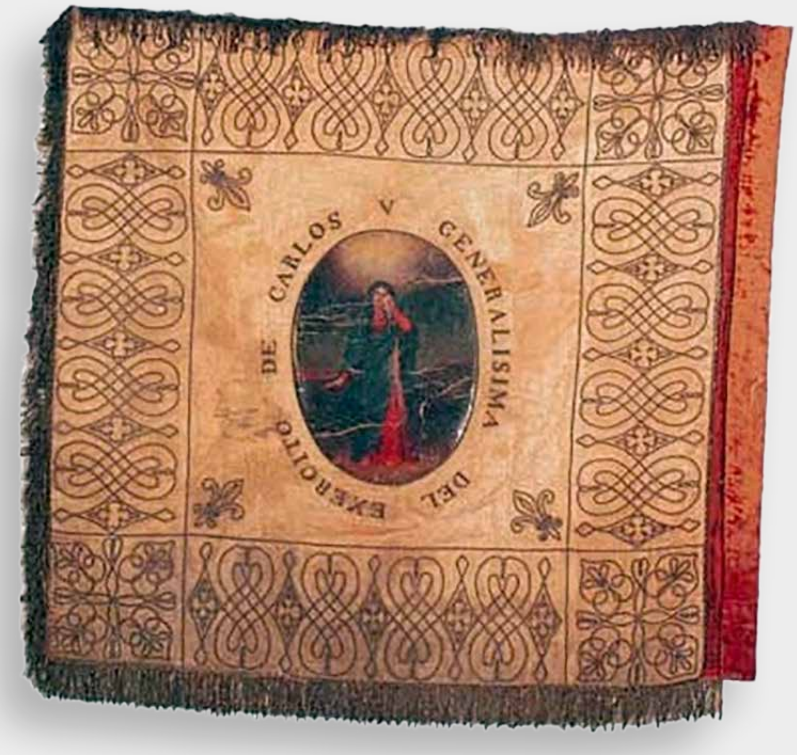
NUOVA ANTOLOGIA MILITARE
RIVISTA INTERDISCIPLINARE DELLA SOCIETÀ ITALIANA DI STORIA MILITARE

N. 6
2025

Fascicolo 24. Novembre 2025

Storia Militare Contemporanea (6)



Società Italiana di Storia Militare

Nuova Antologia Militare

Rivista interdisciplinare della Società Italiana di Storia Militare

Periodico telematico open-access annuale (www.nam-sism.org)

Registrazione del Tribunale Ordinario di Roma n. 06 del 30 Gennaio 2020

Scopus List of Accepted Titles October 2022 (No. 597)

Rivista scientifica ANVUR (5/9/2023) Area 11, Area 10 (21/12/2024)

