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Letter from the Editors-in-Chief

We are pleased to present this Spring 2018 Journal of The Chicago Journal of Foreign Policy, made possible through the dedication and talent of our staff contributors at The College and our guest contributors at colleges and universities around the world. This edition is particularly significant for the journal's history, as it is the first in our transition from an annual to seasonal print schedule. In tandem with our newly redesigned and expanded web content at TheCJFP.com, which includes both long-form pieces and regular blog posts from our staff contributors on recent developments in international affairs, we believe that the new publication schedule will provide an unprecedented medium for research, dialogue, and collaboration among undergraduate students both at The University of Chicago and on the global stage.

This quarter's publication includes submissions whose thematic focuses range from international institutions to insurgent tactics, whose styles range from analysis to original research. It has always been our hope that the journal's unique dedication to serious academic work from undergraduate students would promote greater engagement with important issues facing future generations around the world. In an era of unprecedented global change, we believe that CJFP's improved and expanded organization leaves it in a better position than ever to serve in this role.

We are now welcoming submissions for future online and print publications of the journal, as well as applications for writing and editing positions from students in The College.

We look forward to watching our publication continue to grow over the coming years, and hope that—together—today's undergraduates can lead the way in solving tomorrow's problems.

Josh Zakharov and Ezra Max

Editors-in-Chief

The Chicago Journal of Foreign Policy

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From Prague to Putin: An Analysis of Czech-Russian Relations and their Echoes in Eastern Europe

by Anna Stoneman | University of Chicago '21

The democratization of the Czech Republic has long been predictive of the political and ideological leanings of Eastern Europe. For a brief period during the heart of the Cold War and the decades following, the nation became widely perceived as bastion of the West, and the ideology it espoused rapidly spread to neighboring regions as they overthrew Soviet occupation in 1989 and transitioned to liberal democracy in Czechoslovakia's wake. Now, not even three decades after the seminal Velvet Revolution, the Czech Republic exhibits signs of yet another dramatic ideological shift: this time, to populism.

In January 2018, the Czech Republic re-elected its brash nationalist president Miloš Zeman, whose staunch support of Russia and unwavering cooperation with Russian president Vladimir Putin render him in many ways the antithesis of his nation's historical Western liberalism. The Czech Republic's leadership has shifted from staunch opposition to Russia to nearly unequivocal support thereof in under thirty years, and if current trends continue, a strong alliance between Zeman and Putin may forewarn broader shifts in Eastern European attitudes toward Russia in the not-so-distant future.

To understand this influence, it is necessary to understand the history of the country's rebirth. Soviet control was officially overthrown in Czechoslovakia during The Velvet Revolution of 1989, but its roots are found in the Czech people's tumultuous history of decades of occupation. Initially an autonomous, constitutional democracy founded in 1918 after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, Czechoslovakia was invaded in 1938 by Nazi Germany and occupied throughout the Second World War, suffering "repression... exploitation, and extermination."¹ Shortly thereafter, a communist dictatorship was installed, and the citizens of Czechoslovakia were forced to suffer under an oppressive and rigid regime that relied heavily on terror and all but eliminated civil rights.² In January of 1968, Slovak politician Alexander Dubček was appointed the head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and introduced reforms aimed at dramatic liberalization, with the intent to "build an advanced socialist society on sound economic foundations... that corresponds to the historical democratic

- 1 Tony Judt. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin Press, 2005. Print.
- 2 Jiří Pehe. "A Spring Awakening for Human Rights." *New York Times*. 14 August 2008.

traditions of Czechoslovakia.”³ Commonly known as “socialism with a human face,” the policies encompassed open relations with Western powers and Eastern Europe, a ten-year transition to democratized socialism with multiparty elections, and the official abolition of state censorship and widespread institution of civil liberties. This period came to be known as the Prague Spring.

As a result of these reforms, the people of Czechoslovakia experienced eight months of freedom characterized by the onus of political responsibility shifting from censored intellectuals to the common people.⁴ However, the Soviet Union, fearing the precedent set by the emboldened populace, invaded Czechoslovakia with tanks to occupy the territory and brutally and efficiently suppress the movement. Prominent supporters of democratization were targeted and imprisoned and “at least three-quarters of a million citizens lost their jobs... or were seriously discriminated against.”⁵ The people’s jolt toward the West was halted and forced underground for decades.

Although the Prague Spring was short-lived, it left a considerable legacy within and beyond its borders, and its ideals arguably catalyzed both the Velvet Revolution and a string of interconnected Eastern European nationalist revolutions in the same year. The liberalization of Czechoslovakia during the Prague Spring threatened the unity of the Eastern European nations under strict Soviet hegemony.⁶ Indeed, Poland, East Germany, and Hungary signed a declaration in 1968 in support of the reforms in Czechoslovakia – though the document was not sufficiently radical to engender Soviet retaliation beyond Czech borders. Nevertheless, this show of support, however small, is more broadly indicative of the most significant consequence of the Prague Spring: widespread disillusionment with communist ideals.

The unprecedented openness of the Prague Spring revealed the nature of the Soviet regime to Western powers and Eastern Europe alike, which allowed these ideals to transcend national borders. The Prague Spring irreversibly produced a dominant public consciousness independent from and opposed to the ruling regime, and as the first example of resistance to the Soviet stronghold, it constituted a massive historical and ideological turning point for the entire occupied region. The monumental significance of the events of 1968 became evident in 1989, when Czechoslovakia secured its own autonomy

3 Jaromír Navrátil. *The Prague Spring '68*. New York: Central European University Press, 1998.

4 Brown, J. F. *Surge to Freedom: The End of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.

5 Michael Long. *Making History: Czech Voices of Dissent and the Revolution of 1989*. Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 2005.

6 Vladimir Batyuk. “The End of the Cold War: A Russian View.” *History Today*, 1999.

through the Velvet Revolution. Demonstrations amassed massive crowds calling for democratization, and authorities met their peaceful protests with brute force. However, the inertia of the movement could not be contained, and the Velvet Revolution yielded a conversion to a democratic republic with multiparty elections after forty years of communist rule.

The Velvet Revolution fell concurrent with a chain of nationalist revolutions and political movements across Eastern Europe, all catalyzed and enabled by the Gorbachev-instituted policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Solidarity, a Polish trade union that had steadily grown in strength throughout the 1980s, led waves of nationwide workers' strikes in 1988 and eventually secured its independence after the Soviet Union did not intervene. The weakened Soviet regime likewise allowed a nationalist political movement in Hungary, whose citizens began to dismantle their border with Austria – and the Iron Curtain more broadly – in the same year.⁷ Next to follow was East Germany in October, and the fall of the Berlin Wall that separated Soviet East Germany from its democratic West counterpart in early November. This was followed by revolts in Bulgaria and the only armed Eastern European rebellion against Soviet forces in Romania in late December. Yugoslavia and Albania closed the gap in 1991, acting as the final piece in the conscious and systematic removal of Soviet influence from all of Eastern Europe.

The collapse of the Soviet stronghold in Eastern Europe was neither predestined nor predictable by any stretch of the imagination, but it is ultimately evident that the 1989 surge to freedom in Eastern Europe began not with the Velvet Revolution, but with the Prague Spring, confirming the strength of the ideological influence of Prague on Eastern Europe.

This influence, however, can also take swift turns between ideologies. Consider, now, two vastly different scenarios, separated by three short decades in between. In November of 1989, the crowds roared as their future president Vaclav Havel proclaimed the “power of the powerless” and the downfall of the Soviet regime. In contrast, at a 2014 ceremony commemorating the 25th anniversary of the historic moment, the crowds instead responded to their new president, Miloš Zeman, by pelting him with eggs, tomatoes, and other projectiles.⁸ Thousands of demonstrators carried red cards as a warning and brandished banners with the protest's slogan, “we do not want to be a colony of Russia.”⁹ While visiting the city of Opava, near the Polish border, Zeman

7 J.F. Brown. *Surge to Freedom: The End of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991. 307.

8 “Czech president pelted with eggs on revolution anniversary,” BBC, 17 November 2014.

9 “We Do Not Want to Be a Colony of Russia”: Thousands of Protestors Came Out in Favor of ‘Pro-Russian’ President Resignation in Czech Republic,” censor.

was called a “Russian cockroach,” and students of its Silesian University called on the president to resign.¹⁰ The legacy of a populace emboldened by the power of the powerless certainly has not vanished in the Czech Republic. Yet, nevertheless, he was re-elected to a second term. The majority stands by his side.

Those who consider Zeman to have betrayed the ideals of the Prague Spring are entirely warranted in their claims – at the 2014 commemoration of the Velvet Revolution, for example, Zeman spoke with brazen disregard for the principles it espoused. Similarly, in early January, Zeman declared at Prague Castle that the leaders of the Prague Spring “chickened out in horror” before the Soviet Union, that the non-communist ministers who resigned from the communist regime were “stupid,” and that the entire movement of democratization and reform ought to be credited to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, rather than to the common people.¹¹ Despite the passionate opposition of thousands of protestors, just one week later, Zeman won a second five-year term as president of the Czech Republic with 51.4% of the vote.

International media outlets followed the Czech election closely, considering it an unofficial referendum on European nationalism. The president’s challenger was Jiří Drahoš, an utter newcomer to the political scene who formerly led the national Academy of Sciences for nearly a decade, ran on a platform of pro-European liberalism, and was subjected to a massive smear campaign accusing him of collusion with bodies including – but not limited to – Angela Merkel, secret police, and the Hungarian government. While Drahoš does not consider Zeman personally culpable for the campaign, there is a significant probability that these accusations of collusions were a product of actual collusion, between Zeman and Russia. “I have no doubt that [the Russian government] did it here, but to put some evidence on the table, it’s difficult,” claimed Drahoš in an interview in May 2018.¹² Indeed, there is insufficient evidence that the Russian government interfered in Czech elections, but Zeman’s vocal support of Russia is nevertheless undeniable.

