<u>Foreign Affairs Documentation Bulletin</u> <u>September - October 2021</u>

AMERICA'S INDIAN WARS

1. Andrew A Szarejko

Do accidental wars happen? Evidence from America's Indian Wars. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 030.

The question of whether war can ever truly be accidental has been the subject of much academic debate. To provide my own answer to this question, I use an oft-ignored part of US history—the so-called Indian Wars between Native nations and an expanding United States. Specifically, this research innovation makes use of three militarized conflicts of the nineteenth century—the Black Hawk War (1832), the Cayuse War (1847–1855), and the Hualapai War (1865–1870)—to provide evidence that war can indeed occur accidentally. I conclude that IR scholars should be less confident in asserting that accidental war does not happen and that this possibility counsels restraint for policy-makers, especially in emerging domains of conflict.

**America's Indian Wars ; United States - Foreign policy ; Black Hawk War ; Cayuse War ; Hualapai War.

Control No: 44933

ARGENTINE

- FOREIGN POLICY

2. Cameron G Thies and Leslie E Wehner

Identity management and role branding in security affairs: alliance building in Argentine foreign policy. Journal of Global Security Studies, 06(04), 2021: 055.

This paper argues that states needing to engage in short-term strategic manipulation of their identity will often turn to branding strategies. Branding allows leaders the flexibility to adopt new roles or reimagine existing roles to fit with the current security environment. Drawing on insights from role theory, social identity, and branding, we develop a theoretical framework to understand how leaders innovate in roles. We apply this framework to two episodes of Argentine–US relations. The first case focuses on the Argentine role of active independent (1933–1945) despite US efforts to ascribe the faithful ally role. Only near the conclusion of the war did Perón transition to an ally partner role for strategic reasons and without much of a branding strategy. The second case is that of Argentina's adoption of the faithful ally role with the United States accompanied by a strong branding strategy under President Menem beginning in 1989. While innovation in the first case was possible without branding (though short-lived), the second case shows a more substantive transformation in Argentina's role set. Branding helps to carve out space in the role set for new roles that may compete with existing ones and ensure their successful adoption and enactment.

**Argentine - Foreign policy.

Control No: 44919

BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

3. Dylan M H Loh

The 'Chinese Dream' and the 'Belt and Road Initiative': narratives, practices, and sub-state actors. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 2021, 21(2): 167-199.

The 'Chinese Dream' (CD) and the 'Belt Road Initiative' (BRI) are signature programs of

President Xi Jinping. Much of the scholarships on these two projects have concerned itself with either domestic propagandistic effects or external foreign policy impact. These concerns have underpinned the literature's focus on material expressions of such projects, be it through infrastructural construction in the case of the BRI or propaganda tools in the example of the CD. Yet, an important but understudied element of these two projects is the narratives that they tell and the impact of these narratives. In that regard, this article complements existing studies of the CD and the BRI by reading the projects as grand narratives. Drawing on international practice theory, I trace an explicit link between narratives and practices to demonstrate how narratives activate, anchor, produces and contest political practices of some sub-state actors in China. That is to say narratives: (i) signposts for sub-state actors' orientations in clarifying what are relevant/irrelevant and appropriate/inappropriate practices; (ii) provide 'background' stock of information where actors draw on to legitimize their practices when they speak of the BRI and CD; and (iii) create conditions for both the creation of new practices and contestation of existing ones. I then argue that four narrative-practice processes are seen in the Chinese example: contestation, sustenance, activation, and production.

**Belt and road initiative; China - Foreign economic relations.

Control No: 44936

4. James Crabtree

Competing with the BRI: the West's Uphill task. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 81-88.

The West's Build Back Better World Partnership will be hard-pressed to compete effectively with China's Belt and Road Initiative.

**Belt and road initiative; Wold politics.

Control No: 44944

BRAZIL

- ARMS EXPORTS

5. Rodrigo Fracalossi de Moraes

Weapons from the South: democratization, civil society, and Brazil's arms exports. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 002.

What explains the existence of humanitarian concerns in decisions involving arms transfers? This paper examines the potential influence of democratization and civil society activities on arms transfer policies and practice through a case study on Brazil. Brazil's re-democratization in 1985 provides an opportunity to test whether a change of regime type influences arms export behavior and whether civil society groups can influence it in newly democratized countries. Based on evidence collected mainly through archival research at Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and semi-structured interviews, this paper argues that transitioning to democracy had an immediate effect on arms transfer policies and practice in Brazil. After the end of Brazil's military regime, arms export policies and practice changed due mainly to reputational concerns: a stricter arms control could provide reputational gains to Brazil in an international norm environment where liberal values were perceived to be cascading. In addition to this immediate effect, democratic institutions created better conditions for the emergence of civil society groups campaigning for a stricter arms control, which emerged in the late 1990s. The paper studies a campaign and network led by the civil society group Viva Rio, which led to the introduction of a stricter policy on arms sales to most Latin American and Caribbean countries. These findings imply that democratization has both short- and long-term effects on arms transfers and that democratic institutions can influence state behavior regarding arms transfers even in countries with little tradition of civil society groups working with arms control.

**Brazil - Arms exports; Civil society.

CHINA

- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

6. Adrian Gallagher

To name and shame or not, and if so, how? A pragmatic analysis of naming and shaming the Chinese government over mass atrocity crimes against the Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities in Xinjiang. Journal of Global Security Studies, 06(04), 2021: 013.

Faced with crimes such as genocide there is an understandable plea for actors to name and shame the perpetrators involved. The problem is that studies show that while there are cases where this practice has a positive influence, there are many examples where it is not only ineffective, but also counterproductive as it leads to an increase in human rights violations. With this in mind, the article asks, is it right to name and shame the Chinese government over mass atrocities perpetrated against the Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities, and, if so, how? It uses a pragmatic approach to consider the ethical concerns that stem from this practice being used in this specific case. It draws links between the role that image and status play in two literatures: naming and shaming and China. It argues that the Chinese government's prioritization of image and status acts as a double-edged sword when it comes to naming and shaming as it could (1) fuel a backlash or (2) have a positive influence, especially in status-sensitive time periods. While questioning the overall effectiveness of this strategy in relation to China, it argues that a culmination of factors in the lead up to the 2022 Beijing Olympics creates a window of opportunity for naming and shaming to have a positive impact. It offers normative recommendations to shed light on how this practice should be done. At a broader level, the article makes three contributions to the literature on naming and shaming and pragmatist ethics.

