of the unstable foundation of contemporary American national identity. National identity is the precondition and effective guarantee of political identity, that is, the orientation of national identity construction is conducive to promoting the national identity of multi-ethnic countries and reducing the risk of national identity of multi-ethnic countries, which is the best choice for multi-ethnic countries. For a multi-ethnic country such as China, which has a complex ethnic composition, if the degree of national identity is high, each ethnic group will be able to take the initiative in safeguarding the interests of the State, subordinating national interests to those of the State, and striving for and realizing the safeguarding of national interests on the basis of the unity, stability and development of the State.

### **3.2 National consciousness as a value orientation and thus a dominant national consciousness**

National consciousness and national consciousness seem to have little difference, but they belong to two different concepts and have their own differences. Conceptually, national consciousness refers to the national psychological identity of the members of each ethnic group in the process of social production and labor practice and interaction of the members of each ethnic group, and it is a kind of reflection of the consciousness of safeguarding their own national attributes. National consciousness focuses on the strong sense of attachment and belonging to a certain country that an individual or part of a group generates at the psychological level. National consciousness contains two aspects: on the one hand, it is the national consciousness with political attributes, and on the other hand, it is the community consciousness with the attributes of national unity. Therefore, national consciousness, as a value orientation, is an organic unity of lawfulness and purposefulness.

Consciousness and ism are philosophically isomorphic, so in some countries national consciousness is expressed as nationalism, and national consciousness is expressed as nationalism. Correctly handling the relationship between national consciousness and nationalism is the key to promoting effective governance of ethnic issues. The Soviet Union's former measure of constructing a homogeneous national Soviet people, underpinned by Russification, backfired, and is often cited as an example of the wrong orientation of nationalism. But the root cause of the policy's failure lay not in the "statist" orientation per se, but in the forced assimilation of Russification;

the focus on a nationalist orientation and emphasis on multiculturalism, although sought after for a time, had a potentially divisive effect in the United States, as Zbigniew Brzezinski points out, and could have led to the Balkanization of a multinational United States, as well as to the disintegration of the United States. and the risk of disintegration of the United States is worth pondering. Objectively speaking, adherence to a statist orientation from the standpoint of the state is the basic condition for the formation and effective implementation of governance of interethnic issues in multinational states. Therefore, the attributes of the state should be prior to those of the nation, which means that we should grasp the degree of national consciousness and ethnic consciousness, handle the relationship between the two with care, seek common ground while reserving differences, be accommodating as much as possible, and pay attention to balancing the relationship between the two. If they are not handled properly, they may easily intensify national conflicts and cause national turmoil. Thus, in a unified multi-ethnic country, to grasp the relationship between national consciousness and ethnic consciousness, one should actively seek common ground between national consciousness and ethnic consciousness, respect the ethnic consciousness of each ethnic group, and be more tolerant and less confrontational. Only in this way can a harmonious and stable atmosphere be created in the country, thereby realizing the prosperity and progress of all ethnic groups. Therefore, in national governance and development, it is necessary not only to fully understand, explore and utilize the resources embedded in history, but also to strengthen the shaping and building of national character, and to promote the consolidation and development of inter-ethnic political relations. It is important for contemporary China to grasp the unifying relationship between national consciousness and ethnic consciousness in national governance, so as to unify ethnic consciousness with national consciousness.

### **3.3 Realizing a high degree of unity between national identity and ethnic identity by highlighting national identity**

Generally speaking, national identity refers to the social psychology, cultural traditions, behavioral patterns and other national traits of a specific country, which have been formed under the influence of the natural and social environments of the country's nationals and which have a tendency to converge. Originality, stability, convergence, development and complexity are its main features. In a nation-state, the nation and the state are organically combined and embedded in and shaped by each other, which inevitably leads to one result: the nation has the connotation and attributes of the state, and the state has the connotation and attributes of the nation. The issue of national identity is different from and interrelated with the issue of national identity, but the degree and intensity of its resolution have an important impact on the development of the world's political landscape and political situation. The national identity problem first appeared in the new countries after the Second World War. However, the prominence and generalization of the national identity problem, especially when it became a fundamental problem for the old nation-states of the United States and Europe, is directly related to the national changes and the complication of inter-ethnic relations in the era of globalization, and is even an inevitable consequence of these changes. The issue of national identity and ethnicity is thoroughly reflected in the shaping and nurturing of national identity, while some countries in the world are promoting the realization of a high degree of unity between national identity and ethnicity by emphasizing their national identity.

Samuel Huntington, a leading American scholar, in *Who is an American? --Challenges to American National Identity* in his book on American identity frankly stated that there are some fascinating and important questions about the historical evolution of American national identity, national identity, and its current status, which need to be studied and analyzed in depth." The United States, as a major immigrant nation, has interethnic issues at its core in the governance and integration of immigration issues. The integration of U.S. nationals of various races with different skin colors, cultures, and religious beliefs into a single ethnic community that have immigrated to the territory of the United States for a long time because of multiple reasons such as geographic location, historical events, and so on, has been a thorny issue for the governance of successive U.S. administrations. The interaction and exchange of all kinds of nationalities in the United States has been characterized by multiracialization, and the reality of this multiracial situation and its further development have posed a serious challenge to the national identity of the nation-state, making the construction of a national identity an important issue for the nation-state. For this reason, the United States government has spent a long time and energy on shaping all its people into one, creating the American nation, and highlighting its national identity as a core value of freedom, equality, dreams, and other concepts. Although such an approach is undeniably characterized by bourgeois hypocrisy and the supremacy of capitalism in the capitalist world, in terms of its effectiveness, the shaping of this national identity has been a success, laying a solid foundation for the U.S. government's acquisition of a national identity.