Zeman most starkly contrasts his Czech presidential predecessors in his attitudes and policies toward major economic and political powers to which Western nations have historically been opposed. In particular, Zeman is extraordinarily sympathetic to China and Russia, and he routinely endorses

net, 17 November 2014.

10 “Czechs Call President ‘Russian Cockrach’ and Call on Him to Resign: ‘You Do Not Represent Interests of Czech Republic,’” *cancel.net*, 11 November 2014.

11 “Zeman criticizes Dubcek in speech on Czechoslovakia’s anniversary,” *Prague Daily Monitor*, 10 January 2018.

12 David Matthews, “Jiří Drahoš: the Czech chemist overwhelmed by fake news,” *Times Higher Education*, 8 May 2018.

the actions and statements of Vladimir Putin. While the Czech government has almost exclusively allied with NATO nations and the European Union in the past, Zeman stands with Russia with such consistency that he is known as “the most influential Kremlin ally in Central Europe”¹³ and even called for a referendum to sever ties with NATO. He adamantly supports Russian intervention in Syria, denies that Putin has any culpability in Crimea, and opposes any sanctions on Russia whatsoever. Zeman is also reportedly the second-most quoted European leader in Russia, after German Chancellor Angela Merkel.¹⁴ Naturally, the favorable portrayal Zeman provides Putin is reciprocated: Russian media presents Zeman as a fierce, independent anti-American leader with deep ties to the illustrious Putin, and these ties may not be exaggerated.¹⁵ Zeman defeated his centrist challenger in his re-election race by an admittedly narrow margin, and his campaign was greatly assisted by massive donations from an anonymous source. Whether or not that source is demonstrably Russia, the fact of the matter remains unchanged: the Czech Republic under its current leader has deep ties to Putin’s Russia, which manifest in his government from its structure and actions to the ideology it preaches. To those who oppose Zeman, this is an unforgivable betrayal of the Velvet Revolution and a reckless endorsement of a dangerous wave of populism and nationalism that threatens all of Europe.

Similar “Euroskeptic” ideologies have emerged in neighboring nations in recent years, in particular Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, capitalizing on the populism that has proven effective across national borders – an appeal to the common people who feel marginalized or consider themselves victims of social stratification.¹⁶ Zeman’s particular brash brand of politics coupled with his penchant for drinking, smoking, and name-calling makes him an accessible candidate, and those who find his blunt and down-to-earth nature refreshing flock to him in droves. “I have come to the conclusion that many politicians and journalists have inferior intelligence compared to normal people... and therefore I want those normal citizens to have a chance to decide,”¹⁷ said Zeman shortly after his election, in an unexpected callback to the Velvet-Revolution-era notion that media cannot be trusted unless it is authored by the common people – that is, by those who consume it.

13 Veronika Vichová, “Will the Kremlin’s Most Important Ally in Europe Be Re-elected?” Atlantic Council, 25 January 2017.

14 Jakub Janda. “How Czech President Miloš Zeman Became Putin’s Man, Observer, 26 January 2018.

15 Jakub Janda. “How Czech President Miloš Zeman Became Putin’s Man, Observer, 26 January 2018.

16 Jan Surotchak, “The Fight Against European Populism is Far From Over,” Foreign Policy, 1 February 2018.

17 Marc Santora, “Czech Republic Re-elects Miloš Zeman, Populist Leader and Foe of Migrants,” The New York Times, 27 January 2018.

Nevertheless, though his election marks a victory for the populist tide, its rise across Europe is not inevitable – as reflected in how narrow Zeman’s victory truly was. In France and Germany, two historical Czech allies have been taken aback by recent shifts, far-right-wing National Front candidate Marine Le Pen lost the presidency to Emmanuel Macron, and Angela Merkel stayed in her seat of power, respectively. The fact that Zeman won so narrowly, and in all likelihood with substantial assistance from Russia, does not necessarily indicate that the entirety of Europe, or even Eastern Europe, will skew to the far right in upcoming years, even if the premise that the Czech Republic is an ideological litmus test is accepted in full. Nevertheless, the fact that Zeman is in power in the Czech Republic independently poses a threat of radically shifting ideological trends, even if the region defies its historical pattern of falling into the Czech Republic’s wake. The mere fact that the Czech Republic is so deeply – and, as long as Zeman is in office, perhaps inextricably – tied to Russia might be sufficient to cause ripples across Europe. In the words of Michal Koran, an analyst at Prague-based think tank The Aspen Institute, “The Russians could not be happier. For all the talk of Russian meddling – and I believe they have meddled beyond a shadow of a doubt – Europe is dividing itself, and they do not have to do much.”¹⁸

The assertion that the Czech Republic has negligible influence within Europe pales before the historical precedent set during and after the Cold War. When the Czech Republic acted, Eastern Europe followed in tow, allowing the prevailing ideology of the Prague Spring to percolate into the public conscious in order to swiftly curtail Russian dominance in the region, in a show of stunning unity and unprecedented might. The notion of the “power of the powerless” has evolved or been twisted into a new brand of populism and nationalism – and though the sentiments Zeman espouses are far from universal within the populace, their prominence is a strong indication that the Czech Republic, and therefore the region as a whole, currently finds itself on the edge of a crucial precipice. Will the Czech Republic reaffirm its ties to Western transatlantic institutions, alliances, and liberal ideology, or will the nation grow closer to the nation it has previously fought so hard to overthrow? To the extent to which history gives any indication, developments in the Czech Republic will reflect and influence those across Eastern Europe for years to come, no matter how Zeman answers the question.

18 Marc Santora, “Czech Republic Re-elects Miloš Zeman, Populist Leader and Foe of Migrants,” *The New York Times*, 27 January 2018.

The String of Pearls and the Mine of Jewels:

Evolving Strategic Dynamics in the Indian Ocean Region and Lessons from the South China Sea

by Gaurav Kalwani | University of Chicago '19

In May of this year, Chinese forces deployed surface-to-air and anti-ship cruise missiles on its occupied reefs in the Spratly Islands of the South China Sea (SCS).¹ China's actions, though certainly concerning to the international community, were hardly surprising. The placement of missiles was simply another (albeit a dramatic) escalation in a maritime territorial dispute that has, over the last several years, come to represent deeper concerns surrounding Chinese expansionism and international tensions in an increasingly multipolar landscape. This most recent development has re-ignited a continuing debate among scholars and policymakers as to the factors responsible for the current situation in the South China Sea: some have focused on China's increasing economic and military leverage over involved parties such as the ASEAN states (with whom China has discussed several times a possible SCS Code of Conduct,) while others cite the United States' unwillingness to enter into direct confrontations and reduced presence in the region under the Trump administration.

The situation in the South China Sea is familiar to those engaged with foreign affairs and current events. It has received considerable media attention, and justifiably so, given the countries involved and the trillions in trade and resources at stake. However, while the SCS constitutes an undoubtedly pressing security issue, it is curious that a similarly developing maritime environment, arguably just as important to the international landscape, has received comparatively little attention. Media have all but ignored the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). The story of the IOR, as it has unfolded in recent years, is in many ways troublingly reminiscent of dynamics in the SCS. The strategic dynamics and current tensions in the Indian Ocean have wide-ranging implications for the international order, and it is imperative that the international community applies lessons learned from the SCS to the region as these trends continue to develop.

1 "Why China's New Missiles in the South China Sea Should Scare the Navy and Air Force," *The National Interest*, May 5, 2018.

The IOR's geopolitical significance sources from a varied set of economic and geographic features. Trade is one critical factor, with nearly 100,000 vessels and around 25 percent of the world's traded goods passing through the IOR each year.² The strategic relevance of this trade cannot be understated; the Indian Ocean contains some of the most important choke points in international trade, the Straits of Malacca and Hormuz, through which collectively more than 80 percent of the seaborne oil trade transits.³ Energy security and vulnerability to conflict and piracy are thus pressing issues in the IOR that emphasize its global relevance as well. Natural resources are yet another vital element in the IOR situation. Besides oil production, it is home to 15 percent of the world's fisheries as well as a large variety of commercially valuable minerals and metals like nickel, copper, and titanium.⁴

These factors are essential in understanding the military-strategic environment of the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean littoral touches a plethora of different states with strategic interests in maritime resources and trade, including powers with vested interests in regional security (most notably those with military bases - traditionally nations such as the US and France, but more recently China and other rising powers). Given these conditions, it is interesting to note that the IOR differs significantly from the SCS in terms of the character of dispute resolution and the relative strength of multilateralism and international law in the region. Historically, the establishment of maritime borders in the IOR has been a peaceful process conducted in accordance with treaties and with international laws, most notably the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS); where disputes have arisen, UNCLOS channels have successfully facilitated diplomatic resolutions.⁵ Shared interests, including those in anti-piracy and disaster relief, have provided motivation for multilateral cooperation, as codified in the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), an international organization committed to facilitating maritime cooperation among 21 member states and 7 dialogue members.⁶

This isn't the whole story, however. As mentioned, recent dynamics in the IOR in many ways parallel the more precarious situation of the SCS. Perhaps

2 Krishnadev Calamur, "High Traffic, High Risk in the Strait of Malacca," *The Atlantic*, August 21, 2017.

3 Sergei DeSilva-Ranasinghe, "Why the Indian Ocean Matters," *The Diplomat*, March 2, 2011.

4 Dhruva Jaishankar, "Indian Ocean Region: A Pivot for India's Growth," *Brookings Institution*, September 12, 2016.

5 Caitlyn Antrim, "International Law: The Indian Ocean and the South China Sea," in *Indian Ocean Rising: Maritime Security and Policy Challenges*, ed. David Michel and Russell Sticklor (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, 2012), 67.