**China - Politics and government; Uyghurs - Ethnic group.

Control No: 44929

COUNTERTERRORISM

7. Nicola Mathieson

A dangerous balance: Indiscriminate counterterrorism measures and mobilization against the state. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 014.

This paper explores the unintended consequences of counterterrorism measures by reconceptualizing them as forms of state repression. In line with the study of state repression, this paper distinguishes between two types of counterterrorism measures—selective and indiscriminate. Therefore, I argue the impacts of both forms of counterterrorism measures mirror those of selective and indiscriminate state repression. This paper is particularly concerned with the relationship between indiscriminate counterterrorism measures and consequent mobilization against the state. Drawing on cases of indiscriminate counterterrorism measures in Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina, this paper argues that indiscriminate counterterrorism measures, like indiscriminate state repression, exacerbate divisions between the state and its citizens, increasing the risk of the violence that counterterrorism measures are assumed to prevent.

**Counterterrorism; Mobilization; Northern Ireland.

Control No: 44930

CYBER WAR

8. Philipp M Lutscher

Digital Retaliation? Denial-of-Service Attacks after Sanction Events. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 001.

Conventional wisdom expects to see a rise in cyber activities around aggressive foreign policy events. In this article, I test this claim by investigating whether sanctions lead to an increase in denial-of-service (DoS) attacks using new data on DoS attacks measured from

Internet traffic. Exploring the development of DoS attacks around sanctions imposed against Russia in 2014 indeed shows an increase of DoS attacks against several sanction sender states. Extending this case study to a systematic analysis, including all sanction threats and impositions made by the United States and the European Union between 2008 and 2016, shows no apparent patterns. When I exclusively consider sanctions against technologically advanced countries, however, the frequency of attacks rises systematically against the United States. It thus appears that states do not always have to expect a digital retaliation after aggressive foreign policies. Nevertheless, sanctioning countries may have to anticipate an increase in DoS attacks when their governments impose sanctions against technologically advanced countries.

**Cyber war; International relations.

Control No: 44935

GLOBAL POLITICS

9. Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry

Misplaced restraint: the Quincy coalition versus liberal internationalism. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 7-32.

The Quincy coalition is driven by common adversaries rather than a shared vision of political order and society; liberal internationalism is more appropriate to contemporary global realities.

**Global Politics ; Quincy.

Control No: 44941

INDIA-RUSSIA DEFENCE PARTNERSHIP

10. Sameer Lalwani and Tyler Sagerstrom

What the India–Russia Defence partnership means for US policy. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 149-148.

Given India's dependence on and trust in Russia, US attempts to deter India-Russia arms transactions and compel India to phase out Russian systems are unlikely to work.

**India-Russia Defence partnership; United States policy.

Control No: 44949

INDONESIA

- FOREIGN RELATIONS

11. Poppy S Winanti and Rizky Alif Alvian

Indonesia's South–South cooperation: when normative and material interests converged. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 21(2), 2021: 201-232.

This article analyzes how and why contemporary Global South countries' South–South cooperation (SSC) exhibits a convergence between normative and material interests. The normative approach underlines that SSC is driven by a country's experience with colonialism and underdevelopment. SSC is perceived as a mechanism to alter the Global South's asymmetrical relations with the dominant Global North. The material approach highlights the strategic values of SSC for Southern powers. Through SSC, Southern countries desire to improve their reputation, garner support from other South countries in international fora, and pursue their own broader economic agendas. By utilizing domestic politics analysis, Indonesia's experience shows that a more pragmatic approach to SSC reflects a broader transformation of Indonesia's domestic political configuration. While Indonesia's early practices of SSC prefer normative over material interests, the country's current policies display a convergence of its material and normative interests, which signifies the emergence of 'interest-based Third World solidarity'.

**Indonesia - Foreign relations; Indonesia - Geopolitics; South-South cooperation.

Control No: 44937

INTERNATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY

12. Michael Tomz and Jessica L P Weeks

Military alliances and public support for war. International Studies Quarterly, 65(3), 2021: 811-824.

How do military alliances affect public support for war to defend victims of aggression? We offer the first experimental evidence on this fundamental question. Our experiments revealed that alliance commitments greatly increased the American public's willingness to intervene abroad. Alliances shaped public opinion by increasing public fears about the reputational costs of nonintervention and by heightening the perceived moral obligation to intervene out of concerns for fairness and loyalty. Finally, although alliances swayed public opinion across a wide range of circumstances, they made the biggest difference when the costs of intervention were high, the stakes of intervention were low, and the country needing aid was not a democracy. Thus, alliances can create pressure for war even when honoring the commitment would be extremely inconvenient, which could help explain why democratic allies tend to be so reliable. These findings shed new light on the consequences of alliances and other international legal commitments, the role of morality in foreign policy, and ongoing debates about domestic audience costs.

**International foreign policy; Military alliances.

Control No: 44913

INTERNATIONAL LAW

13. John Williams

Locating LAWS: lethal autonomous weapons, epistemic space, and "meaningful human" control. Journal of Global Security Studies, 06(04), 2021: 015.

This paper analyzes the excessive epistemic narrowing of debate about lethal autonomous weapon systems (LAWS), and specifically the concept of meaningful human control, which has emerged as central to regulatory debates in both the scholarly literature and policy fora. Through reviewing work drawing on international relations, security studies, international law and ethics, and technology policy, I argue all share a common epistemological position. This draws on a philosophical and analytical tradition that is Western and modernist, and places a "meaningful human" at the center of debates over controlling LAWS who reflects archetypes associated with a Western, rational, white, male. This epistemological location, I argue, excludes epistemological perspectives relevant to communities who both are most likely to experience LAWS, because they live in areas where deployment is most likely, and have the greatest experience of the effects of key LAWS precursors, such as unmanned aerial vehicles. Drawing on insights from decolonial approaches, I establish a research agenda that challenges this epistemological closure and looks to relocate debates about meaningful human control over LAWS in research that makes space for far more diverse perspectives on a crucial issue that may shape humankind's common future.