Direzione, Via Bosco degli Arvali 24, 00148 Roma

Contatti: direzione@nam-sigm.org ; virgilio.ilari@gmail.com

Grafica: Nadir Media Srl - Via Giuseppe Veronese, 22 - 00146 Roma

info@nadirmedia.it

Gruppo Editoriale Tab Srl -Viale Manzoni 24/c - 00185 Roma

www.tabedizioni.it

ISSN: 2704-9795

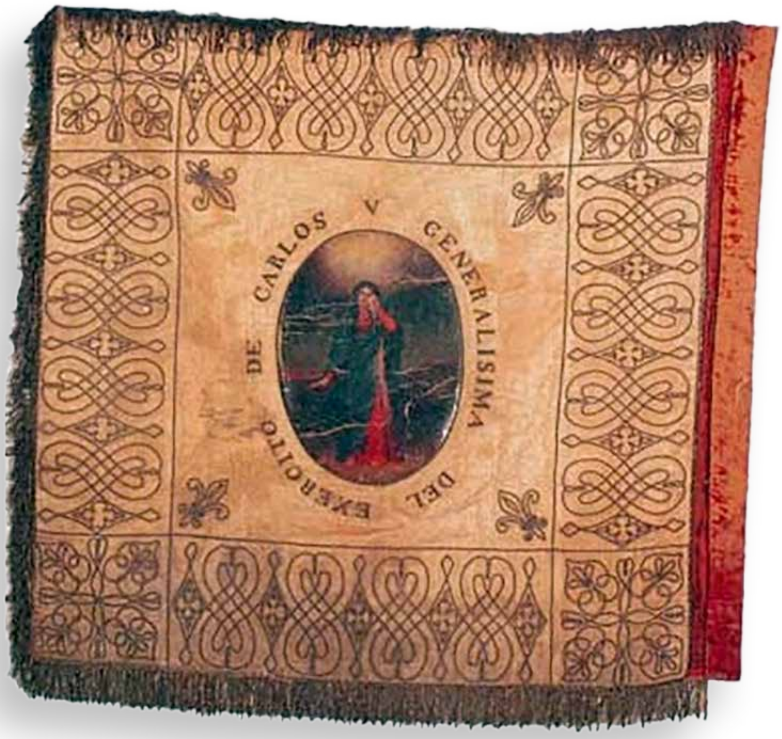
ISBN Fascicolo 979-12-5669-253-8

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA MILITARE
RIVISTA INTERDISCIPLINARE DELLA SOCIETÀ ITALIANA DI STORIA MILITARE

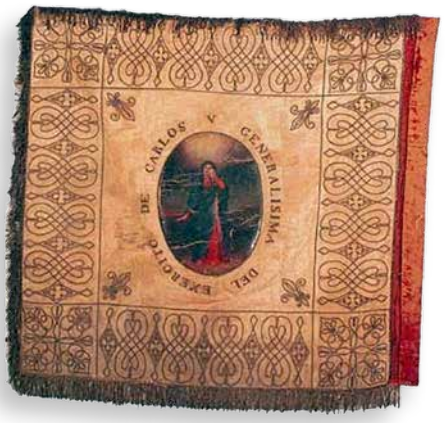
N. 6
2025

Fascicolo 24. Novembre 2025

Storia Militare Contemporanea (6)



Società Italiana di Storia Militare



Estandart Reyal u d'a Cheneralísma, prencipal bandera carlista d'a primera guerra bordada por María Francisca de Braganza em 1833 Royal Standard of the General in Chief, main Carlist flag of the First War embroidered by Maria Francisca de Braganza in 1833). Wikimedia Commons

Failed states: The need for a paradigm shift in peace-driven state-building

by Jaime A. Teixeira da Silva

"war made the state and the state made war" (Tilly, 1992, p. 42)

Abstract: This paper examines select distinct characteristics of failed states (FSs). The strongest factors that might characterize a FS are a collapse in moral and ethical values, failed leadership, pressures and threats by international forces, the exploitation of natural resources, as well as internal and external dissent and protest. In some cases, FSs are artificially collapsed, but are such economic and political geo-strategies warranted? International conflict resolution might not necessarily achieve this, and quite the opposite, either through direct military interventions or pro- or contra-government militias, or via more "peaceful" coalitional strategizing under "humanitarian" or "climate change" banners, keep a state in perpetual dysfunction, providing optimal conditions for long-term exploitation of its resources. Alternative solutions for peacebuilding, such as women's activism, or anarchist approaches do not seem to be robust solutions to conflicts that might require military interventions, while the pacification of radical insurgencies is an imperfect solution, so more attention is needed to this topic. Adaptive peacebuilding has emerged as a novel paradigm in peacebuilding efforts to deal with FSs.
Keywords: adaptive peacebuilding; anarchy; collapse in values and infrastructure; conflict; corruption; dysfunctionality; external influences; interventionism; legitimacy; neoliberal peacebuilding; networks; quality; risks; security; threats; viability

What characteristics might define a failed state?

Conscientious of the fallacies and frailties of the "failed state" (FS) concept (Call, 2008), a FS can nonetheless arise when a government's infrastructure collapses, making it dysfunctional or insecure (Newman, 2009). In part, this occurs as a result of the unregulated proliferation of criminal networks in a destabilized society (Di John, 2010). In response to conflict, failure and fragility (Nogueira, 2017), capacity, security and legitimacy gaps ensue,

NAM, Anno 6 – n. 24
DOI: 10.36158/979125669253816
Novembre 2025

with a FS lying at the intersection between all three (Call, 2011). That triangularization may then lead to increased militarization, socio-economic and political fragility, organized crime (Vieira, 2023), and ultimately the collapse of the state (Grimm et al., 2014), as typified by countries such as Syria, Iraq, South Sudan, Libya, or the Central African Republic (CAR) (Johais et al., 2020), even if localized pockets of zones of relative peace[1] exist, such as Rojava in Syria (Nordhag, 2021), despite its war-torn state (Muto, 2023). The collapse in governance may come about from internal conflict, corrupt leadership, the loss of economic viability or the interference of foreign powers, as was suggested for the CAR (de Vries & Glawion, 2015), while civil conflict, tribalism, and an economic crisis were attributed to the collapse of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria (Aliyev & Souleimanov, 2019a). None of these should be looked at in isolation when characterizing the reasons for the existence of a FS (Wilde, 2003; Solomon, 2013; Frith & Glenn, 2015). In recent history, the FS label has become associated with an economic and political agenda, and may reflect an attempt to label a nation that may have value systems different than those of traditionally hegemonic Western powers (Bøås & Jennings, 2007; Lemay-Hébert, 2019a).