6 "Indian Ocean Rim Association."

the most important shared feature here is also likely the least surprising: the role of China and its expansionist policies. Chinese engagement in the IOR has ramped up significantly in the past few years, as the rising power seeks to bolster economic and aid ties with IOR states through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), secure energy and natural resources, and modernize and expand its regional naval presence and military bases.⁷ These developments have caused tension against the backdrop of a broader India-China competition, fueled by border disputes such as last year's Doklam standoff and the view in India that China's engagement in South Asia and in the IOR is an encroachment into its own neighborhood.⁸ More specifically, many in the Indian foreign policy community subscribe to the "string of pearls" theory, which posits that China's building of maritime infrastructures around the IOR is meant to lay the groundwork for an eventual military network.⁹ Whether or not this theory holds water, India's more pronounced "neighborhood first" policies and stated opposition to BRI stand as evidence that tensions are simmering.¹⁰

China's activities in the IOR haven't only raised alarms for India. Other countries have expressed similar concerns about a possible weakening of the "rules-based order" in such a critical region; some of these countries, most notably the United States, Japan, and Australia, have couched their concerns in the conception of a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific."¹¹ The Free and Open Indo-Pacific, or FOIP, represents not only an attempt to connect the security of the Indian Ocean with the Pacific Ocean (and particularly the Western Pacific, including the South China Sea), but also to emphasize the strategic and economic importance of adhering to international norms and laws in these areas.¹² India, while not as overtly committed to the use of the term, has nonetheless endorsed it as part of the Quadrilateral Dialogue or "Quad", an informal dialogue between the four major democratic powers in the Asia-Pacific (United States, India, Japan, and Australia).¹³

While China is at present the largest concern in the IOR, other more nascent issues could jeopardize regional security, and interact with these strategic competitions to produce conflict and even catastrophe. Increasing

7 Eleanor Albert, "Competition in the Indian Ocean," Council on Foreign Relations, May 19, 2016.

8 Meia Nouwens, "China and India: competition for Indian Ocean dominance?" IISS, April 24, 2018.

9 Benjamin David Baker, "Where is the 'String of Pearls' in 2015?" *The Diplomat*, October 5, 2015.

10 Alyssa Ayres, "Modi Doubles Down on the Neighborhood," *YaleGlobal Online*, June 10, 2014.

11 Jeff M. Smith, "Unpacking the Free and Open Indo-Pacific," *War on the Rocks*, March 14, 2018.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

multipolar military and strategic entanglements by a host of Middle Eastern and African countries in the littoral threaten to “port” conflicts between these nations to the IOR; regional rivals Saudi Arabia and Iran’s recent efforts in the region stand as a particularly dramatic example of this.¹⁴ A burgeoning nuclear naval competition between India and Pakistan increases the risk of conflict between the two nations (a situation all the more complicated by China’s engagement in Pakistan through CPEC).¹⁵ Overall, the current security environment in the IOR is exceedingly complex and increasingly delicate, and could rapidly escalate given the right circumstances.

What can be done to address these issues? For one, multilateral engagement in the region must remain strong, and even increase: the IORA provides a solid framework from which nations can engage in more frequent and more varied dialogues on rapidly evolving issues, including a possible IOR Code of Conduct.¹⁶ For the US and other Quad countries, it is key to maintain and expand economic and political alliances in the region, in order to limit China’s ability to engage in coercive behavior against states and weaken multilateral responses. For those countries who are engaged in Quad-like partnerships and alliances, coordinated signaling is key to projecting resolve and avoiding miscommunication. At the same time, these states must maintain flexibility and establish a consistent dialogue with China, in order to avoid a spiraling security dilemma.

Without careful action and tactful diplomacy, the Indian Ocean may indeed be the site of the next great power conflict. We must realize the opportunity that this region presents for peaceful cooperation, and strive to ensure a mutually beneficial environment to that end.

14 David Brewster, “Welcome to the New Indian Ocean,” *The Diplomat*, February 21, 2018.

15 Iskander Rehman, “Brief - Murky Waters: Naval Nuclear Dynamics in the Indian Ocean,” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, March 2015.

16 Ranji Gamage, “Why the Indian Ocean Must Not Become Like the South China Sea,” *The National Interest*, November 5, 2017.

The Last Hundred Days

by Sarah Manney | Stanford University '18

At the end of the French Revolution of 1789, historian R. R. Palmer wrote that “The wars of the kings were over; the wars of the people had begun.”¹ Today, this maxim threatens to be reversed. Although increasing Chinese and Russian assertiveness towards the West leads many to question whether the international system can accommodate these so-called Great Powers, the only real conflicts of interest are between undemocratic leaders and their people. Around the world, the liberal international order has vastly increased the security of nation-states, minimizing the existential threats which John Mearsheimer believed caused the “tragedy” of Great Power conflict. Yet in the process, it has reduced the security of illiberal regimes, namely those in Beijing and Moscow. The resulting outbursts superficially resemble a return nineteenth century Realpolitik, but there are in truth no more Alsace-Lorraines, places in the sun, or zero-sum interests worth the bones of American, Chinese or Russian grenadiers. Unfortunately, the short- to medium-term may see the obsolescent kings take a final stand at the expense of their nations and ours. To contain them, the US should not fall for cries of inevitable Great Power rivalry and instead remind the citizens of these nations of their many shared interests, and single common enemy.

Many observers today misguidedly conclude that the Great Powers are only those states which appear to challenge the United States, namely Russia and China, giving rise to the illusion of resurgent rivalry. This definition is circular. John Mearsheimer’s original definition of a Great Power hinges on relative capacity (possessing “sufficient assets” to mount a conventional threat to the most powerful state),² and should expand the number of peaceful countries which could be considered Great Powers. If we consider Russia a Great Power (as Mearsheimer does)³ and take its level of economic output and technological sophistication as a baseline, there are dozens of countries which we could be considered Great Powers if they chose to trade their butter for guns. Why do they not? International institutions based on territorial integrity and underwritten by a non-imperial hegemon have reduced insecurity to such low levels that many states feel comfortable reaping the benefits of participation. Despite Beijing and Moscow’s espousal of exceptionalist rhetoric, there is no reason they should prove an exception to this rule. Russia is not much larger by territory than is Canada, nor China than India by population. Imperial

1 Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?”, *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993

2 Mearsheimer, John J. *The tragedy of great power politics*. WW Norton & Company, 2001. pp. 5.

3 John J. Mearsheimer. “Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin.” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014

histories cannot account for their behaviour either: former US enemies with a history of brutal conquest such as Germany and Japan have become generous contributors to the order.

Even though the current world order has had the effect of increasing the security of nation-states, it has also reduced the security of particular *regimes*. Domestically, uncertain or shifting foundations of legitimacy keep leaders constantly on their toes. In Russia, weak constitutionality and the lack of a positive national identity (rather than the *negative* identities of not-fascists and not-the-1990s) loom over the Kremlin. Beijing's mandate for growth is no less uncertain. Internationally, fears of regime change are compounded by the implicit favoritism of the international order towards democracies and the West's explicit attempts to promote democracy in the two countries. China's 2015 Military Strategy document, for example, references "anti-China forces" threatening to "instigate a color revolution" — a classic Russian bogeyman.⁴ Recent assertiveness may thus be defensive, but what is being defended is the regime, not the state.

The gratuitous nature of Russia's recent behaviour vis-à-vis the West confirms that what we are witnessing is friction not between Great Powers but between a leader and his people. Until 2014, Russia's military strategy was well-known for remaining "below-threshold," working indirectly so as to preclude an American response. The annexation of Crimea in 2014 in violation of the paramount Westphalian principle of territorial integrity, however, can hardly be called below-threshold.⁵ Indeed, the duration, scale and intensity of human rights atrocities in Ukraine has had an effect entirely opposite to depoliticizing the Ukrainian people and turning away Western interest, as has been the goal in creating previous frozen conflicts. Perhaps this was merely a miscalculation by a paranoid and solipsistic Kremlin, but the West's reaction may also have been a welcome narrative foil. Indeed, the almost amateur overtness of Russian cyber-attacks and disinformation campaigns in the 2016 US election suggest a strategy of "reflexive control," where the intended effect is contained not in the act itself but in response to it.⁶ A new Red Scare in the West serves the triple narrative purpose of casting Putin as a "geopolitical genius,"⁷ dampening

4 "China's Military Strategy," White paper, The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, May 2015.

5 In 2008, Russia did not attempt to annex Abkhazia and South Ossetia, nor did they do so in the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region between Armenia and Azerbaijan. See also The Kremlin Playbook: Understanding Russian Influence in Central and Eastern Europe. Center for Strategic and International Studies. 2016.

6 McKew, Molly K. "Russia Is Already Winning." Politico Magazine (2017).

7 Michael A. McFaul, "The Myth- of Putin's Strategic Genius," The New York Times, 23

trust in democracy in the West, and reinforcing a narrative of encirclement to his people. It may come at the cost of a renewed threat from the West, but the traditional realist concerns of Great Power rivalry do not worry Putin. To the contrary, they simply legitimate Russia as a Great Power.