**International law; Lethal autonomous weapon systems.

Control No: 44931

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

14. Peter Trubowitz and Kohei Watanabe

The geopolitical threat index: a text-based computational approach to identifying foreign threats. International Studies Quarterly, 65(3), 2021: 852-865.

Few concepts figure more prominently in the study of international politics than threat. Yet scholars do not agree on how to identify and measure threats or systematically incorporate

leaders' perceptions of threat into their models. In this research note, we introduce a text-based strategy and method for identifying and measuring elite assessments of international threat from publicly available sources. Using semi-supervised machine learning models, we show how text sourced from newspaper articles can be parsed to discern arguments that distinguish threatening from non-threatening states, and to measure and track variation in the intensity of foreign threats over time. To demonstrate proof of concept, we use news summaries from The New York Times from 1861 to 2017 to create a geopolitical threat index (GTI) for the United States. We show that the index successfully matches periods in US history that historians identify as high and low threat and correctly identifies countries that have posed a threat to US security at different points in its history. We compare and contrast GTI with traditional indicators of international threat that rely on measures of material capability and interstate behavior.

**International politics; United States.

Control No: 44916

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

15. Muhammet A Bas and Omer F Orsun

Regime uncertainty and interstate conflict. International Studies Quarterly, 65(3), 2021: 838-851.

Regime type is an important variable in international relations. Numerous scholars have theorized its effects on actors' crisis behavior and outcomes. Despite regime type's importance, the literature has not focused on the role its uncertainty might play in interstate politics. This is in stark contrast to the scholarly attention given to uncertainty about other similarly important variables like actor capabilities, intentions, or fighting costs. In this paper, we aim to address this gap in the literature by providing a theory of regime uncertainty's effects on conflict and developing a novel measure of uncertainty about regime type in interstate relations to test our hypotheses. We find that regime uncertainty breeds caution rather than conflict: higher uncertainty about the opponent's regime type makes conflict initiation and escalation less likely in disputes, and dyads with more uncertainty are less likely to experience conflict onset.

**International relations; Democracy.

Control No: 44915

16. Navnita Chadha Behera

Globalization, deglobalization and knowledge production. International Affairs(UK), 97(5), 2021: 1579-1597.

Although globalization processes have brought the world closer through the exchange of knowledge, ideas and practices, advances in knowledge dissemination have not been mirrored by expansion in sites and modes of knowledge production. This article probes this disjuncture and asks how deglobalization might chart different pathways by delving into the intellectual history of the making of International Relations (IR). Focusing its gaze on the structuring principles of knowledge creation and modes of knowing rather than specific issues and problematiques of IR, it analyses the historical impact of western Enlightenment thinking through centuries-long imperialism, which continues to limit the agency of many states in the re-making of their life-worlds. The article describes deglobalization as a longue durée historical response that offers different possibilities for countering or challenging the discursive hegemony of the 'West'. It discusses a 'nationalist' response by China—a rising power and a more dispersed, global academic endeavour seeking to decolonize IR's modes of knowledge production to better account for the diverse ground realities of its many worlds.

**International relations; China - Globalization.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

17. Jennifer Veilleux and Shlomi Dinar

A global analysis of water-related terrorism, 1970–2016. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1191-1216.

Terrorist organizations destabilize governments through violent and coercive acts that include the use of water resources as a target. Scholars in security studies recognize water as a strategic resource but have vet to systematically quantify and describe how water is used in the case of terrorism. This paper explores this gap at the nexus of the larger fields of terrorism and environmental security by offering methods to codify types of water-related terrorism events. Using the University of Maryland's Global Terrorism Database, which includes information on terrorist events around the world, and employing aggregate data analysis, we highlight trends over time and space. We found that water-related terrorism is a method of terrorism widespread across most of the world and that water infrastructure is the main target of choice by most terrorist organizations. We identified 675 incidents of water-related terrorism that occurred in seventy-one countries. We identified terrorist organizations with the highest numbers of incidents and transboundary water basins most at risk for water-related terrorism incidents. This collective analysis identifies and codifies the number and type of water-related terrorism incidents that occurred from 1970 to 2016; describes spatial and temporal trends of those incidents; and provides information for decision-makers regarding water-related terrorism targets and associated risk.

**International security.

Control No: 44953

ISLAMIC STATE

18. Nadia Al-Davel

Now Is the time to wake up: Islamic state's narratives of political awareness. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1217-1236.

Terrorist organisations are increasingly seeking to attract transnational membership. In particular, the Islamic State proudly displays transnational support in its propaganda. As a result, academics have established that themes of belonging, religious fulfilment, victimhood and utopia are important recruitment devices. This article reveals additional themes that encourage a critical reasoning of the power dynamics in the citizen-state relationship, questioning the strength of religious ideology that is assumed to attract and bind transnational membership. These themes are revealed through an innovative, blended method of critical discourse analysis, interpretivism and securitisation that examines the narratives and influence of the recruitment actor on an international scale. After a review of the Islamic State's media operations, this method is applied to a prominent video featuring a top recruiter and UN designated terrorist, Australian citizen Neil Christopher Prakash. Then, it details how Prakash's migration to the Islamic State led to securitisation discourses from both Australia and the U.S., affecting citizen-state relations. It concludes with a discussion on implications, suggesting directions for research on transnational extremist organisations.

**Islamic State.

Control No: 44954

LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER

19. Navnita Chadha Behera

Globalization, deglobalization and knowledge production. International Affairs(UK), 97(5), 2021: 1579-1597.