The initial classification of a FS bred an expanded classification system and associated lexicon by non-failed states (or states that perceived themselves to be harmonious, successful, democratic or morally superior), in an attempt to divide the loose concept of FSs, as states that could be considered as rogue, weak, non-states, phantom, mirage, anemic, captured, aborted, fragile, collapsed, quasi, monopole or anarchic (Orman, 2016). The separation between any two or all of these categorizations, and the marginal, hybrid, interstitial, or external liminality, which are artificial constructs that result, are products of the level of measures put in place to fortify national, as opposed to international, *de jure* sovereignty (Loh & Heiskanen, 2020). Conversely, the willingness to adopt those hegemonic values, or an alignment of values to those required by the US to meet "democratic principles", as was observed in Chile, Argentina, and Peru (Hybel, 2020), or former Yugoslav Republics (Milačić, 2022), can lead to some socio-economic stabilization.

Independent of the politicized use of this label, a characteristic of a FS is its

1 Sustaining peace, as defined by the UNSC (2016): "both a goal and a process to build a common vision of a society, ensuring that the needs of all segments of the population are taken into account"

ability to destabilize neighboring or other international states that may be more financially or socio-politically stable (Mielke et al., 2020), the use of political settlements to seek stability and to become more inclusive and less violent (Tadros & Allouche, 2017), or even the internal destabilization by non-violent forces that tip the state of fragility to one of failure (Aliyev, 2017). A history of ethno-nationalism, a radical student movement and Marxism–Leninism contributed to the fragmented statebuilding initiatives of Ethiopia in the 1970s and 1980s, and continued to contribute to exclusionary policies by the leading factions up until the war in 2020 (Tadese et al., 2021).

Restabilization, including through social reengineering and socio-political restructuring and development (Bøås, 2017), all while considering the sovereignty and right to self-determination of the FS to avoid the rise of armed insurrections against imposing or invading forces (Qureshi, 2018; Lemay-Hébert, 2019b), may be initialized in the form of forced military occupations by great powers in pursuit of a new world order (Chomsky, 2006; Magu, 2019a, 2019b), foreign forces or armed groups (Rondeau, 2011), as a pretext to protect the civilian population, especially of unrecognized states (Souleimanov et al., 2018), as a proxy by claiming the defense of ethnic value systems (Aliyev, 2019a), or to improve the social and security services offered by rebel groups (Pfeifer & Schwab, 2023). In some cases, however, as occurred in the Donbass, Trojan Horse approaches might fail or falter, and pretexts then need to be readjusted, in this case, to fortify a proxy war between Russia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Kumar, 2023), with Ukraine being the target intermediary (Kormych et al., 2023; Potočňák & Mares, 2023), setting the scene for and activating the current Russo-Ukrainian war. Is Ukraine then heading towards the status of a FS, as a frozen conflict, with permanent foreign military and socio-economic intervention (Forsberg & Patomäki, 2023)? Such frozen conflicts are not new, as shown by Cyprus and Kosovo (Jackson, 2022), or the Russian-Chechen conflict (Ferenţ & Manci, 2023). Separately, one cannot disassociate the role of former colonialism, with British or Spanish rule having resulted in states with lower risk of failure as opposed to those under Portuguese or French rule (Tusalem, 2016).