Unlike Putin, Xi has made his best effort not to provoke Western interest in China or its near abroad, because he understands that conflict with the West is not in his regime's best interest. Even Beijing's more assertive actions in the South China Sea appear oriented towards preserving important shipping routes, and experts agree the main risk is of *miscalculation*, rather than a calculated attack.⁸ Beijing understands the acute tradeoff between military and economic influence in its near abroad produced by US security guarantees, and for now has sided decisively with the latter.⁹ In the short run, the result is that China looks less like a rival Great Power than does Russia, leading many analysts to believe that it can be accommodated in the liberal world order. Certainly, China's *national* interests in economic development, technological transfer and peripheral stability are well served by current international system. Yet the Chinese Communist Party's interests may not be. The United States' drive towards "open societies, open governments, [and an] open international system"¹⁰ acutely threatens the CCP's insular governance model. Concern for human rights impedes Beijing's ability to suppress Uighurs and Tibetan nationalists. Trade regulations preclude subsidizing politically relevant industries. Even China's 'core interest' in Taiwan is all about a threat to the CCP, not to mainland territory or the Chinese nation. There is a reason that Beijing's "New Option" of international order diverges only from the current in its tolerance for tyrants: it addresses parochial threats to the regime, not the nation.

The resistance which China and Russia pose to the current international order thus should not be overstated. Moscow, for its part, struggles to define its leadership beyond opposition to the West and "fascists" in the near abroad, delusions which must be sustained by a phantasmagorical internal media environment. The West is a stage upon which the regime can enact Surkovian fantasies — not a strategic adversary. It is no coincidence Putin's most bellicose (and fanciful) national address came less than two weeks before the country's 2018 national election; we can only imagine the proportions such dog-wagging may take in an election which is actually contested. Although we may therefore

October, 2015.

- 8 Avery Goldstein, "China's Real and Present Danger," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2013
- 9 Ambassador J. Stapleton Roy, "The Changing Geopolitics of East Asia," Working Paper, Yale Law School, April 14, 2016.
- 10 Anne-Marie Slaughter, "How to Succeed in the Networked World: A Grand Strategy for the Digital Age," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2016.
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see a spike in aggression nearing 2024, Russia 'bez Putina' has no vital interests which should lead it into Great Power conflict with the West. Even regarding the sensitive issue of Ukraine, what was at stake in the 2014 invasion were more likely oligarchs' dachas than a direct threat to the Russian homeland. The semblance Great Power rivalry with Russia is no longer the sustained danger of a Red Giant, but the gas of a supernova emanating from a densely concentrated core. China, however, poses a more systemic long term threat because it asserts its own center of gravity without relation to a Western antipode. Should the basis of the regime's legitimacy shift away from GDP growth, Beijing may choose to take on the Western model either for reasons of ego or preemptive insurance. The US and China¹¹ certainly find themselves in a trap similar to that between Sparta and Athens, albeit not because one is rising and the other is falling. Instead, on one side are the people, and on the other, an uneasy king.

Given that the figment of Great Power rivalry will persist as long as Putin and Xi project onto it their own insecurities, the US has two policy options: insure the regime, or remove it. The former would contradict America's values, pitting the US at odds with the Russian and Chinese publics, but we have done worse for allies such as Saudi Arabia in the Middle East. But even then, it is not clear that US reassurances would be credible given that encirclement is a permanent talking point on Xinhua and RT. The latter option of regime change, whether direct or indirect, is no less fraught and undoubtedly costlier even if it succeeds, and would set a dangerous precedent. America's best hope is that democracy springs peacefully and endogenously in both countries, yet these are unsatisfying odds. Nonetheless, the US should continue to capitalize on its soft power pull to educate a new generation of leaders and civil society activists from both countries. It should remind Russian and Chinese citizens that the American people have no fundamental conflicts of interest with them — in other words, that Great Power rivalry has *not* returned — and back this up with explicitly targeted sanctions which expose corruption and wrongdoing in the countries' leaderships. The Global Magnitsky Act is a first step in this direction, but care should be taken that it not only target dispensable boyars. Future US leaders must single out the tsars for stoking the tragedy of Great Power politics.

11 Graham Allison. "China vs. America: Managing the Next Clash of Civilizations." Foreign Affairs. 2017.

UNDRIP:

The Recognition of Indigenous Peoples through Acknowledging the Past, Present, and Future

by Carson Smith | Stanford University '19

In 2007, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples acted as the first signed piece of formal, international policy to provide indigenous peoples worldwide with a set of specific rights, including self-determination, economic development, governance, the protection of cultural practices, and land rights. Although the document was non-legally binding, it currently stands as the model of the freedoms and rights that nations worldwide owe their aboriginal people. UNDRIP provides opportunities for indigenous peoples to have themselves and their rights recognized through acknowledging their historical struggles, promoting their interaction with modern-day politics as nations within themselves, and supporting them in preparing for the future of their peoples. This essay will first uncover how such international legislation has provided the opportunity to address atrocities against indigenous peoples and how this specifically acts as a means of recognizing indigenous peoples and the rights that have been historically denied to them. Then, the essay will turn to the statutes in UNDRIP, which call for indigenous political recognition, specifically through freedoms of speech and media and a capacity for these people to adhere to their own governing structures. Finally, this essay will close on a short discussion of how these types of legislation are also supporting the future recognition of indigenous peoples through promoting the education and cultural development of indigenous children.

Historical Recognition

Policies such as UNDRIP provide indigenous peoples with a means of having their histories and pasts internationally recognized, when historically these perspectives have been ignored.¹ Often, the voices of indigenous peoples have been erased through the retelling of these histories and societies through the lens of the colonizer.² For example, especially in the past two centuries, anthropologists have described indigenous communities without a grounded understanding of these societies thereby leading to romanticized and imperfect notions of these cultures, and these records are the ones that have stood the

1 Beier, J. M., 'Forgetting, Remembering, and Finding Indigenous Peoples in International Relations' in Beier, J.M. (ed) *Indigenous Diplomacies* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009):11-28

2 Ibid.

test of time; largely, these notions of indigenous peoples have come to act as the framework through which the world continues to understand indigenous peoples today. Often, indigenous peoples have been labeled as primitive for not holding the same customs, culture, or beliefs as those who have invaded their homes.³ For example, a simple and striking example within the United States can be viewed in western films, which showcase two-dimensional, racial and cultural stereotypes depicting the 'Indian,' which are the products of the aforementioned historical anthropology and ideologies accompanying western expansion. More so, western beliefs and religions have often acted as a means of justifying domination over aboriginal peoples, thereby further leading to disregard for these individuals and the constructs of their communities.⁴ Notions of the dominating nation being justified in taking over these 'primitive' communities have also been used to account for the injustices that have been inflicted on indigenous peoples.⁵ For example, as the colonizing power, the United States has not often taken blame for its impact on the indigenous peoples of the North American continent, such as the intentional spreading of disease (e.g. smallpox blankets on the Trail of Tears), the settlement of indigenous land, or the warrant and reward for Native scalps. All of these things have wreaked havoc on indigenous peoples in the Americas and have led to impoverished living conditions, the disruption of a society, and hefty death tolls; however, concepts of indigenous peoples as less civilized and ultimately less-than-human have acted as the argument for colonizing powers to forget or even praise their actions. In any case, the historical atrocities suffered by indigenous peoples have been ignored thereby leaving these communities without the political grounds to call out for the rights that had been historically denied to them.

Despite this lack of recognition throughout history, through UNDRIP, indigenous peoples have a means of internationally being recognized as communities that have been the recipients of 'historical injustice' at the hands of colonizing communities. Rather than being seen as primitive peoples, UNDRIP calls for the recognition and continual development of indigenous culture.⁶ It also specifically calls for the condemnation of the advancement of certain peoples based on culture and race.⁷ This pushback against western

3 Ibid.

4 Wilmer, Franke, 'Where You Stand Depends on Where You Sit' in Beier, J.M. (ed) *Indigenous Diplomacies* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009): 187-206

5 Beier, J. M., 'Forgetting, Remembering, and Finding Indigenous Peoples in International Relations' in Beier, J.M. (ed) *Indigenous Diplomacies* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009):11-28

6 Graham, Lorie M. and Siegfried Wiessner. 'Indigenous Sovereignty, Culture, International Human Rights Law', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 110: no. 2 (Spring 2011): 403-427.

7 Ibid.

philosophies and its process of absolving indigenous peoples is the first step in recognizing indigenous voices as a means of redefining the past hardships faced by these peoples. Even in itself, this kind of historical recognition of indigenous peoples' plights is valuable. For example, rather than approaching the past with a romanticized view of 'manifest destiny,' the crimes against human rights suffered by indigenous peoples can be properly acknowledged, and although this clearly does not absolve the crimes of the colonizers, it is a first step that sets the stage for progress. Only with this level of official recognition can a path for healing, development, collaboration and repayment can begin. International policy, specifically such as UNDRIP, provides an opportunity for the rights of indigenous peoples to be recognized by acknowledging the past disregard and violation of these rights. Only by first analyzing the pain that these communities have suffered through, can there be recognition for the current political needs and rights of indigenous peoples, which is a first step to actually achieving those rights.