Although globalization processes have brought the world closer through the exchange of

knowledge, ideas and practices, advances in knowledge dissemination have not been mirrored by expansion in sites and modes of knowledge production. This article probes this disjuncture and asks how deglobalization might chart different pathways by delving into the intellectual history of the making of International Relations (IR). Focusing its gaze on the structuring principles of knowledge creation and modes of knowing rather than specific issues and problematiques of IR, it analyses the historical impact of western Enlightenment thinking through centuries-long imperialism, which continues to limit the agency of many states in the re-making of their life-worlds. The article describes deglobalization as a longue durée historical response that offers different possibilities for countering or challenging the discursive hegemony of the 'West'. It discusses a 'nationalist' response by China—a rising power and a more dispersed, global academic endeavour seeking to decolonize IR's modes of knowledge production to better account for the diverse ground realities of its many worlds.

**Liberal international order; International relations.

Control No: 44911

LIBYA

20. Outi Donovan

Norm contestation and pragmatic ethics: evaluating the rebuilding norm in Libya. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 016.

Approaches variously described as critical, reflexive, postpositivist, and agonistic constructivism reject the idea that the meaning of a norm can be fixed. These approaches look instead to the role that discursive practice plays in repeatedly constructing meaning. While the focus on how discourse shapes the meaning of a norm can tell us something about the ongoing social significance of that norm, it does not answer the question of whether that norm is normatively appropriate. Taking its cue from pragmatic ethics, this paper addresses the above limitation in the existing scholarship. It does so by not only tracing norms' meanings in use, but also crucially evaluating the extent to which they are useful in alleviating the social problems they were designed to address. The theoretical argument is illustrated by examining the meanings in use of the rebuilding norm in the aftermath of the 2011 humanitarian intervention in Libya; how was the norm understood and practiced? What were the consequences of such meanings in use? I argue that this type of analysis can significantly improve our understanding of normative outcomes of norm contestation processes by bringing to the fore the practical consequences of norms, their various meanings, and the political environment within which they are enacted.

**Libya; Pragmatic ethics theory.

Control No: 44932

MOROCCO SECURITY

21. Jonas Hagmann

Globalizing control research: the politics of urban security in and beyond the Alaouite kingdom of Morocco. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 004.

How do urban security assemblages evolve? Scholars inspired by Deleuze's Control Thesis detect profound shifts in the ways security operates. Different to Foucault's disciplinary logics, they argue, security assemblages now rely intimately on expanding casts of policing agents, digital surveillance, and statistical knowledge(s). They reach beyond enclosures and national borders, and they challenge democratic politics ever more forcefully. Whether this general trajectory of security management holds true across the global cityscape is yet far from evident. Not only do most studies of contemporary control draw conclusions from European and North American cases exclusively. Many also reproduce and project abroad distinctively Eurocentric assumptions about state–society relations, governance, and

insecurity. This article foregrounds and problematizes these penchants. It then looks at the Moroccan city of Marrakech to detail how urban security assemblages may evolve in different ways, at other speeds, and following different steering logics than what is generally set out by research on control. The article concludes with a discussion of how insights offered by places such as Marrakech contribute to more robust, analytically refined, and globally inclusive research on the contemporary politics of urban security.

**Morocco security; Urban security; Global security.

Control No: 44922

NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE POLITICS

22. Emily Meierding and Rachel Sigman

Understanding the mechanisms of international influence in an era of great power competition. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 011.

Amid growing speculation that the United States and China are destined for a more conflictual relationship, and that Russia is actively seeking to expand its global power, security scholars and professionals are increasingly interested in understanding the influence of great and rising powers throughout the world. However, in focusing primarily on power resources and international activities, existing scholarship on this subject has not adequately addressed how a state obtains and sustains international influence. To overcome this knowledge deficit, this article presents a framework for analyzing international influence that includes not only power resources and influence activities, but also a comprehensive set of power mechanisms that states mobilize to induce change in another state's behavior. The article applies the framework to US security sector activities in Africa. The analysis, based primarily on interviews with US defense attachés and security cooperation officers, shows how different types of activities mobilize different sets of power mechanisms. It reveals that activities that mobilize expertise, attraction, and recognition mechanisms have the greatest potential for developing and maintaining influence. The article concludes that, to obtain and sustain international influence, states must be more attentive to the mechanisms of power, rather than merely deploying their power resources.

**National Missile Defense Politics; Military aid; Africa.

Control No: 44927

NORDIC DEFENSE COOPERATION

23. Karsten Friis

Analyzing security subregions: forces of push, pull, and resistance in nordic defense cooperation. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 009.

How can we best analyze security subregions? The most commonly used theory of regional security in the discipline of international relations, the regional security complex theory, focuses on large regions, such as Europe, Asia, or the Middle East. It pays less attention to smaller regions within these. This is unfortunate, because the security dynamics of these subregions often are a result of more than their place in the larger region. At the same time, the security of subregions cannot be reduced to a function of the policies of the states comprising them either. In short, security subregions are a level of analysis in their own right, with their own material, ideational, economic, and political dynamics. To capture and understand this, we need an analytical framework that can be applied to security regions irrespective of where and when in time they occur. The aim of this article is to offer such an analytical framework that helps us theorize the forces forging regional security cooperation, by combining external push and pull forces with internal forces of pull and resistance. The utility of the framework is illustrated through the case of Nordic security cooperation. It allows for a systematic mapping of the driving forces behind it and the negative forces resisting it. The Nordic region thus becomes a meeting point between global and national

forces, pushing and pulling in different directions, with Nordic Defense Cooperation being formed in the squeeze between them.