Yet, within what international legal framework do foreign invasions of sovereign states operate (von Engelhardt, 2018)? According to US-based policy, 30% of FSs are in Africa (Magu, 2019b), with conventional narratives attributing civil wars to the decline of state powers and guerrilla movements sustaining a state

of decay (Péclard, 2019). Select examples include Yemen's occupation by Saudi Arabia (Clausen, 2019), the establishment by the US of biopolitical strategic bases in Africa, starting from 2008, as Africa Command (AFRICOM) (McNeill, 2017), or the European Union Capacity Building Mission (EUCAP) in the Sahel (Raineri & Baldaro, 2020). The political aims of such military occupations may be associated with neo-imperialism (Jones, 2013; Ismail, 2016; Magu, 2019a, 2019b), rapid liberalization that may induce further instability (Bradshaw, 2014), smart wars and insurgencies (Hinnebusch, 2018), or globalized democratization via the rule of imposed law, stability and justice (Wydra, 2020). They might also involve pro-government militias (Aliyev, 2019b; Aliyev & Souleimanov, 2019b). Yet, it has been claimed that mandates such as those by the United Nations (UN) in a world of changing global order (de Coning & Peter, 2019) seek to maintain peace rather than attempt to end war (Samson, 2018) because it was built as a set of technical solutions that tended to ignore the historical context of civil wars (Péclard, 2019). However, the declaration of a nation as a FS is not necessarily established by foreign powers, nor do pro- or contra-state forces or militias necessarily induce FSs to become them (Yeşiltaş et al., 2023). In Indonesia, to consolidate political and economic power in the post-Suharto era, the Indonesian military re-projected its image from one that had supported the dictator of a FS to one that was in defense of the nation, including against potential foreign forces seeking perhaps to implement their own agenda (Heiduk, 2014).

The military-backed imposition of a new socio-political system, born out of the concept of a "monopoly over legitimate violence" (Saeed, 2020), may occur through the forced implementation of new value and moral systems with imposed misaligned "legitimacy" that might not always be able to appreciate the sensitivities of local culture (Roberts, 2008), improved food, medical and health security (Quinn et al., 2014; Nogueira, 2017), perpetual economic enslavement (Litsas, 2014), peace-keeping and human-building that may involve violence to induce "peace" (Selby, 2013; Balthasar, 2017), stability and prosperity (Newman, 2011, 2013), often using acronyms evoking superiority and grandeur of their military missions (e.g., Operation Enduring Freedom) (Eastridge et al., 2006), but may instead be used as a front for the exploration and exploitation of valuable natural or renewable resources (Ide, 2015; Magu, 2019a, 2019b; Onuoha, 2020). Stabilization may be static (where change is actively prevented), or dynamic, where change is moderated or carefully controlled (Mielke et al., 2020). Some states

might also self-servingly abuse the FS label or over-exaggerate their state of conflict or strife in order to gain from foreign aid, such as in Uganda (Fisher, 2014) or Ukraine in the 2014-2022 buildup prior to Russia's invasion in February of 2022.

FS-related operations can be overseen by international bodies such as, but not limited to, the UN, NATO, World Bank, World Health Organization (WHO), Human Rights Council (HRC), World Trade Organization (WTO), International Criminal Court (ICC), or Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), to give the impression of social, economic and democratic legitimacy, even if they might not necessarily be so (Roberts, 2008; Schwarz, 2010; Stuenkel & Tourinho, 2014; Balthasar, 2017; Haastrup & Dijkstra, 2017; Saeed, 2020). As one example, liberal peacebuilding initiatives by the UN have taken place in Somalia (a recognized state), whereas in Somaliland (an unrecognized state), development in the post-conflict environment is criticized as being limited, not extending much beyond relief (Njeri, 2019; Ingiriis, 2021).

The authority, legitimacy, and building-capacity of the "invading", imposing, or replacement force will determine the longevity, stability and persistence of the newly replaced system (Tikuisis et al., 2015). On occasion, external forces might be hyperbolized while internal fragilities might be underrated, reducing the impact of a foreign influence on the stability of a FS (Raineri & Baldaro, 2020). Yet, the mere presence of a foreign military force to establish an international sovereignty, under the pretext of "peace", may be perceived as a threat and violation of national sovereignty and the rights of locals (Loh & Heiskanen, 2020). International intervention might then take on a "sot" approach, under a humanitarian pretext, via the action of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, or IGOs and NGOs, as exemplified by Mozambique (Saraiva, 2023), which would then assist with the implementation of desired socio-political policies (Irrera, 2022). In extreme cases, foreign intervention has a destabilizing effect, counter to its desired peaceful strategy, and such a state of restlessness within those societies may allow lawlessness, radicalism and terrorism to breed, then leading to "wars on terror" (Pašagić, 2020), even orchestrated by the same forces that originally came to instill "peace" (Bøås & Jennings, 2007).