Modern-Day Political Interactions

Not only do these political and legal orders lead to the historical recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, but they also push forward the recognition of indigenous peoples in modern-day politics. Although it may seem simple, supporting the amplification of indigenous voices, specifically through outlets such as the media, not only allows for the recognition of indigenous voices but simultaneously protects the rights of speech for these people.⁸ Article 16 of UNDRIP states that not only will indigenous peoples have the power to voice themselves through their own media sources but that they also have a right to contribute to non-indigenous media outlets as well. Although it may seem simple, supporting such a freedom allows for the indigenous peoples to have their own stories and perspectives heard, as well as enabling them to disseminate information that might stand in opposition to the central government. This then acts as a means of halting the marginalization of aboriginal outlooks, specifically in politics. Such international support from UNDRIP acts as a safeguard of indigenous rights to share their histories and current situations among a western-centered media as a historically abused group. For example, in recent months, the controversy surrounding the Dakota Access Pipeline in the northern United States created uproar amongst Native American peoples. Many tribes took to writing resolutions in support of the Standing Rock tribe, which was being impacted by the infiltration of a pipeline next to their tribal lands, which not only cut through grounds sacred to their people but posed a risk to contaminate tribal lands and water sources if the pipeline was to leak. The gathering of Native people in Standing Rock was

8 Ibid.

amplified by the ability of indigenous peoples to spread the word via media outlets (e.g. newspapers, social media, etc.) about the injustices happening in North Dakota. Many saw the gathering at Standing Rock and the support thrown behind the tribe as one of the largest and most symbolic gatherings of Native Americans since the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupation of Alcatraz in the 1970s. This kind of immense pushback from originally Native people, who were then able to rile Non-native citizens into their efforts, eventually lead the federal government to halt the process of building the pipeline. Such an example displays the power that the observation of freedoms of speech and expression, specifically through media, can have on the ways that the rest of the world, including the government, interacts with indigenous peoples.

UNDRIPs call for these freedoms through media and expression allows for indigenous peoples to be further recognized as a political entity capable of self-governance, collective civic action, especially against perceived injustices, and diplomacy. Ultimately, this piece of UNDRIP creates an opportunity for indigenous peoples to constantly have their voices heard internationally thereby allowing them to be continually be recognized by the international community.

More than just allowing for political pressure through media, these legal and political orders also allow for indigenous peoples to actively maintain their rights through supporting their use of cultural governing structures.⁹ Through the support of self-determination, UNDRIP advocates for indigenous peoples to continue forward with their cultural means of governing, which thereby allows for them to have a greater role in representing themselves internationally.¹⁰ This is because rather than being placed underneath the hold of western government, indigenous peoples then have the support to pick their own leaders and live in ways that are aligned with their culture rather than having the government of the colonizer continue to dictate and marginalize these communities.¹¹ These indigenous peoples are provided the chance to be their own nation. For example, in the United States tribal nations are sovereign nations in their own right. They have the power to create and enforce laws for their citizens, to some extent choose what types of legal and judicial processes they will use, and choose leaders to represent themselves. This type of support from UNDRIP supports indigenous freedoms through recognizing that indigenous peoples have the right to govern themselves in a way that does not necessarily align with western values. For example, peacemaking circles, a type of culturally based conflict resolution system used in some tribal courts,

9 Wilmer, Franke, 'Where You Stand Depends on Where You Sit' in Beier, J.M. (ed) *Indigenous Diplomacies* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009): 187-206

10 Ibid.

11 Watson, Irene. 'Aboriginal(ising) International Law', *Griffith Law Review* 20, no. 3 (2011): 619-640.

allow for Native American defendants to be approached for their crimes in a way that is cognizant of the traditions and values of the community. Often, such a process may conflict with more retributive mechanisms seen in western courts. However, because indigenous peoples have a greater control over their governing structures, they can create policies and protocols that best align with their own ideologies. Legislation supporting indigenous peoples in this capacity provides an opportunity for these peoples to break free of paternalistic structures that have prevented them from autonomy as a nation.¹²

Because indigenous peoples then have the right to govern over themselves, they are essentially being recognized as a government in themselves with the capacity to rule over their citizens. It also acknowledges that there are valid ways of ruling over a group of people rather than those that extend from western governments and philosophies. In this way, indigenous peoples have the chance to not only use their traditional ways of governing, but develop these methods in order to fit into the current needs of their communities.¹³ To build off of the Peacemaking example, although this conflict resolution mechanism is founded in traditional principles, it is also embellished with specific values that might not have always belonged to the tribe which is utilizing it. If additions or changes can be made to better fit an indigenous community, international policy on indigenous peoples, such as UNDRIP, supports these developments. It acknowledges the fact that culture is not concrete and always in flux.¹⁴ It also recognizes that indigenous peoples are likely to know what types of systems are most applicable for their communities. In this way, UNDRIP's promotion of the self-designed, internal structure of indigenous communities allows for indigenous peoples to be recognized as it clearly views them as political entities with a firm understanding of their citizens and the right to regulate themselves, just as an international body would have the capacity to do.¹⁵

Future Development

While UNDRIP provides indigenous peoples with current political power, it also recognizes their right to continue developing a more sustainable community for the future. Not only does having the ability to redesign one's governing structure as needed lead to a more sustainable future for indigenous communities, but UNDRIP also supports indigenous people's rights to educate

12 Wilmer, Franke, 'Where You Stand Depends on Where You Sit' in Beier, J.M. (ed) *Indigenous Diplomacies* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009): 187-206

13 Graham, Lorie M. and Siegfried Wiessner. 'Indigenous Sovereignty, Culture, International Human Rights Law', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 110: no. 2 (Spring 2011): 403-427.

14 Ibid.

15 Wilmer, Franke, 'Where You Stand Depends on Where You Sit' in Beier, J.M. (ed) *Indigenous Diplomacies* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009): 187-206

their children in a way that is aligned with their culture.¹⁶ Furthermore, it incorporates the right to develop their indigenous languages through these means of education. Together this approach towards education and language supports the right for indigenous peoples to exist as more than an oppressed group of the past or current political entity but also as a collective that has the rights to sustain itself into the future and nurture its culture despite international political circumstances. In the past, indigenous children were often brought into boarding schools, harshly disciplined for adhering to cultural norms and expected to only use English.¹⁷ This acted as a way to assimilate the indigenous person to ‘civilized’ society. The impacts of these kinds of educational systems and repression of language are still felt today and were a core tool in the process of colonization. Still, indigenous communities struggle to preserve their culture, sometimes with only a small group of elders being able to speak the language. The understanding of tradition and language often make up the heart of the community.¹⁸ Customary laws are often only shared through traditional practices and in the native tongue. Without these means, indigenous peoples cannot continue their existence as sovereign communities because they will not understand the past of their societies. Therefore, by teaching the youth these ways, indigenous peoples can continue forward with a strong legacy and continue to grow into the future.

The current recognition of the indigenous right to continue their cultural practices through education shows that there is an acknowledgement that not only do indigenous peoples have a right to exist, but they have a right to continue forward. Like any other nation, these people have the capacity to educate a future generation to carry forward the aspirations of the society and a continued recognition for indigenous rights and ways.

Conclusion

UNDRIP has opened the door for indigenous rights and recognition through addressing historical violations of rights, allowing for current political participation of indigenous communities, and supporting the growth of culture through the education of indigenous children. While addressing the wrongs done to indigenous peoples creates a path towards future understanding, it also reinforces the validity of indigenous societies and the unjustness of the

16 Graham, Lorie M. and Siegfried Wiessner. ‘Indigenous Sovereignty, Culture, International Human Rights Law’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 110: no. 2 (Spring 2011): 403-427.

17 Ibid.

18 Watson, Irene. ‘Aboriginal(ising) International Law’, *Griffith Law Review* 20, no. 3 (2011): 619-640.

actions that have been carried out upon them in the past. Simultaneously, UNDRIP allows indigenous societies to become international players in politics through both supporting their use of media and recognizing their status as a nation with the capacity to govern its citizens. Finally, the future is also taken into account through this legislation as it pushes forward the continuation of indigenous ways through promoting education and language, which in turn continues on with indigenous philosophies in opposition to western ideologies. Still, while UNDRIP provides a solid path forward, questions should still be asked about the extent to which these policies are enforceable.¹⁹ While this legislation does acknowledge many of the rights and needs of the aboriginal, national governments have to actually use this as a base line for the treatment and rights of these communities. If they do not, this document simply becomes a romanticized notion of human rights and what equality should look like if ever put into practice but nothing more.

19 Graham, Lorie M. and Siegfried Wiessner. 'Indigenous Sovereignty, Culture, International Human Rights Law', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 110: no. 2 (Spring 2011): 403-427.

Hidden Fractures: Challenging Assumptions about Eurozone Stability

by Nathan Carson | University of Chicago CIR '18

Recent years have brought increasing concerns over the possible demise of the liberal international order. Many of these concerns stem from two pivotal events of 2016: Brexit, and the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States. As uncertainty surrounds the United Kingdom's future in Europe and America's commitment to international organizations, it is understandable why these high-profile cases would be emphasized as the primary challenges to the stability of the liberal international order. Indeed, scholars from Jeff Colgan to Robert Keohane have rightfully documented the gravity of these challenges.¹ Yet, the greatest danger to the liberal international order is not Britain's volatile Brexit negotiations with the European Union, nor America's unpredictable foreign policy, nor even Eastern Europe's flirtations with democratic backsliding; it is the possibility of the collapse of the Eurozone.

The Eurozone is one of the most vital entities of the global financial system. Primarily a currency zone, it counts many of the world's most important powers and economies, including Germany and France, among its members. A Eurozone collapse could undermine the future of European integration and trigger an economic and financial crisis in the heart of Europe that could spill over to the global economy. Its consequences would strike a heavy, perhaps mortal, blow to the liberal international order. Certainly, the future of the Eurozone has been questionable in the aftermath of the 2008 global recession. However, since the 2015 crisis in Greece, it would appear that the Eurozone has stabilized. Even despite the recent slowdown in economic growth, a fiscally strong 2017 has helped allay fears of Eurozone fragility.² Nevertheless, the relative quiet within the Eurozone is still concerning, as it suggests that the systemic problems plaguing the zone remain. To fully understand the Eurozone's precarious position and what must be done to stabilize it, it is necessary to review the history of Eurozone's formation, its present status, and how the primary barriers to reform can be overcome.