**Nordic defense cooperation; Regional security; International relations.

Control No: 44925

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

24. Sebastian Schmidt

Boots on the ground: means, ends, and the American military commitment to Europe. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 008.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the security commitment it entails are cornerstones of the current international order. Despite this centrality, international relations scholarship is ill equipped to explain the origin of the American commitment to Europe in the form of a long-term, peacetime military presence. At the time, this disposition of military forces represented a historically novel practice. The rational and norm-oriented logics of action that characterize much international relations theory explain cooperation as proceeding from a foundation of given interests. This perspective constrains the ability of analysts to make sense of the dynamic nature and potential creativity of cooperative endeavors. Building on a pragmatist understanding of action, this paper conceptualizes cooperation as a contingent process, characterized by the reciprocal relationship of means and ends, through which actors' initially ambiguous interests become more concrete. The ends of cooperation emerge endogenously, and the potential for creativity is inherent in the process. This dynamic resulted in the specific form of the American commitment to Europe. A pragmatist account foregrounds agency and in doing so draws attention to important developments that traditional analyses may overlook or assume in the effort to reconstruct a pre-existing structure of interests as the basis for cooperation. By underlining the processual cast of action, this paper also helps recontextualize institutionalization as one step within a broader cooperative dynamic.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Foreign military; Europe.

Control No: 44924

NORTH KOREA

25. Son Daekwon

Bringing North Korea to the negotiating table: unstable foundations of Kim Jong-un's North Korean regime. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 2021, 21(2): 295-325.

This article investigates the linkage between Kim Jong-un's power consolidation and Pyongyang's abrupt return to the denuclearization negotiation table in 2018. It argues that behind Pyongyang's turnabout lie the three unstable pillars of the Kim family's rule: a faithful winning coalition, the juche ideology, and Chinese patronage. Upon taking office in 2011, Kim had to debilitate his father's winning coalition to consolidate his power. With the winning coalition enervated, Kim could not expect its willingness to suppress the masses were they to develop into an ejectorate, and therefore introduced market reforms to secure the people's support. The reforms, in return, inevitably eroded the ideological appeal of the Kim family, thereby rendering his hold on power more vulnerable to economic pressure. Under such circumstances, Chinese patronage increasingly faltered. It is due to the instability of these three pillars that Kim Jong-un returned to the negotiating table.

**North Korea; North Korea - Economic conditions.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

26. Joelien Pretorius and Tom Sauer

Ditch the NPT. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 103-124.

Without the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, nuclear-armed states and their allies could no longer rely on their skewed interpretation of it to legitimise continued possession of nuclear weapons.

**Nuclear Weapons; Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Control No: 44946

27. Matthew Harries

Response: keep the NPT. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 125-130.

Taking a sledgehammer to one of the few remaining foundations of the arms-control regime, flawed though it is, would be reckless.

**Nuclear Weapons; Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Control No: 44947

OIL POLITICS

28. Jonathan Powell, Rebecca Schiel and Salah Ben Hammou

Oil wealth, risk acceptance, and the seizure of power. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021,06(04):053.

Though oil wealth is associated with poor economic performance, repression, civil war, and other maladies, the resource is also associated with increased regime durability. We explore this paradox by investigating the influence of oil wealth on coups d'état. Prior findings on the relationship between oil and coups have been inconsistent, a trend we argue is attributable to the varied and sometimes invalid specification of the dependent variable. We theorize that the potential payoff of coups in oil-rich states incentivizes elites to be more risk acceptant when considering coup attempts. We consequently anticipate coup attempts are more likely in oil-rich states, but under conditions that are less likely to succeed. An assessment of a global sample offers strong evidence that oil-rich states are "cursed" with more attempted coups. However, oil rents are not associated with more successful coups. These results explain the curse/durability paradox and point to an understudied aspect of the oil curse and authoritarian survival.

**Oil politics.

Control No: 44934

PEACE

- NEGOTIATIONS

29. Valerie Sticher

Negotiating peace with your enemy: the problem of costly concessions. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 054.

Why do some parties fail to settle conflict, even after long periods of fighting? Bargaining theory explains this through imperfect information, commitment problems, war entrepreneurs, and indivisible stakes. Integrating insights from social psychology into bargaining theory, this article proposes an additional bargaining obstacle. Conflict party members not only care about their in-group's welfare, but also want to avoid rewarding their opponent through concessions. A mutually acceptable agreement always contains concessions, yet when concessions are unpopular with key constituents, they are costly for leaders to make. This may result in a situation where leaders would prefer to settle but still decide to continue the war. Modifying a standard bargaining setup to account for this dilemma, the article demonstrates the difficulties of settling a conflict when out-group preferences are salient. It shows how events that increase the saliency of out-group

preferences, such as major ceasefire violations, lead to a drop in public support for negotiations. The problem of costly concessions renders the search for a mutually acceptable agreement a delicate balancing act, particularly if constituents are isolated from the costs of war and political competitors mobilize around unpopular concessions.

**Peace - Negotiations; Bargaining theory of war.

Control No: 44918

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

30. Robert J. VandenBerg

Legitimating extremism: a taxonomy of Justifications for political violence. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1237-1255.

Terrorism is an inherently communicative enterprise in that it attempts to convey messages using violent means. Furthermore, the effective use of rhetoric is fundamental to the sustainment of militant campaigns. Nevertheless, the literature on terrorism currently lacks a comprehensive blueprint for analyzing terrorist discourse. This paper proposes a framework for classifying narrative frames that serve to justify acts of political violence. Drawing on the social movements literature, it utilizes the jihadist organizations Al Qaeda and the self-proclaimed Islamic State as primary examples to show how militants utilize defensive, moralistic, legalistic, imperialistic, and apocalyptic framing to legitimate acts of terrorism. It also demonstrates how these same categories can be applied to extremists animated by ideologies other than jihadism.

**Political violence.

Control No: 44955

SOUTH CHINA SEA

31. Mark Beeson and Andrew Chubb

Australia, China and the maritime 'rules-based international order': comparing the South China Sea and Timor Sea disputes. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 2021, 21(2): 233-264.

Despite systemic internal and external differences, Australia and China have shown striking similarities in their pursuit of disputed maritime resource and jurisdictional claims. This high-stakes area of international politics is governed by a codified, globally accepted international legal regime (the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea), making it an important case for examining the relationship between states' foreign policies and the 'rules-based international order'. In the South China Sea, Beijing is haunted by the legacy of its strong geopolitically driven support for an expansive law of the sea regime in the 1970s. Strategic considerations also drove Australia's belated embrace of international legal processes in the Timor Sea in 2016. Before that, successive Australian governments had been as keen to pursue national maritime interests through bilateral negotiations as their Chinese counterparts. Australia's shift was enabled by pro-Timor domestic public opinion and a confluence of geographic and commercial circumstances not present in the South China Sea.