The rationalization for increased securitization often involves "fear-mongering" and messages of threats and risk, perhaps even hyperbolization as "anarchy", in a bid to rally social emotion and solidify political support, but also risking triggering social media-induced instability (Karatzogianni & Robinson, 2017).

Have climate change and sustainable developmental goals been coopted as proxy peacebuilding strategies?

Within the context provided above, of societies in moral or social decline, caused either by internal or external causes, forces seeking ways to continue or expand insecurities for their own exploitative needs may turn to new and novel ways to maintain the failed state of a FS, or to create new FSs. In the author's opinion, climate change and the UN's sustainable developmental goals (SDGs) may have become two new political vehicles for achieving this, particularly SDG 16[2] in the latter case. The process begins at a somewhat rational level: in a neo-Malthusian manner, the argument is made that reduced natural resources or increasing competition for a limited supply of them, will increase social conflict; in contrast, in the Cornucopian train of thought, it is argued that other factors such as corruption or poor resource management lead to conflicts over resource scarcity, while overall, any or all of these factors might lead to social and/or political conflict (Koubi, 2019). A constant cycle of radical or severe climatic conditions place strain on renewable resources and make the food security of populations vulnerable, thus inducing continuous cycles of conflict (Buhaug & von Uexkull, 2021), serving as the pretext to send in international groups, or forces, to keep peace, but under the "climate change" or SDG banner. The final step is to "militarize" climate change and SDGs, by attempting to link them, and the social effects they have on society, with government powers that may be leaning towards authoritarianism, or "violating human rights", as was suggested for the Philippines (Holden, 2023), even as a tenuous peace is maintained since 2014 between the central government and Moro Islamic Liberation Front in the Bangsamoro region, which gained semi-autonomy (Söderberg Kovacs et al., 2021).

Reforming peacebuilding and a shift towards adaptive peacebuilding

de Coning et al. (2023) argued that several global threats, including but not limited to climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, geopolitical power shifts, advances in information technology and globalization's negative impacts, "have increased the risk of violent conflict and have made preventing and resolving it more complex" (p. 1), thus requiring novel solutions to peace. Some have advo-

2 https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal16

cated for external forces not to be involved and instead to seek local solutions as the most viable way of achieving stability for local or regional challenges (Solomon, 2015). Some claim that the UN model of peacebuilding has failed (Öjendal et al., 2021), despite its renovated conceptualization (UN & World Bank, 2018; UN, 2021), but has the opportunity of being successful if built on an agenda that promotes integral grassroots leadership (Mahmoud, 2023). However, this is a constant process that only manages to achieve an "approximation" of peace (Coleman et al., 2021; Paffenholz, 2021). The stalemate (even failure) often observed with (neo)liberal state-building (Cassin & Zyla, 2021), as one form of peacebuilding (Bargués et al., 2023; Travouillon, 2023), could be avoided while also side-stepping colonialist claims, by adopting an anarchist approach involving "prefigurative politics and direct action, strengthening autonomy, decentralization, and horizontality", as well as "radical […] self-determination" (p. 18) (Rusche, 2022).

Another conceptual model of peace involves a form of civil disobedience, or "disobedient peace", that claims to be nonviolent and successful in Tunisia and Sudan (Mahmoud, 2023) while a "top-down" approach by Chinese interventionism in South Sudan employs development as the driver of peace (Hirono, 2023). These efforts hint at a wider desire for a pacifist "anti-war praxis" to address failed American-driven neoliberal state-building driven by imperial war-guided policies (Keyel, 2023). They also suggest that violence is ineffectively controlled by governance institutions, so a new paradigm is needed to counter the current model of inducing disorder as the path towards achieving peace, following war (Phillips, 2019). Yet, given the multi-faceted nature of peace, and its elusive nature, adaptive peacebuilding (de Coning, 2018) needs to take local peculiarities into account, including the expectations of conflicting parties, and their aspirations (Jarstad et al., 2019).

