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**New Faces XVI (2015) Abstracts**

**Mark Bell**

**Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy**

How does the acquisition of nuclear weapons affect the foreign policies of the states that acquire them? Despite its critical importance, this question has not yet been answered satisfactorily. My dissertation aims to make three contributions in answering this question. First, I offer a new typology of conceptually distinct effects of nuclear weapons on foreign policy that allows us to move beyond catch-all terms such as “emboldenment.” In particular, I distinguish between independence, bolstering, aggression, expansion, steadfastness, and compromise, and show theoretically that nuclear weapons may facilitate (i.e., reduce the expected cost of engaging in) each of these behaviors. Second, my dissertation theorizes the circumstances in which we should expect to observe these different effects of nuclear acquisition. While nuclear weapons may facilitate each of these behaviors, not all states find each of these behaviors equally attractive. I argue that a sequence of three binary variables—the presence of severe territorial threats; the presence of allies that provide for the state’s security; and the state’s power trajectory—predict the foreign policy behaviors that are most attractive to the state, and, thus, the uses to which nuclear weapons can most profitably be directed. The theory therefore makes determinate predictions for the changes in state foreign policy that should be expected to occur in the aftermath of nuclear acquisition, based on observable variables that can be measured prior to nuclear acquisition. Third, the dissertation tests this theory against three alternative explanations using historical case studies of the UK, South Africa, and the United States, all of which draw on multi-archival research.

**Zayna Bizri**

**Selling Her the Military: Recruiting Women into the United States Armed Forces in World War II**

The onset of World War II precipitated a labor shortage throughout the United States. The increasing demand for men in both industry and the military drove many employers to search for new labor pools – white women and men and women of color. This project will consider the ways in which women were recruited into the United States military, beginning with the first legislation in 1942, and ending in 1945, when the war ended and new recruits were no longer needed. This project considers the recruiting campaigns for the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, including posters, magazine advertisements, and radio spots, and process by which the campaigns were developed. It will show a conversation within public relations and recruiting departments, as well as the conversation with the women encountering the materials in public spaces. This project will further demonstrate that the recruiting campaigns had the unintended result of changing how gender was perceived in the United States.

**Martin Clemis**

**The Control War: Communist Revolutionary Warfare, Pacification, and the Struggle for South Vietnam, 1968-1975.**

The Second Indochina War, like all armed conflicts, possessed a unique spatiality. Although often called a “war without fronts,” the reality is that it was a war with innumerable fronts, as insurgents and counterinsurgents wrestled to seize political power and to control territory and population throughout forty-four provinces, 250 districts, and more than 11,000 hamlets. The contest for South Vietnam was not one geographical war, but many; it was a highly complex politico-military struggle that fragmented space and atomized the battlefield along a million divergent points of conflict. Like other irregular civil conflicts, the key to winning political power in South Vietnam was to control both the physical world (territory, population, resources) and the ideational world (the political organization of occupied territory). The means to do so was insurgency and pacification – two approaches that pursued the same goals (population and territory control) and used the same methods (a blend of military force, political violence, and socioeconomic policy) despite their countervailing purposes. This dissertation explores the highly complex and irregular spatiality of the Second Indochina War and examines the ways that both the communists and the Republic of Vietnam and its American ally conceptualized space and utilized geography and the environment to serve strategic, tactical, and political purposes. It argues that the war was shaped, and in large part determined, by spatial and environmental factors. The natural and the manmade world were not only central but a decisive factor in the trajectory / outcome of this irregular conflict. The study is intended to enrich our understanding of the war in Southeast Asia and shed further light on this unique conflict (and other irregular wars) by highlighting dimensions (spatial and geographical) that heretofore have been marginalized or overlooked within straightforward political and / or military analyses.

**Michelle Getchell**

**Extracting the Eagle’s Talons: The Soviet Union in Cold War Latin America**

While the Cold War in Latin America has been examined from a variety of angles, the scholarship on Soviet-Latin American relations is thin, outdated, and based almost totally on published sources. Moreover, much of the literature is replete with misconceptions about the nature of the Soviet approach to the Western Hemisphere and the relationship between Moscow and its regional allies. Using a case study approach, and based on substantial research in the archives of the former Soviet Union, this dissertation argues that Moscow’s approach to Latin America was more cautious and pragmatic than ideological and messianic. Rather than attempting to extend their control over the region, the Soviets instead sought to pry Latin American regimes away from dependence on the United States and to encourage the region to adopt a non-aligned foreign policy. To a degree heretofore not sufficiently appreciated, this approach involved the clever use of international organizations, particularly the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. Moreover, Latin American communists and Soviet sympathizers were hugely influential in shaping Moscow’s perceptions of the region and its relationship to the United States, and in pressuring Soviet leaders to provide more support to their regional allies.