**South China Sea; Timor Sea; Australia - Politics and government.

Control No: 44938

TAIWAN

- FOREIGN RELATIONS - CHINA

32. Yao-Yuan Yeh and Charles K S Wu

When war hits home: Taiwanese public support for war of necessity. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 2021, 21(2): 265-293.

When a war directly intrudes citizens' living space, it becomes a war of necessity for the

public to defend themselves. However, current literature on public support for war has focused exclusively on wars of choice, not of necessity. Thus, we wonder if existing indicators of war support have explanatory power in this context. In this article, we examine existing indicators in a war of necessity—a cross-Strait conflict between Taiwan and China—to study how the public in Taiwan reacts. In addition to finding support for most of our hypotheses, the new context also contributes novel findings to the literature.

**Taiwan - Foreign relations - China.

Control No: 44939

TERRORISM

33. Beverly Powis, Kiran Randhawa and Darren Bishopp

An examination of the structural properties of the extremism risk guidelines (ERG22+): a structured formulation tool for extremist offenders. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1411-1159.

This paper explores the construct validity and structural properties of the ERG22+ formulation tool, used in the assessment of risk and need in extremist offenders. The ERG22+ was developed from a clinical perspective, and was based on the small number of case studies and limited research evidence that were available at the time. It suggests three domains relevant to risk, namely Engagement, Intent, and Capability. These were originally offered as a guide to risk formulation within a functional analysis framework, but were not empirically derived. The items within the ERG22+ are scored on ordinal ratings which offers the possibility to develop subscales within the tool, but the conceptual overlap across the domains offered suggests that these would not be empirically reproduced. In this paper the structural properties of the ERG22+ were examined through factor analysis and multidimensional scaling (MDS) to inform the development of measurement scales. The ERG22+ shows promise as a risk and need formulation tool, which could be developed further in light of the findings from this study. Issues of content validity and areas for further development are discussed.

**Terrorism; Risk assessment.

Control No: 44951

34. Gary A. Ackerman

Towards a definition of terrorist ideology. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1160-1190.

While conventional wisdom holds that the ideology espoused by a terrorist organization is somehow related to that organization's actions, the precise nature of the relationship between these phenomena is hotly debated, with scholarship often yielding contrasting empirical results. We argue that one reason for this divergence in viewpoints and research findings is an inadequate understanding of what ideology actually is and how it relates to terrorism. Indeed, the terrorism literature reveals widely disparate uses of the concept of terrorist ideology. This article endeavors to provide a common framework for approaching ideology in the context of terrorism studies by systematically building a new definition of terrorist ideology from first principles. In so doing, we introduce a definition of terrorist ideology that is logically consistent, has robust theoretical underpinnings, and connects the study of ideology within terrorism to broader disciplinary research traditions regarding ideology. This provides a conceptual foundation from which to examine terrorist ideology in an objective, systematic manner and thereby enables terrorism researchers to more productively investigate important outstanding questions, such as which aspects of an ideology are most relevant to violent behavior.

**Terrorism; Ideology; Political violence.

TERRORISM

- ISIS

35. Carol Winkler et. at.

Dynamic/static image use in ISIS's media campaign: an audience involvement strategy for achieving goals. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1323-1341.

The rebound of ISIS in the online environment in the aftermath of the coalition force liberation of Mosul and Raqqa has reinvigorated the need to understand the strategic choices of the group's media campaign. This study explores ISIS's use of dynamic vs. static imagery, with a particular focus on how the image form helps facilitate the group's goals. Experimental studies document that the use of dynamic imagery heightens viewer attention, recall, and reaction to visual content, while fMRI studies add that audiences process dynamic still images as imagined movements. Using a content analysis of 3745 images in Dabiq, Rumiyah, and al-Naba' from July 2014 to September 2018, we found that ISIS relies heavily on dynamic imagery in its print media campaign. The deployment of the visual strategy, however, displays significant variation based on the language of the target audience, the primary message content displayed in the photographs, and level of military force opposition the group is facing when it disseminates magazines and newsletters.

**Terrorism - ISIS; Dynamic images.

Control No: 44959

36. James A. Piazza and Ahmet Guler

The online caliphate: internet usage and ISIS support in the Arab world. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1256-1275.

Experts argue that the internet has provided expanded opportunities for violent extremist groups to propagandize and recruit. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, or ISIS, is an exemplar in that it has heavily invested in an online presence and uses online communities and social media to attract and retain supporters. Does ISIS's online presence translate into a higher probability that individuals in its target audience will become supporters? In this study we analyze over 6,000 individuals in six Arab countries to find if those that use the internet to follow political news or to express political views are more likely to support ISIS. We find that respondents who get their news online are significantly more likely to support ISIS than those who follow the news on television or print media. Moreover, those who use online fora for political expression are also more likely to express support for ISIS. Indeed, individuals who engage in online political discussion are more likely to support ISIS than those who engage in conventional political activity, though less than those who engage in contentious political behaviors such as attending a political protest. We conclude with a brief discussion of the academic and policy implications of these findings.

**Terrorism - ISIS; Internet usage and ISIS; Arab World.

Control No: 44956

TERRORISM

37. Aisha Ahmad

The long Jihad: the boom-bust cycle behind Jihadist durability. Journal of Global Security Studies, 06(04), 2021: 048.

One of the most frustrating features of modern jihadist insurgencies is their ability to endure and resurge, even after seeming defeats. What explains this jihadist resilience? In this paper, I present a new "boom-bust" economic theory for why jihadist groups can withstand serious losses, survive periods of decline, and then reclaim power. Using new evidence from Somalia, I demonstrate that jihadists learn how to adapt to fluctuations in their degree of territorial control, so that they can survive—and even thrive—during periods of decline. During a "boom" period, when jihadists enjoy a monopoly on force, they tax and govern as a proto-state. However, during a "bust," when they are pushed out of power, jihadists shift

their efforts to illicit business activities and insurgent warfare. When pressure abates, they again shift back to taxing and governing as a proto-state. This cyclical and long-term approach to order-making allows jihadists to adapt to changing battlefield conditions and survive serious setbacks. Jihadists establish their proto-states to varying degrees, governing in pockets and coves wherever and whenever the opportunities present themselves. They are as orderly as they can afford to be.