Another approach to pacify radical insurgencies is by encouraging more effective rebel governance and stimulating state-insurgent cooperation (Stewart, 2023), such as in Côte d'Ivoire and Sri Lanka (*Åkebo & Bastian, 2021;* van Baalen, 2023; van Baalen & Terpstra, 2023), Colombia (Penagos, 2023; Richter & Barrios Sabogal, 2023), Iraq and Syria (Bamber-Zryd, 2022; Hyyppä, 2023; Termeer, 2023), Afghanistan (Termeer, 2023), Myanmar (Buscemi, 2023), Palestine and the Gaza Strip (Alijla, 2023), the CAR (Glawion & Le Noan, 2023), or even in Turkey (O'Connor & Akin, 2023). Conversely, insurgent groups may

seek to provide security, basic services, and thereby enhance social cohesion of the populations under their control, as was attempted by the Islamic State (da Silva et al., 2023; Termeer, 2023), then seize power following the establishment of proto-state administrations (Tuastad et al., 2021).

Curiously, while Covid-19 emboldened the activity and status of some rebel and insurgent groups by escalating military activity in response to uncertainty and civil strife in the states that they are opposing (Idler & Hochmüller, 2020; Furlan, 2020), given that this is a transmissible disease, it also negatively impacted the health of other rebels groups or insurgencies (Swed, 2021; Newman et al., 2023), although clear trends are not yet apparent and are context-specific (Polo, 2020; Bloem & Salemi, 2021; Mehrl & Thurner, 2021).

What other solutions are in play to address, or replace, the UN-style of peacebuilding? Cárdenas & Olivius (2021) advocated for women's peace activism, both in Myanmar and beyond. Jarstad (2021) claimed that imbalanced land ownership in post-Apartheid South Africa was a source of constant conflict with the potential to tend to civil war if unresolved. Howell (2021) advocated for music-based peacebuilding. Macheka (2022), within the context of Zimbabwe, suggested unmasking perpetrators of violence, an open dialogue between perpetrators and victims, reparations and compensation, and the depoliticization of peace processes. Lee (2021) alluded to the need for "plurality, subtlety, and connectivity" to achieve peace in Cambodia, as communities interacted with leaders of the former Khmer Rouge. However, since both conflict and peace are complex, and since peacebuilding is generally sought amidst violence while violence may flare amidst peacebuilding, finding a simple solution, such as those indicated above, or the involvement of women, is not always possible, and so 'radical alterity', or a radically different vision than that currently in place, would be necessary to reform current practices (Millar, 2021).

References

Åkebo, M., & Bastian, S. (2021). *Beyond liberal peace in Sri Lanka: Victory, politics, and state formation.* Journal of Peacebuilding & Development, 16(1), 70–84. https://doi.org/10.1177/1542316620976121

Alijla, A. (2023). Thorny identity? Non-state actors, service provision, identities, and Hamas in Gaza. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *34*(1), 195–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2097399

Aliyev, H. (2017). Precipitating state failure: Do civil wars and violent non-state actors create failed states? *Third World Quarterly*, *38*(9), 1973–1989. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1319276

Aliyev, H. (2019a). The logic of ethnic responsibility and progovernment mobilization in East Ukraine conflict. *Comparative Political Studies*, *52*(8), 1200–1231. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019830730

Aliyev, H. (2019b). 'No peace, no war' proponents? How pro-regime militias affect civil war termination and outcomes. *Cooperation and Conflict*, *54*(1), 64–82. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836718766380

Aliyev, H., & Souleimanov, E. A. (2019a). Why do *de facto* states fail? Lessons from the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *66*(3), 161–171. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2017.1383166

Aliyev, H., & Souleimanov, E. A. (2019b). Ethnicity and conflict severity: accounting for the effect of co-ethnic and non-ethnic militias on battlefield lethality. *Third World Quarterly*, *40*(3), 471–487. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1545568

Balthasar, D. (2017). "Peace-building as state-building"? Rethinking liberal interventionism in contexts of emerging states. *Conflict, Security & Development*, *17*(6), 473–491. https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2017.1406180

Bamber-Zryd, M. (2022). Cyclical jihadist governance: the Islamic State governance cycle in Iraq and Syria. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *33*(8), 1314–1344. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2116182

Bargués, P., Martín de Almagro, M., & Travouillon, K. (2023). New visions, critiques, and hope in the post-liberal age? A call for rethinking intervention and statebuilding. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *17*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2023.2184941

Bloem, J. R., & Salemi, C. (2021). COVID-19 and conflict. *World Development*, *140*, 105294. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2020.105294

Bøås, M. (2017). Fragile states as the new development agenda? *Forum for Development Studies*, *44*(1), 149–154. https://doi.org/10.1080/08039410.2017.1264737