Since its launch in 1999, the Euro has become one of the world's leading currencies and the official currency of 19 of the European Union's 28 member

1 Jeff D. Colgan, and Robert O. Keohane. "The Liberal Order Is Rigged." *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2017. Accessed May 7, 2018.

2 Paul Hannon. "Eurozone Economy Wavers in First Quarter." *The Wall Street Journal*, May 2, 2018.

states. It has served as a key instrument for helping create a common European market and ensuring “an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe.”³ As a result, the Eurozone must be considered an extension of the EU’s project of political integration, rather than a purely economic enterprise. This sentiment is reflected by scholars like Brunnermeier et. al, who note that French President François Mitterrand saw the Eurozone as a tool to end Germany’s hegemony in the realm of monetary policy and spread French views regarding government’s role in the national economy.⁴ France also saw a monetary union with Germany as an opportunity to enhance France’s power in monetary affairs instead of merely responding to Germany’s monetary decisions.⁵ Germany’s political goals for forming the Eurozone were far different. For instance, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl advocated for a currency union within Europe in the hopes of binding Germany’s fate with that of the rest of Europe.⁶ This echoes the theory that peace through economic interdependence decreases the likelihood of war.⁷

Although there is strong evidence to suggest the formation of the Eurozone was driven by political goals, economic interests also played an instrumental role. The Euro was created by Eurozone countries pegging the value of their currencies to one another.⁸ For Germany, this provided an opportunity to institutionalize their export advantage and their⁹ national preferences for price stability and low inflation rates across Europe, thus enhancing Germany’s economic wellbeing.¹⁰ France likewise saw the economic benefits of low inflation, and sought to benefit from Germany’s fiscal discipline.¹¹ Additionally, France and peripheral Eurozone nations saw the currency order as an opportunity to help relieve competitive trade pressure from Germany.¹²

3 Treaty on European Union. Signed 7 February 1992.

4 Markus.K. Brunnermeier et. al. *The Euro and The Battle of Ideas*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2016). 8.

5 Paul De Grauwe “The Political Economy of the Euro.” *Annual Review of Political Science*,16 (May 2013): 156. January 16, 2013. Accessed May 7, 2018.

6 Ibid.

7 Erik Gartzke. “The Capitalist Peace.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (2007): 166.

8 Broz, J. Lawrence, and Jeffrey A. Frieden. “The Political Economy of International Monetary Relations.” *Annual Review of Political Science*4 (June 2001): 320. Accessed May 7, 2018.

9 Torben Iversen, et. al. “The Eurozone and Political Economic Institutions.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19 (May 2016): 163-85. January 21, 2016. Accessed May 7, 2018.

10 Andrew Moravcsik, “Europe After the Crisis: How to Sustain a Common Currency,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 91, no. 3 (May/June 2012), pp. 55. Accessed May 7, 2018.

11 Torben Iversen, et. al. “The Eurozone and Political Economic Institutions.” 171.

12 Andrew Moravcsik, “Europe After the Crisis: How to Sustain a Common Currency.” 55.

Despite the political and economic advantages of the Eurozone, the currency order contained a potential fatal flaw - its failure to form an optimal currency area (OCA). This flaw haunts the Eurozone today. A currency order provides the legal and regulatory framework for a currency system to operate and, consequently, all nations within the Eurozone would utilize a fixed exchange rate and collectively form a regional currency order.¹³ For a currency order to qualify as an OCA, it must meet the following four conditions: 1) Members must possess similar economic structures; 2) Members must possess similar economic cycles; 3) Members must share a common market 4) Members must share a similar economic culture.¹⁴ Even though the economic interests of its members converged, the Eurozone was still primarily a political project, rather than an economic project.¹⁵ From the start, it was obvious the Eurozone members had different economic cycles. For instance, in 2016, Germany ran a trade surplus of 8% of its GDP while Greece ran a trade deficit of 0.7% of their GDP.¹⁶ In addition to possessing different economic cycles, there was a significant divergence of economic philosophies between the Eurozone's core members, France and Germany.¹⁷ Furthermore, although the Eurozone had restrictions on deficit spending and macroeconomic policy, there lacked an adequate enforcement mechanism to make these restrictions viable.¹⁸ As a result, the Eurozone was created in a haphazard manner that overlooked structural concerns .

The strong indication that the Eurozone is not an OCA has profound implications for Eurozone members. If a currency order is not an OCA, then it is possible for one area of the currency order to flourish while another languishes.¹⁹ This unfortunate reality is reflected by the systemic problems the Eurozone faced and continues to face in the aftermath of the 2008 global recession . In years preceding the financial crisis, the structure of the Eurozone allowed Germany to increase its export dependency, and enabled peripheral nations such as Spain and Greece to borrow at extraordinarily low, sometimes negative, interest rates.²⁰ After the 2008 financial crisis undermined economic

13 Robert A. Mundell. "The Future of the International Financial System." In *Bretton Woods Revisited: Evaluations of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*, 92. London: Macmillan, 1972

14 Sheridan, Jerome. "The Consequences of the Euro." *Challenge*, 42, no. 1 (1999): 44-47. October 6, 2015. Accessed May 7, 2018.

15 Markus.K. Brunnermeier et. al. *The Euro and The Battle of Ideas*. 8.

16 The World Bank. *External Balance on Goods and Services (% of GDP)*. Accessed May 7, 2018.

17 Markus.K. Brunnermeier et. al. *The Euro and The Battle of Ideas*. 3.

18 Torben Iversen, et. al. "The Eurozone and Political Economic Institutions." 168-169.

19 Sheridan, Jerome. "The Consequences of the Euro." 44-47.

20 Jeffrey A. Frieden. *Currency Politics - The Political Economy of Exchange Rate*

growth in peripheral nations, a Eurozone debt crisis rapidly emerged.²¹ Eventually, this debt crisis morphed into a balance of payment crisis that threatened to unravel the entire Eurozone.²²

Although the Eurozone is not an OCA, there are three adjustment tools the currency order may employ to remain solvent: devaluation via austerity, increased capital and labor mobility, and the creation of a Eurozone fiscal union.²³ The great challenge of deflationary pressure is that it is devastating to a nation's standard of living. This makes deflationary adjustments politically unpopular.²⁴ Similarly, entrenched interests in Europe's labor and capital markets make significant domestic reforms well-nigh impossible.²⁵ Additionally, these two types of reforms must be implemented in nations which are languishing economically, thus compounding the difficulty of reform.

While the Eurozone exists within the framework of the European Union, and thus possesses regulations that encourage capital and labor mobility between states, there is little evidence of meaningful movements of capital and labor. Based on foreign direct investment data from the OECD,²⁶ foreign direct investment from other Eurozone nations has amounted to less than one percent of GDP for Germany, France, Italy, Greece, and Spain since the 2008 global recession with only minor exceptions.²⁷ In fact, Italy witnessed capital outflows. Despite the most recent data running until only 2012, it is unlikely these figures have changed significantly. Thus, due to the importance of these economies within the Eurozone, it is reasonable to conclude that capital is relatively fixed within the Eurozone.

Similarly, trends in national unemployment in the same five nations suggest labor is also relatively fixed.²⁸ Germany, the Eurozone's largest economy, has the best unemployment rate of under four percent, full employment. Meanwhile, France and Italy, the second and third largest

Policy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016. 172-175.

21 Jeffrey A. Frieden and Stefanie Walter. "Understanding the Political Economy of the Eurozone Crisis." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20, no. 1 (May 11, 2017): 372. Accessed May 7, 2018.

22 Ibid.

23 Paul De Grauwe "The Political Economy of the Euro." 154-155.

24 Sheridan, Jerome. "The Consequences of the Euro." 49-50.

25 Ibid.

26 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. OECD Stat. FDI Flows by Industry. Accessed May 7, 2018.

27 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. OECD Stat. Gross Domestic Product (GDP): Gross Domestic Product (annual). Accessed May 7, 2018.

28 The World Bank. Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate) Accessed May 7, 2018.

Eurozone economies, have unemployment rates hovering around ten percent. And disturbingly, Greece has persistent unemployment rates over of 20 percent while Spain's unemployment rate has only recently dipped below 20 percent. The data also show that unemployment rates in these five nations have been static for the past several years, indicating labor is not moving to regions with better economic opportunities.

The realities of the lack of capital and labor mobility, coupled with the political unpopularity of austerity measures, makes a Eurozone fiscal union the only remaining option to ensure the currency union's long-term survival. In its simplest form, a formal fiscal union is an arrangement which features permanent financing in the form of transfer payments via debt relief for banks and sovereign governments.²⁹ The creation of a formal fiscal union provides Eurozone nations the opportunity to escape their economic malaise without having to enact politically unpopular austerity measures or labor reforms. Therefore, the Eurozone nations faced with costly domestic economic adjustments could utilize the currency union as a form of redistributive cooperation to externalize the cost of adjustments.³⁰

Though the creation of a Eurozone fiscal union could solve the zone's systemic problems, there is significant resistance from Germany, the Eurozone's economic hegemon. From the Eurozone's founding, there was evidence that suggested that Germany's economic hegemony was due to other countries pegging their currencies to the Deutsche Mark prior to the creation of the currency order.³¹ Following the recent Eurozone crisis, Germany's status as the economic hegemon is unquestionable.³² This position gives Germany the final say in the creation of Eurozone fiscal union. This reflects the ability of an economic hegemon to set the pace and tone of negotiations, and the reality that a hegemon must also bear a disproportionate level of costs when enacting reforms.