**Terrorism; Jihad - Terrorism; Somalia.

Control No: 44917

38. Ellen Chapin

Targeting transients: the strategic logic for terrorist targeting of internally displaced persons. Journal of Global Security Studies, 06(04), 2021: 010.

The number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) around the world has risen to astronomical levels—approximately 33 million individuals were driven from their homes in 2019 alone. Yet, despite the history of violence which has been perpetrated against these IDPs, little research has been done to uncover the strategic logic for attacking these transient individuals. This paper seeks to fill that gap in the literature through the lens of the West African insurgency known as Boko Haram. While the group has been noted for its tendency to conduct suicide bombings, it has recently added IDP camps to its target profile, in a unique consistent and sustained effort against IDPs by a terrorist organization. In analyzing this case study, I ask: why do terrorist organizations target IDPs in the first place? Is there any existing theory of target selection which explains the targeting of IDP camps at high frequencies? Leveraging a unique dataset tracking all of Boko Haram's suicide bombings from April 2011 to August 2020, this article tests three theories of terrorist target selection to explain this phenomenon. First, it illustrates that theories of efficiency and casualty maximization cannot explain Boko Haram's IDP camp attacks, given the high rates of failure and low rates of casualties. Second, it shows that Boko Haram's targeting practices cannot be understood solely by ideology, as the group only makes religious decisions about who can be victimized, not who should. Instead, the article argues that signaling theory should be extended to target selection—specifically, that targeting of IDP camps can be viewed as part of a broader signaling campaign, which has motivated the group's overall use of suicide bombing. Such insight suggests that signaling theories may guide target selection over time for many terrorist organizations, to communicate that the local and international community are powerless and that the terrorist group cannot be defeated.

**Terrorism; Internally displaced persons.

Control No: 44926

39. Mihai Murariu and George Anglitoiu

The case of Islamic state as a renovative totalist movement. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1295-1322.

This paper uses the concept of totalism to analyze the main features of Islamic State and thus the implications of containing and confronting it and its potential future offshoots. The first part of the paper deals with the origins and concept of totalism, depicting its main features and types. This part begins by briefly showing the main features of totalism, why it must be ultimately differentiated from totalitarianism. The second part of the paper explores the extent to which Islamic State conforms to the model of a renovative totalist movement and why terms such as political religion are unsuited for explaining Islamist and Salafi-Jihadist movements, including Islamic State. Due to the overall direction of its ultimate ideological aims and the way in which it pursues the total reconstruction of public and private life, Islamic State is then found to contain the main features of a militant, renovative totalist movement. Lastly, the paper argues that it is primarily this totalist nature of the movement which, together with total commitment to emulating what it sees as the essential early Islamic traditions and examples, contributes to its long-term resilience even in the face of overwhelming odds and military reversals.

**Terrorism; Islamic State; Totalist movements.

Control No: 44958

40. Ramon Van Der Does et. at.

Does terrorism dominate citizens' hearts or minds? The relationship between fear of terrorism and trust in government. Terrorism and Political Violence, 33(06), 2021: 1276-1294.

Terrorism only poses a small risk to people but tends to be a major source of public fear. Through fear, terrorism has far-reaching implications for public governance. In this paper we look at trust in government as a potential mitigating factor of fear of terrorism. We discern between calculative trust, based on analytical assessment of previous and expected future actions, and relational trust, based on emotions and perceived value similarity with government. We find that relational trust decreases fear of terrorism. A similar but less robust negative relationship exists between calculative trust and fear. However, our regression analyses suggest that relational trust, in fact, may mediate the relationship between calculative trust and fear of terrorism. In other words, the more citizens think government is able to prevent terrorist attacks and feel that authorities are doing enough, the more they, in turn, feel that their government shares their values, and the less fearful they are of future terrorist attacks.

**Terrorism; Trust in government.

Control No: 44957

TRANSBORDER ETHNIC TIES

41. Benjamin T Jones and Christopher Linebarger

Playing the ethnic card: diversion, transborder ethnic ties, and sponsorship of rebel movements. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 056.

Under what circumstances do third-party states oppose governments that marginalize their ethnic kin in foreign civil conflicts? We argue that the effect of transborder ethnic ties on third-party support for rebel movements depends upon two factors: (1) a constellation of ethnic power relations in which an ethnicity with access to political power in a potential intervener but is marginalized in a civil conflict state and (2) the political insecurity of leaders in a potential intervener. Said leaders facing a high probability of removal from office are willing to undertake risky foreign policies, including support for rebel movements, hoping that such actions will generate an ethnically tinged rally effect. We draw upon the literature on diversionary theory to develop an empirical expectation. We then assemble a dataset of potential intervener–civil conflict state dyad-years to model this expectation. The political insecurity of leaders is measured with a variety of proxies. Our findings suggest that the well-known diversionary theory can be applied to a novel dependent variable that of third-party state sponsorship of rebel movements.

**Transborder ethnic ties.

Control No: 44920

UNITED STATES

- CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

42. Luca Trenta

Death by reinterpretation: dynamics of norm contestation and the US Ban on assassination in the reagan years. Journal of Global Security Studies, 06(04), 2021: 012.