Bøås, M., Jennings, K. M. (2007). 'Failed states' and 'state failure': threats or opportunities? *Globalizations*, *4*(4), 475–485. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747730701695729

Bradshaw, P. (2014). Creating stability in post-conflict situations: The handicap of Western sensibilities. *Australian Defence Force Journal*, *194*, 74–82. https://doi.org/10.3316/informit.578843068741848

Buhaug, H., & von Uexkull, N. (2021). Vicious circles: Violence, vulnerability, and climate change. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, *46*, 545–568. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-012220-014708

Buscemi, F. (2023). 'Blunt' biopolitical rebel rule: on weapons and political geography at the edge of the state. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *34*(1), 81–112. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2121389

Call, C. T. (2008). The fallacy of the 'failed state'. *Third World Quarterly*, *29*(8), 1491–1507. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590802544207

Call, C. T. (2011). Beyond the 'failed state': Toward conceptual alternatives. *European Journal of International Relations*, *17*(2), 303–326. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066109353137

Cárdenas, M. L., & Olivius, E. (2021). Building peace in the shadow of war: Women-to-women diplomacy as alternative peacebuilding practice in Myanmar. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *15*(3), 347–366. https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2021.1917254

Cassin, K., & Zyla, B. (2021). The end of the liberal world order and the future of UN peace operations: Lessons learned. *Global Policy*, *12*(4), 455–467. https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12993

Chomsky, N. (2006). *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy*. Metropolitan Books and Henry Holt, New York, NY, USA, 311 pp.

Clausen, M-L. (2019). Justifying military intervention: Yemen as a failed state. *Third World Quarterly*, *40*(3), 488–502. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1573141

Coleman, P. T., Fisher, J., Fry, D. P., Liebovitch, L. S., Chen-Carrel, A., & Souillac, G. (2021). How to live in peace? Mapping the science of sustaining peace: A progress report. *American Psychologist*, *76*(7), 1113–1127. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000745

da Silva, R., Bamber-Zryd, M., & Lemay-Hébert, N. (2023). Statebuilding beyond the West: Exploring Islamic State's strategic narrative of governance and statebuilding. *European Journal of International Security*, (in press). https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2023.9

de Coning, C. (2018). Adaptive peacebuilding. *International Affairs*, *94*(2), 301–317. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix251

de Coning, C., & Peter, M. (2019). United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, 334 pp. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-99106-1

de Coning, C., Saraiva, R., Muto, A. (2023). Introduction. Exploring alternative approaches to peacebuilding. In: de Coning, C., Saraiva, R., Muto, A. (eds) Adaptive Peacebuilding. Twenty-first Century Perspectives on War, Peace, and Human Conflict. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18219-8_1

de Vries, L., & Glawion, T. (2015). Speculating on Crisis: The Progressive Disintegration of the Central African Republic's Political Economy. The Conflict Research Unit (CRU), The Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 58 pp. https://gsdrc.org/document-library/speculating-on-crisis-the-progressive-disintegration-of-the-central-african-republics-political-economy/ (last accessed: 24 September 2023)

Di John, J. (2010). The concept, causes and consequences of failed states: A critical review of the literature and agenda for research with specific reference to sub-Saharan

Africa. *The European Journal of Development Research*, *22*(1), 10–30. https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2009.44

Eastridge, B. J., Jenkins, D., Flaherty, S., Schiller, H., Holcomb, J. B. (2006). Trauma system development in a theater of war: Experiences from Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom. *The Journal of Trauma: Injury, Infection, and Critical Care*, *61*(6), 1366–1373. https://doi.org/10.1097/01.ta.0000245894.78941.90

Ferenţ, D-A., & Manci, I. (2023). Analysis of the Russian-Chechen conflict from a military perspective. *Intelligence Info*, *2*(2), 80–92. https://doi.org/10.58679/II34710

Fisher, J. (2014). When it pays to be a 'fragile state': Uganda's use and abuse of a dubious concept. *Third World Quarterly 35*(2), 316–332. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.878493

Forsberg, T., & Patomäki, H. (2023). The shape of things to come: A further dialogue. *Globalizations*, *20*(7), 1241–1255. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2023.2228591

Frith, R., Glenn, J. (2015). Fragile states and the evolution of risk governance: Intervention, prevention and extension. *Third World Quarterly*, *36*(10), 1787–1808. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1063407

Furlan, M. (2020). Understanding governance by insurgent non-state actors: A multi-dimensional typology. *Civil Wars*, *22*(4), 478–511. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2020.1785725