#### **4. Inter-ethnic Governance should Shift from Targeted to Holistic Governance in Due Course**

Originating in the 1990s, the holistic governance theory is a new mode of government governance, which emerged in the context of the times to solve the problems of fragmentation and reverse departmentalization caused by the government in applying the new public management theory to governance, and is a critique and inheritance of the new public management theory, which has been made possible by the popularization and development of information technology. The core concern of the holistic governance theory is to satisfy citizens' needs and problem solving, to pursue the maximization of public interests, to reintegrate government departments in a holistic and demand-oriented manner, and to strengthen the close cooperation between departments and institutions. The essence of governance of inter-ethnic issues is to respond to the contradictions in ethnic relations and solve the outstanding problems faced. While responding to and solving the contradictions and problems in ethnic relations, governance of inter-ethnic issues also restructures ethnic relations to a certain extent, thus realizing the reshaping of ethnic relations in a long-term and continuous process. The changes in ethnic relations brought about by the adjustment of ethnic relations in the course of problem solving by inter-ethnic problem governance constitute a mutually causal relationship in the interaction of companionship and complementarity. Therefore, as inter-ethnic governance, and inter-ethnic governance of the same orientation, is carried out over time, it inevitably leads to substantial changes in ethnic relations, and the introduction of a holistic approach to governance into inter-ethnic governance becomes both a possibility and a necessity.

##### **4.1 A holistic view of ethnicity**

To view and define domestic ethnic relations in a comprehensive manner, it is important to place the adjustment of ethnic relations in the context of the overall pattern of national governance, and to deal with the various contradictions that arise through the holistic and systematic adjustment or harmonization of ethnic relations; the resulting set of institutional mechanisms for dealing with ethnic issues in a comprehensive manner is the holistic governance of ethnic issues. Therefore, the governance of ethnic issues must also be considered in the context of the overall situation of ethnic relations, combining the resolution of ethnic issues with the overall state of ethnic relations, in order not only to solve the specific problems currently faced, but also to contribute to the overall harmonization and enhancement of the quality of ethnic relations.

##### **4.2 Based on the interests of the country as a whole**

When holistic governance is reflected in national governance, it must be based on the overall interests of the nation. That is to say, the governance of inter-ethnic issues and the adjustment of ethnic relations must be considered from the perspective of the overall interests of the nation and be based on the overall perspective of national governance, rather than being considered from the standpoint of a particular ethnic group, let alone one-sidedly defending the interests of a particular ethnic group. The interests of a particular ethnic group or groups must be safeguarded and taken care of in the context of the overall interests of the State and the nation as a whole, so that the interests of each ethnic group can be gradually realized in the course of the development of the overall interests of the State and the advancement of the interests of the nation as a whole. At the national decision-making level, the adjustment of ethnic relations and the governance of inter-ethnic issues should not only be considered from an ideological point of view, but should also be planned within the overall framework of national governance; it should be based on the modernization and development of the country in order to promote the governance of inter-ethnic issues, incorporate ethnic minorities and ethnic relations into the overall national picture, combine the differences and commonalities in ethnic relations, and put forward the principle of and requirements for improving commonalities, and should be improved in accordance with such requirements. It combines differences and commonalities in ethnic relations, proposes principles and requirements for enhancing commonalities, and improves the governance of inter-ethnic issues in accordance with such requirements, reflecting a clear intention to address ethnic issues in a holistic manner and to govern them in a systematic manner.

##### **4.3 Integration of multiple measures**

The holistic governance of ethnic issues must also use specific policies and measures as a powerful handhold, integrating a variety of measures to play a synergistic effect, expanding the governance of inter-ethnic issues from the scope of the Party's work to the national governance system, and planning and promoting the governance of inter-ethnic issues within the overall structure or pattern of the national governance, so that both the Party's work

mechanism and the national governance mechanism should be fully utilized in the implementation of the governance of inter-ethnic issues. Therefore, in the implementation of inter-ethnic governance, it is necessary to make full use of both the Party's working mechanism and the national governance mechanism, and at the same time mobilize the participation of the society, so as to form a multi-dimensional governance system combining the government and various social organizations, and to make comprehensive use of ideological, administrative, legal, economic, and social means to solve the problems, so as to build and maintain a healthy and resilient pattern of inter-ethnic relations. The governance of inter-ethnic issues should not only deal with current problems, but also have long-term planning. On the one hand, inter-ethnic governance must proactively address the various contradictions and problems in the ethnic sphere, focusing on preventing and resolving risks and hidden dangers in the ethnic sphere, so as to avoid interfering with the overall layout of the country's governance and development. On the other hand, the governance of inter-ethnic issues must also focus on the long term and proactively shape a new type of relationship among the various ethnic groups within the ethnic community. Improvements in the governance of inter-ethnic issues since the new era are neither abstract demands nor adjustments to the previous state of affairs in the general sense, but rather improvements that have been incorporated into the process of modernization and development in a specific historical process. First, it is necessary to promote the cohesion of each ethnic group within the nation, enhance the commonality among the various ethnic groups, strengthen the wholeness of ethnic cognition, and provide a strong main body of support for the development of the nation; second, it is necessary to seize the sense of ethnic commonality as the fundamental factor in ethnic relations, and enhance the national, ethnic, and political identities of the various ethnic groups; third, it is necessary to position the relations among the various ethnic groups in the context of the nation as a whole, and to both Thirdly, the relationship between the various ethnic groups should be positioned within the ethnic group as a whole, respecting the historical and cultural characteristics of each ethnic group, and enhancing the commonality of each ethnic group.

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