Recent scholarship analyzes norm dynamics in the US context using the prohibition on assassination contained in Executive Order 12333 as the relevant norm. These studies argue that—before 9/11—the ban on assassination was largely uncontested and effectively constrained US foreign policy. In doing so, these studies overlook the impact of the Reagan administration on the evolution of the ban. This article establishes that the Reagan

administration engaged in a concerted, and largely successful, effort to undermine the ban. The article relies on scholarship on norm contestation and norm robustness. The analysis identifies key features of the ban as a norm, including its ambiguity and executive character. It highlights the role and power of a cluster of US officials led by Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director William Casey. Crucially, the analysis traces the prominence of dynamics of contestation of the ban in the context of unconventional warfare and counterterrorism. In line with existing scholarship, the analysis finds cases of validity contestation, meaning contestation, and applicatory contestation. Contrary to existing scholarship, however, the analysis stresses the radical nature of actors' attempts to shrink the remit of the ban through applicatory contestation. This contestation was often made superfluous by the blurring—through meaning contestation—of the expectations set by the norm. A historically grounded analysis of contestation during the Reagan years provides a better understanding of how US officials (re)shaped the ban, establishing precedents for the legal, political, and discursive conventions surrounding assassination deployed after 9/11.

**United States - Central intelligence agency; United States - Counterterrorism.

Control No: 44928

UNITED STATES

- FOREIGN POLICY

43. John P Harden

All the World's a Stage: US presidential narcissism and international conflict. International Studies Quarterly, 65(3), 2021: 825-837.

How do leaders matter? What do leaders want? Grandiose narcissism provides a pathway to understanding how personality can impact a leader's preference formation and foreign policy behavior. More narcissistic leaders will focus their efforts on maintaining their inflated self-image by selecting how they will fight on the world stage and who they will fight against. While most leaders will divert attention to easier won battles, more narcissistic leaders will prefer to fight against high-status states by themselves. This article introduces a new measure of US' presidential narcissism, and finds support for the argument that more narcissistic US presidents prefer unilaterally initiating Great Power disputes using data from 1897–2008. A brief review of Theodore Roosevelt's handling of the Venezuela Crisis of 1902–1903 is used as a plausibility probe of the theory's causal mechanisms.

**United States - Foreign policy; International Conflict.

Control No: 44914

UNITED STATES

- FOREIGN RELATION - IRAN

44. Esfandyar Batmanghelidj and Mahsa Rouhi

The Iran nuclear deal and sanctions relief: Implications for US policy. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 183-198.

To maximise the effectiveness of sanctions relief, the US must better ensure that lifting sanctions leads to substantial economic improvement.

**United States - Foreign relation - Iran; United States - Politics and government.

Control No: 44950

UNITED STATES

- FOREIGN RELATIONS - MEXICO

45. Mike Slaven

Populism and securitization: the corrosion of elite security authority in a US–Mexico border state. Journal of Global Security Studies, 2021, 06(04): 005.

Populists have often seemed influential in the securitization of migration, in great part through pressuring non-populist governing elites into "mainstreaming" more hardline

immigration positions. This article asks why, given the presumption in securitization literatures that elite insiders possess strong authority in defining security, non-populist governing elites often in fact cede ground to populist challengers who paint immigration as a threat. Securitization and political science literatures paint very different pictures of elite-challenger dynamics, but populist and securitization claims possess key ideational similarities, in relation to the holism and autonomy of the political community, and the apoliticism of pursuing purportedly self-evident goals. However, populism articulates securitarian concepts through a moralized anti-elitism that impugns elite authority, portraying governing elites as corruptly inert toward threats facing "the people." This article explores how this ideational relationship may affect securitization processes through a process-tracing study of the populist radical right's successful pressuring of governing elites to securitize migration in the US state of Arizona. There, populists' moralized accusations of corrupt elite inaction toward urgent security threats moved governing elites to adopt positions intended to demonstrate responsiveness to public border-security anxieties. thereby inscribing securitization. Taking an "ideational" view of both concepts shows how they can form a politically influential account of "common sense." By undermining elite security authority—thus inverting the typically theorized power securitization—populism may open new pathways for securitized policies to emerge.

**United States - Foreign relations - Mexico; Populist radical right.

Control No: 44923

UNITED STATES

- FOREIGN RELATIONS - RUSSIA

46. Angela Stent

Trump's Russia legacy and Biden's response. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 55-80.

The major difference between Joe Biden's approach to Russia and Donald Trump's is that, under Biden, Russia has ceased to be a domestic political issue.

**United States - Foreign relations - Russia.

Control No: 44943

UNITED STATES

- MILITARY OPERATIONS

47. Franz-Stefan Gady

Manoeuvre versus attrition in US military operations. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 131-148. US insistence that manoeuvre is central to breaking enemy cohesion risks misreading a future operating environment in which defence is dominant and attrition may still play an important role.

**United States - Military operations; Military warfare.

Control No: 44948

UNITED STATES

- SECURITY COOPERATION

48. Bilal Y. Saab

Enabling US security cooperation. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 89-99.

With a new security-cooperation command, the United States could manage and coordinate US security cooperation globally and enhance institutional capacitybuilding with foreign partners.

**United States - Security cooperation; Foreign policy.

WAR ON TERROR

49. Hal Brands and Michael O'Hanlon

The war on terror has not yet failed: a net assessment after 20 years. Survival, 63(04), 2021: 33-54.

The error that American policymakers are most likely to make is abandoning a struggle that the United States has now developed a reasonably efficient approach to waging.

**War on terror; United States - Terrors attacks.

Control No: 44942

WORLD POLITCS

50. Daniel Silverman, Karl Kaltenthaler and Mungith Dagher

Seeing Is disbelieving: the depths and limits of factual misinformation in war. International Studies Quarterly, 65(3), 2021: 798-810.

Misinformation, lies, and fake news are pervasive in war. But when are they actually believed by the people who live in war zones, and when are they not? This question is key, as their spread can spark greater violence and spoil efforts to make peace. In this study, we advance a new argument about lies in war. Building on existing research that links people's factual beliefs in conflict to their psychological and informational biases, we argue that they also hinge on their exposure and proximity to relevant events. While war is rife with lies, those close to the action have the means and the motives to see through them. We test this argument with a unique combination of survey and event data from the Coalition air campaign against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant in contemporary Iraq, finding support for our theory. Ultimately, the results help enhance our understanding of the dynamics of modern armed conflict and the reach of misinformation in contemporary world politics.

**World politcs; Fake News; Misinformation.