Germany's reliance on exports, and the competitive advantage its Eurozone membership offers it, give Germany a strong incentive to preserve the current currency union.³³ Indeed, the value of Germany's exports is equal

29 Jeffrey A. Frieden and Stefanie Walter. "Understanding the Political Economy of the Eurozone Crisis." 382.

30 Thomas Oatley and Robert Nabors. "Redistributive Cooperation: Market Failure, Wealth Transfers, and the Basle Accord." *International Organization*, 52, no. 01 (1998): 36. Accessed May 7, 2018.

31 Paul De Grauwe "The Political Economy of the Euro." 156.

32 Markus.K. Brunnermeier et. al. *The Euro and The Battle of Ideas*. 31.

33 Markus.K. Brunnermeier et. al. *The Euro and The Battle of Ideas*. 8.

to 46.1 percent of its GDP,³⁴ 36.3 percent of which go to EU countries.³⁵ It is likely that if the Eurozone collapsed and Germany readopted the Deutsche Mark, Germany's economic heft would make its currency appreciate relative to its neighbors, thus costing Germany its competitive export advantage. Nevertheless, Germany faces economic pressures against the creation of a Eurozone fiscal union as well.

Because of German economic theory's premium on fiscal restraint and responsibility, Germany possesses a stable economic system and is willing to undergo short-term economic hardship to make necessary economic adjustments.³⁶ Since France and other Eurozone nations do not similarly value fiscal restraint and responsibility, Germany fears that if it were to enter a fiscal union and provide continual financial assistance to the rest of the Eurozone, a moral hazard would emerge.³⁷ This moral hazard assumes that France and other Eurozone nations would take German emergency assistance for granted, and would subsequently engage in risky macroeconomic policy. Therefore, in the advent of another Eurozone crisis in this scenario, Germany would incur the costs of saving the Eurozone. If a crisis were severe enough, it is possible that the costs incurred by Germany's membership in the fiscal union outweigh the benefits from export competitiveness in the Eurozone. There is also the danger that, in the worst-case scenario, Germany may not possess the financial wherewithal to save the Eurozone. Consequently, Germany would incur the cost of the fiscal union in the short-term and still lose the benefits to its exports in the long-term.

Understanding Germany's conflicting economic incentives helps to explain Germany's interest in preserving the status quo. The lack of reforms means, however, that the structural problems that emerged after the 2008 Financial Crisis still haunt the Eurozone today. As one of the global economy's pivotal institutions, the continued stability of the Eurozone is paramount to the longevity of the liberal international order. The collapse of the Eurozone could possibly undermine the future of European integration, thus further fragmenting the international system.

Unfortunately, it would appear that the prospects of fiscal union are increasingly unlikely. In Germany, Angela Merkel's fragile position as Prime Minister makes the adoption of potentially costly Eurozone reforms highly

34 The World Bank. Exports of Goods and Services (% of GDP). Accessed May 7, 2018.

35 World Integrated Trade Solution. Germany Trade Summary 2016. Accessed May 7, 2018.

36 Markus.K. Brunnermeier et. al. *The Euro and The Battle of Ideas*. 67

37 *Ibid.* 74.

doubtful.³⁸ And while French President Emmanuel Macron has made strides in labor reforms, stiff protests from French unions will likely limit his ability to make further domestic reforms to counterbalance the Eurozone's adverse effects on labor mobility.³⁹ Additionally, it is expected the stunning victory of the anti-EU populist Five Star Party in Italy will further complicate reform efforts.⁴⁰

Although collapse is by no means a foregone conclusion for the Eurozone, the inability to address its deep systemic problems raises serious concerns. In the face of growing political risk within the Eurozone, leaders in Europe and the United States must recognize the structural fragility of the currency union and work together to help promote economic and financial stability. If the Eurozone is to survive, its member states must be willing to make mutual sacrifices for the collective good. Just as the creation of the Eurozone is rooted in European politics, so shall its survival rest upon the future of European politics.

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- 38 Erik Kirschbaum. "Germany's Merkel Walks Away a Winner after Vote That Could Have Ended Her Career." *Los Angeles Times*, March 4, 2018. Accessed May 7, 2018.
- 39 "Macron's Rail Reforms and French Union Strikes." *Reuters*, April 8, 2018. Accessed May 7, 2018.
- 40 Mario Monti. "Former Italian Prime Minister: The Election Result Will Be a Nightmare for the E.U." *The Washington Post*, March 6, 2018. Accessed May 7, 2018.
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An Empirical Examination of Boko Haram's Female Suicide Bombers

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On December 9th, 2016, two schoolgirls entered a crowded marketplace in Madagali, Nigeria. The young girls, posing as customers, paused to shop at a stall selling grain and second-hand goods. Suddenly, they detonated the two suicide vests hidden under their clothing, killing and wounding over 100 civilians.¹ Instances like this have become common in Nigeria's Borno province and throughout West Africa's Lake Chad Basin. Locals live in constant fear of these suicide attacks, the vast majority of which are carried out by the insurgent group Boko Haram. The terrorist organization has worked in violent opposition to the Nigerian government and its allies since 2009, using an unprecedented number of young girls as their martyrs.

Suicide terrorism itself is a rare, although increasingly popular, destructive, and horrifying tactic employed by terrorist groups, often as a last-ditch effort in conflict. Boko Haram has become an anomaly by exploiting fleets of young females and using them as suicide attackers. Although female suicide bombers have been used by other insurgent groups, Boko Haram is employing young female bombers at significantly higher rates. Since 2015, about 60% of the suicide bombers in attacks linked to Boko Haram have been perpetrated by females, and this number continues to rise.² Many questions still exist as to what group strategy may be driving the group to employ this unusual tactic. To begin to answer these questions, this paper will present a brief overview of relevant empirical data on Boko Haram's suicide attack campaign.

What is Boko Haram, and Who Are Their Suicide Bombers?

The group commonly referred to as Boko Haram—and self-identified as Jama'at Ahl al-Sunna lil-Da'wa wa al-Jihad—has been operating in Northern

1 BBC News 9 Dec. 2016.; The Independent 9 Dec. 2016.

2 Data is taken from the Chicago Project on Security and Threats' Suicide Attack Database (SAD), a dataset that includes information on all known suicide attacks around the globe between 1974 and 2018. All data is double verified and this paper only uses data confirmed by at least two independent sources.

Nigeria since 2002. Boko Haram emerged as a religious cult based on a disavowal of Western culture as well as the adoption of Western customs by Nigerian elites. The group has continuously conducted insurgent operations against the Nigerian government since 2009 and has recently spread its efforts to the neighboring countries of Chad, Cameroon, and Niger. In 2015, Boko Haram pledged allegiance to the Islamic State (ISIS) and has since cemented its reputation as one of the world's most brutal Islamist insurgent groups. Despite numerous counterinsurgency efforts by the Nigerian government and its allies, Boko Haram has proceeded to escalate its use of unconventional and often indiscriminate violence against military and civilian targets.

When Boko Haram first began its suicide attack campaign in 2011, the group utilized exclusively male attackers. Reports indicate that bombers were generally young, but were rarely children.³ Today, Boko Haram's suicide bombers fit a much different demographic profile: bombers are more often than not female, particularly young, and frequently children.

Figure 1 displays the overall gender breakdown of Boko Haram suicide bombers since 2011, where cases in which the gender of the bomber was

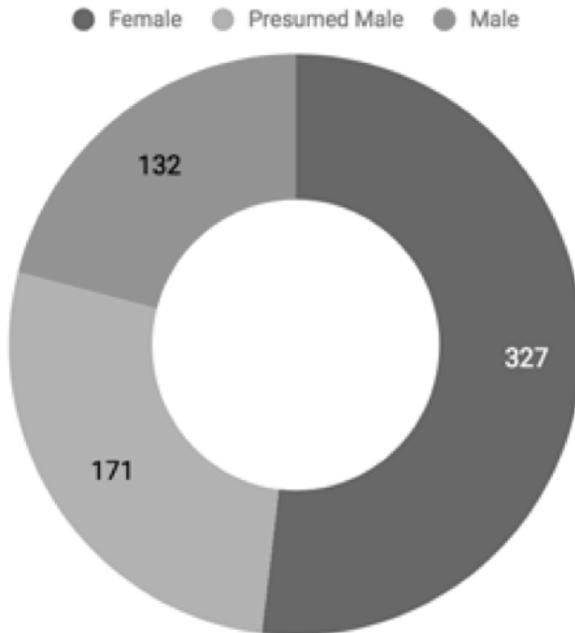


Figure 1: Total suicide attacks by presumed gender, 2011-2017

3 SAD Source list 2011-2014

unknown coded as “Presumed Male”. There has been a strong increase in female bombers since 2014, as well as an increase in the overall percentage of bombers that have been female. Particularly striking is the fact that the group has been employing male bombers for almost twice as long, yet the total number of female bombers continues to surpass that of male bombers. Although there has also been an increase in the number of male bombers—as an indicator of the expansion of the suicide attack campaign—the overall percentage of bombers that are male has decreased.

The spike in female bombers leads to questions concerning how and why Boko Haram garners so many young female combatants. Many of the girls are reported to have been forced into joining the group, having been either kidnapped or sold to Boko Haram by their parents.⁴ Oftentimes, there is dispute over whether the girls have agency in the attacks they are committing, or whether they are being coerced into perform such heinous operations. Multiple reports present instances of girls being coerced into becoming suicide bombers, or threatened with “martyrdom” if they did not cede to the demands of their husbands. Some girls, however, have been reported to join the group or become suicide bombers of their own volition, yet it is difficult to decipher the range of motivating factors behind the individual bombers.³

Boko Haram’s female suicide bombers are also notoriously young. Currently, little to no reliable data exists concerning the ages of each individual attacker, although news reports commonly provide age range estimates as recounted by witnesses. Numerous interviews with witnesses and former group members indicate that a large portion of the attackers are teenagers or even children.⁴

Women and children’s strategic position within Boko Haram, and their value to the group as a whole, lie in their ability to aid in prolonging group survival. As men may be perceived as being more effective in combat than women, men can be preserved for more conventional fighting, whereas women and children are often utilized for their ability to discreetly carry bombs into populated areas. Furthermore, using unconventional fighters such as women and children has a powerful shock value, demonstrating to global audiences that the group is willing to go to extreme lengths in order to achieve its goals.

