

August–September 2020

Survival

GLOBAL
POLITICS AND
STRATEGY

Crisis and response

Kori Schake on Trump, race and civil–military relations

Erik Jones on COVID and European economies

Emma Mika Riley, Christopher Olivares, Laura Rong,
Niklas Hintermayer and Zoe Mize: Life under lockdown



Dalia Dassa Kaye and Shira Efron on Israel and Iran

Thomas Graham and Dmitri Trenin on US–Russian relations

Michael J. Mazarr: A new norm of virtual territorial integrity

Contents

- 7 **Israel's Evolving Iran Policy** *Dalia Dassa Kaye and Shira Efron*
With a US administration fully sympathetic to Benjamin Netanyahu's strident hostility towards Iran, Israeli officials have little to debate.

Commentary

- 31 **The Military and the Constitution Under Trump** *Kori Schake*
The US military's rebuke of Donald Trump's attempt to militarise domestic law enforcement was perhaps the most important episode in US civil–military relations since Harry Truman fired Douglas MacArthur in 1951.
- 39 **Iran and Mr Bolton** *Mark Fitzpatrick*
It is incredible for John Bolton to say, in *The Room Where It Happened*, that avoiding a conflict with Iran was 'irrational'.
- 47 **Don't Fear China's Belt and Road Initiative** *Christopher Mott*
The BRI poses no real threat to the United States' geopolitical position, and may indirectly enhance US diplomatic options.

Noteworthy

- 59 **Port Investments in the Belt and Road Initiative: Is Beijing Grabbing Strategic Assets?** *Jordan Calinoff and David Gordon*
China's actual BRI port strategy is more challenging for the United States and Beijing's other Western rivals than the imagined strategy of debt-trap diplomacy.

Europe's New Reckoning

- 81 **COVID-19 and the EU Economy: Try Again, Fail Better** *Erik Jones*
The problem of macroeconomic adjustment requires a political solution agreed at the European level and then sold back to national electorates.

New Norms and Old

- 101 **Virtual Territorial Integrity: The Next International Norm** *Michael J. Mazarr*
Such a norm could prohibit cyber attacks on physical infrastructure, interference in electoral processes and divisive informational campaigns.
- 119 **Towards a New Model for US–Russian Relations** *Thomas Graham and Dmitri Trenin*
The future is going to be a mixture of competition and cooperation, mainly competition, with much of the cooperation aimed at managing it.

Contents

- 7 **Israel's Evolving Iran Policy** *Dalia Dassa Kaye and Shira Efron*
With a US administration fully sympathetic to Benjamin Netanyahu's strident hostility towards Iran, Israeli officials have little to debate.

Commentary

- 31 **The Military and the Constitution Under Trump** *Kori Schake*
The US military's rebuke of Donald Trump's attempt to militarise domestic law enforcement was perhaps the most important episode in US civil–military relations since Harry Truman fired Douglas MacArthur in 1951.
- 39 **Iran and Mr Bolton** *Mark Fitzpatrick*
It is incredible for John Bolton to say, in *The Room Where It Happened*, that avoiding a conflict with Iran was 'irrational'.
- 47 **Don't Fear China's Belt and Road Initiative** *Christopher Mott*
The BRI poses no real threat to the United States' geopolitical position, and may indirectly enhance US diplomatic options.

56 Noteworthy

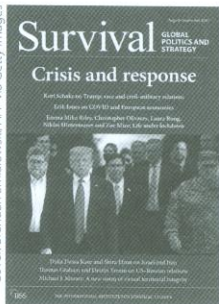
- 59 **Port Investments in the Belt and Road Initiative: Is Beijing Grabbing Strategic Assets?** *Jordan Calinoff and David Gordon*
China's actual BRI port strategy is more challenging for the United States and Beijing's other Western rivals than the imagined strategy of debt-trap diplomacy.

Europe's New Reckoning

- 81 **COVID-19 and the EU Economy: Try Again, Fail Better** *Erik Jones*
The problem of macroeconomic adjustment requires a political solution agreed at the European level and then sold back to national electorates.

New Norms and Old

- 101 **Virtual Territorial Integrity: The Next International Norm** *Michael J. Mazarr*
Such a norm could prohibit cyber attacks on physical infrastructure, interference in electoral processes and divisive informational campaigns.
- 119 **Towards a New Model for US–Russian Relations** *Thomas Graham and Dmitri Trenin*
The future is going to be a mixture of competition and cooperation, mainly competition, with much of the cooperation aimed at managing it.



On the cover

US President Donald Trump, followed by administration officials, leaves the White House on 1 June 2020 en route to Saint John's Church via Lafayette Square, after the area had been forcibly cleared of anti-racism protesters.

On the web

Visit www.iiss.org/publications/survival for brief notices on new books on Asia-Pacific, Russia and Eurasia, and Politics and International Relations.

Survival editors' blog

For ideas and commentary from *Survival* editors and contributors, visit www.iiss.org/blogs/survival-blog.

135 **Deterrence and the NPT: Compatible and Reinforcing** *Gregory F. Giles*

The relationship between nuclear deterrence and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is, and always has been, symbiotic.

Provocation and Restraint

157 **Opportunistic Aggression in the Twenty-first Century** *Hal Brands and Evan Braden Montgomery*

Policymakers should not fool themselves into thinking that there are easy, low-cost alternatives to keeping the threat of opportunistic aggression at bay.

183 **The UAE and the War in Yemen: From Surge to Recalibration** *Thomas Juneau*

In 2019 the United Arab Emirates undertook to recalibrate its intervention in the Yemen conflict, without ending it altogether.

Review Essays

209 **A Great and Growing Rift** *John A. Gans, Jr*

As James Mann makes clear in his engaging dual biography, the world views and weaknesses of Colin Powell and Dick Cheney eventually undermined not just their relationship, but also American foreign relations.

217 **Northern Exposure** *Russell Crandall and Frederick Richardson*

Carrie Gibson's *El Norte* vividly demonstrates that the United States would not be what it is today without strong, deep and underappreciated Hispanic influences.

Book Reviews

225 **Asia-Pacific** *Lanxin Xiang*

231 **Russia and Eurasia** *Angela Stent*

238 **Politics and International Relations** *Steven Simon*

Closing Argument

245 **Notes from a Pandemic: Bologna, Rome, Nanjing, Vienna and San Jose** *Emma Mika Riley, Christopher Olivares, Laura Rong, Niklas Hintermayer and Zoe Mize*

As Italy became the new epicentre, five graduate students came to terms with isolation, and planned surreal journeys home.