**Daniel Hummel**

**American Evangelicals, Israel, and Modern Christian Zionism**

This dissertation traces a significant shift in Evangelical thinking about Jews, Judaism, and Israel that occurred after the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. Beginning with the first American Evangelicals to move to Israel in the 1950s, I examine a tightknit group of missionaries and organizational leaders who, in response to their experiences abroad and growing institutional and intellectual ties between Israel and the United States, developed a cluster of ideas I have termed “Interfaith Evangelicalism.” These ideas rethought traditional Christian understandings of Jews and Jewish missions, and emphasized Christian support for Israel and the “Jewish roots” of Christianity. Intersecting with broader conversations about Judeo-Christianity, interfaith dialogue, and Holy Land tourism, Interfaith Evangelicalism emerged, after the Arab-Israel War in June 1967, as a primary conduit for Israel and the American Jewish Committee (the most engaged American Jewish organization on issues of interfaith relations) to court American Evangelical leaders. The resulting special relationship would have significant consequences for U.S.-Israeli diplomatic and cultural relations.

**Sabrina Monuza Karim**

**Evaluating the Changing of the Guards: Survey Evidence from Liberia on Security Sector: Female Ratio Balancing Reforms**

What role does gender play as post-conflict countries strive to re-establish confidence in their domestic institutions? Since 2000, The United Nations has embarked on an ambitious agenda to female ratio balance the domestic institutions of post-conflict countries as a means to establish long-term peace and stability. This paper builds on this wisdom by suggesting that female ratio balancing in the security sector meets three possible criteria for restoring trust in the domestic institutions of post-conflict countries: constraint, inclusiveness, and transformation. Using this logic, female ratio balancing as a security sector reform has the potential to increase confidence in domestic institutions and thereby create the right conditions for peacekeeping transition. The argument is tested using original surveys conducted in post-conflict Liberia. All expectations received empirical support. The findings suggest that policies related to gender may contribute to improving trust in the state, thereby exhibiting the importance of considering gender in theories related to post-conflict peace building and international relations more broadly.

**Julia MacDonald**

**Credibility in Crisis: The Role of Leadership Beliefs in State Threat Assessments**

Why is it that some threats are believed credible by states during crises, while others are not? How do target states interpret coercive signals intended to establish threat credibility during these periods? Any detailed, systematic investigation of these questions is largely missing in International Relations (IR). In brief, and counter to standard rationalist and power-based theories, I argue that variation in leadership beliefs within a target state are key to understanding how threatening signals are interpreted during crises. Research within political science has shown that decision makers’ differing belief systems and assumptions about the nature of international politics can hold important implications for political outcomes. I build on this research to argue that a target state’s prior interactions with an adversary determine its leader’s beliefs and expectations regarding the extent of that adversary’s interests and satisfaction with the status quo. Beliefs about an adversary’s interests and goals feed into a target state leader’s perception of his or her threat environment, helping to clarify the primary sources of potential insecurity. Leaders prioritize their threat environments based on these beliefs and allocate states resources to those threats deemed more urgent than others. When future crises arise, a target state leader’s prior beliefs act as important lenses, filtering information and determining how signals are received and interpreted, with important implications for assessments of threat credibility. I build and test this theory through the comparative historical analysis of five carefully selected interstate crises – the Suez Crisis, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Sino-Soviet Border Crisis, the Falklands War, and the Iraq War 2003. This project offers important insights to policymakers and academics alike. In terms of its theoretical import, the findings of this dissertation contribute to theories of crisis bargaining, foreign policy decision making, and recent work linking regime type to war. Beyond its academic significance, this dissertation also aims to provide policymakers with a better understanding of the limitations inherent in interstate communication, as well as to identify some conditions under which signaling mechanisms can be employed effectively to convey U.S. resolve in the future.

**Alec Worsnop**

**Who Can Keep the Peace? Insurgent Organizational Control of Collected Violence**

The United States and other members of the international community have expended billions of dollars and thousands of lives confronting insurgent organizations across the globe. Strikingly, however, there has been little analysis of how some groups have developed the military capacity to challenge superior forces. The importance of this question has been illustrated by the recent rise of the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. Yet, existing research provides limited insight as (1) it has not conceptualized military eﬀectiveness in a sub-state context, and (2) it is focused on structural determinants of insurgent behavior. Thus, I construct a conception of insurgent military eﬀectiveness capturing distinctions such as insurgents’ inability to keep ceasefires or to control who is targeted by violence as well as a theory arguing that it is not the resources organizations have that determine eﬀectiveness, but how well their organizational structure allows them to leverage those resources. In particular, the theory focuses on both informal structures of social support and formal military structures such as logistics, command and control, and personnel management systems in explaining how some insurgent organizations achieve relatively high levels of military eﬀectiveness and others do not. After using a large-N analysis to demonstrate that structural factors are poor predictors of organizational structure and conflict outcomes, I test my theory with in-depth case studies of groups from Vietnam (1940-1975) and Iraq (2003-present) using archival documents, interviews, and secondary sources. My research untangles puzzles such as how, in Vietnam, the Viet Minh and Viet Cong became so successful while other nationalist and religious groups did not or, in Iraq, how the so-called Islamic State has operated with such military prowess. My findings also help to clarify existing research—such as the study of fragmentation during civil war—while providing precise suggestions about managing sub-state violence by better identifying and training partners, crafting and maintaining peace agreements, and addressing poor governance that perpetuates conflict.