Who Are the Bombers Targeting?

As demonstrated by *Figure 2*, the majority of Boko Haram suicide attacks are aimed at civilian targets. Boko Haram rarely targets political buildings, groups, or individuals, and instead directs most attacks towards soft targets and

4 Searcey 2017.

security forces.⁵ *Figure 3* displays the percentage breakdown of targeting by the bomber's gender. A higher percentage of female bombers are used against soft civilian targets, whereas male bombers are utilized against security targets at a higher rate. The very small number of attacks against political targets have on the whole been carried out by male attackers yet attacks against this target type are extremely rare in comparison to the others. Looking solely at instances where attacker gender has been confirmed may easily lead to the conclusion that there exists an underlying targeting logic related to gender: females attack civilian targets, males attack security and political targets. Yet, in cases where attacker gender is not explicitly specified (i.e. "Presumed Male") are counted as male, a trend in gender-based targeting may appear less convincing.

Target Type	Female	Male	Presumed Male	Grand Total
Civilian	262	93	112	467
Political	4	6	3	13
Security	60	33	58	151
Grand Total	326	132	173	631

Figure 2: Total count for target type by gender.

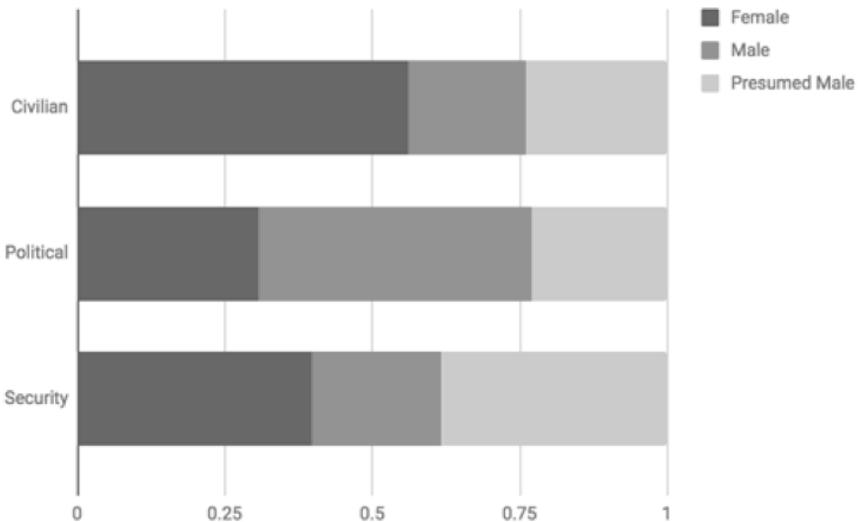


Figure 3: Percentage of target type by gender.

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When Did Boko Haram Begin Using Female Bombers?

Although Boko Haram has been employing suicide terrorism as a battle tactic since 2011, the group did not begin to use female bombers until 2014. The first attack by a female bomber occurred shortly after the group kidnapped 276 schoolgirls from the Government Secondary School of Chibok, Nigeria in April 2014. The Chibok Girls' abduction captured international media attention, reaffirming that attacking soft civilian targets—especially women and children—produces a unique and poignant shock factor. It is likely that the group continues to utilize young female bombers in order to garner publicity and intensify the coercive psychological effects of suicide attacks.

Sharp increases in female suicide attacks have occurred at multiple points during the group's campaign. Each of these spikes have coincided massive efforts by the Nigerian government to eradicate Boko Haram. *Figure 4* tracks the number of suicide attacks over time by attacker gender. The graph is broken down by quarters and denotes the largest counterinsurgency campaigns launched by the Nigerian state. Each spike in suicide attacks is shown to be shortly preceded by a large military effort. Suicide attacks multiply in the wake of counterinsurgency campaigns, as the group fronts a retaliatory effort against the state. Furthermore, these spikes may point to female suicide attacks as being a last-ditch effort employed by the group when faced with a grave

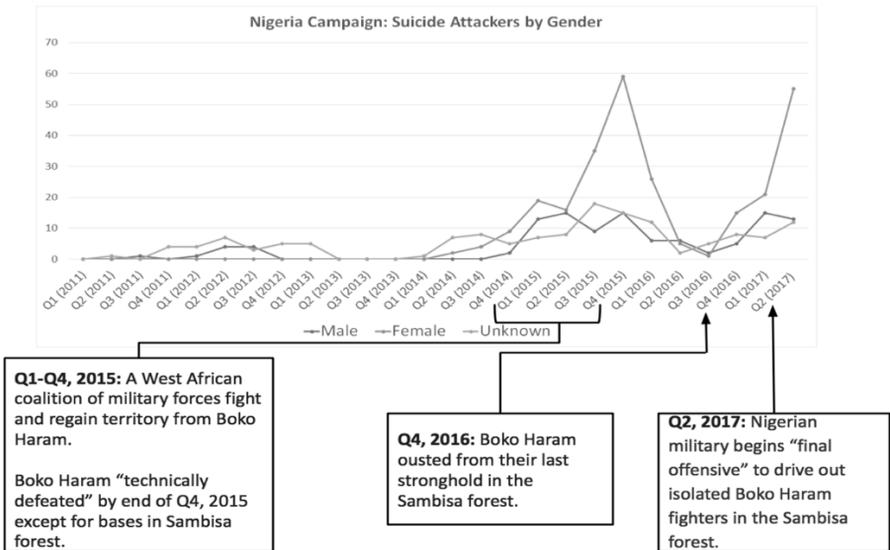


Figure 4: Attacks by attacker gender over time.

existential threat. Boko Haram has the ability to utilize females as suicide bombers and preserve male militants for combat operations. The group is challenged by the more powerful foe, finds itself greatly weakened and in need of inexpensive fighters, and looks to send a message in the most potent way possible.

Territory and Retaliation

As *Figure 2* demonstrates, the first large spike in female suicide bombing occurred just after a major operation by the Nigerian government and Joint Multinational Task Force to retake territory in Borno and Kano provinces.⁶ This territory had been captured and occupied by Boko Haram since early 2014. The spike in female bombing came not during the efforts by the government, but afterward, likely as both “punishment” for the State’s offensive, and as signaling that the group was still able to cause significant damage. Similar events took place at the end of 2016, as the Nigerian government aimed to push Boko Haram from its last territorial holdings in the Sambisa Forest area. After the effort, Boko Haram retaliated, utilizing large numbers of female bombers in attacks in early 2017.

Why Does This Matter?

Both Nigerian presidents Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari had pronounced Boko Haram to be ‘defeated’ several times. Yet, with each pronouncement the group continues to resurface. Every surge causes the group to incur large losses, as the power dynamic in the conflict heavily favors the state military. Boko Haram’s use of female suicide bombers comes as a last-ditch effort for the group to recover from its large losses.⁷ In this, the group’s utilization of females as suicide bombers demonstrates a perceived existential threat and may even act as an indicator of crucial group weakness. As Boko Haram faces more and more of a threat to its existence, the group is willing to break even the most basic norms to achieve strategic advantage.

Tracking Boko Haram’s suicide attacker demographics and targeting logics can provide important insights into the groups’ changing goals, potential weaknesses, and long-term strategies. Understanding these patterns will play a crucial role in defeating Boko Haram and establishing peace in Northern Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin.

6 Suicide Attack Database Source List

7 Common civilian targets include marketplaces, IDP camps, and residential areas. Common security targets include Nigerian military and MNJTF soldiers, private security guards, and members of the Comité de Vigilance—an armed vigilante organization.

The CJFP is unfortunately unable to print all submissions that are sent to us, but we received several outstanding pieces this year that will appear on our website alongside our staff contributions. These pieces, which can be found at **TheCJFP.com**, include the following:

Honorable Mentions

“Freezing Hot in the Arctic,” by Sarah McKellar from American University. McKellar’s piece explores the environmental, strategic, and economic consequences of our inattention to the Arctic region today, and offers several policy recommendations to the United States in the Arctic, including promoting sustainable infrastructure, strengthening cooperation with other Arctic nations, and ratifying the Convention on the Law of the Sea.

“Untangling a Diplomatic History: An Analysis of American Interventionist Policy in Iran from 1951 to 1954,” by Katie Garcia of Columbia University. Garcia studies the run-up to the 1953 coup in Iran and its aftermath, and concludes that frameworks for understanding the coup should not be reductionist and focus exclusively on oil interests or geostrategic Cold War interests, but rather should consider the mutual dependency of the two.

“The Effectiveness of Cash Transfers,” by Gabriel Broshy of the University of Chicago. Broshy argues, based on a thorough body of academic research and meta-analyses, that direct transfers of money, with or without conditions, to those under the global poverty line can dramatically mitigate poverty, and can serve as a framework for mitigating poverty in the developed world as well.

“We Don’t Negotiate With Terrorists’: But Should We?” by Rebecca Mooney of the University of Rochester. Mooney’s article - a work of original research - investigates whether negotiating with terrorist groups during crisis situations, such as kidnappings for ransom, is more effective than no-concessions policies. Mooney finds that many terrorist organizations are actually likelier to commit an attack after a ransom is paid to them.

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