Glawion, T., & Le Noan, A-C. (2023). Rebel governance or governance in rebel territory? Extraction and services in Ndélé, Central African republic. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *34*(1), 24–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2137282

Grimm, S., Lemay-Hébert, N., Nay, O. (2014). 'Fragile states': Introducing a political concept. *Third World Quarterly*, *35*(2), 197–209. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.878127

Gruffydd Jones, B. (2013). 'Good governance' and 'state failure': genealogies of imperial discourse. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *26*(1), 49–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2012.734785

Haastrup, T., & Dijkstra, H. (2017). New directions for African security. *Contemporary Security Policy*, *38*(1), 102–108. https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1293392

Heiduk, F. (2014). State disintegration and power politics in post-Suharto Indonesia. *Third World Quarterly*, *35*(2), 300–315. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.878491

Hinnebusch, R. (2018). From Westphalian failure to heterarchic governance in MENA: The case of Syria. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *29*(3), 391–413. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1455330

Hirono, M. (2023). China's Peacebuilding in South Sudan: "Top-down" Adaptation and Its Effectiveness. In: de Coning, C., Saraiva, R., Muto, A. (eds) Adaptive Peacebuilding. Twenty-first Century Perspectives on War, Peace, and Human Conflict. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 237–262. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18219-8_9

Holden, W. (2023). Climate change, neoauthoritarianism, necropolitics, and state failure: The Duterte regime in the Philippines. *Asian Geographer*, *40*(2), 145–167. https://doi.org/10.1080/10225706.2022.2029506

Howell, G. (2021). Harmonious relations: A framework for studying varieties of peace in music-based peacebuilding. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, *16*(1), 85–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/1542316620948493

Hybel, A. R. (2020). The Making of Flawed Democracies in the Americas: The United States, Chile, Argentina, and Peru. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, 248 pp. https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-21178-3

Hyyppä, T. (2023). Council in war: Civilocracy, order and local organisation in Daraya during the Syrian War. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *34*(1), 52–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2152628

Ide, T. (2015). Why do conflicts over scarce renewable resources turn violent? A qualitative comparative analysis. *Global Environmental Change*, *33*, 61–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2015.04.008

Idler, A., & Hochmüller, M. (2020). Covid-19 in Colombia's Borderlands and the Western Hemisphere: Adding instability to a double crisis. *Journal of Latin American Geography*, *19*(3), 280–288. https://doi.org/10.1353/lag.2020.0050

Ingiriis, M. J. (2021). Being and becoming a state: The statebuilding and peacebuilding conversations in southern Somalia and Somaliland. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *39*(1), 1–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2020.1815677

Irrera, D. (2022). The power and impact of institutions on international relations: From Intergovernmental to non-governmental organisations. In: Charountaki, M., Irrera, D. (eds) Mapping Non-State Actors in International Relations. Non-State Actors in International Relations. Springer, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 17–33. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-91463-9_2

Ismail, A. A. (2016). The political economy of state failure: A social contract approach. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *10*(4), 513–529. https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2016.1192825

Jackson, C. (2022). Peacemakers, patrons, & politics: How international mediation leads to local-level change in protracted conflicts. PhD thesis, Georgia State University, USA, 353 pp. https://doi.org/10.57709/32457772

Jarstad, A. (2021). Peace, development, and the unresolved land issue in South Africa. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, *16*(1), 107–111. https://doi.org/10.1177/1542316620959289

Jarstad, A., Eklund, N., Johansson, P., Olivius, E., Saati, A., Sahovic, D., Strandh, V., Söderström, J., Wimelius, M. E., & Åkebo, M. (2019). Three approaches to peace: A framework for describing and exploring varieties of peace [Working paper]. Umeå Working Papers in Peace and Conflict Studies No. 12, Department of Political Science, Umeå University, Umea, Sweden, 24 pp. https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1375816/FULLTEXT02.pdf (last accessed: 24 September 2023)

Johais, E., Bayer, M., & Lambach, D. (2020). How do states collapse? Towards a model of causal mechanisms. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, *32*(2), 179–197. https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2020.1780204

Karatzogianni, A., & Robinson, A. (2017). Schizorevolutions versus microfascisms: The fear of anarchy in state securitisation. *Journal of International Political Theory*, *13*(3), 282–295. https://doi.org/10.1177/1755088217718570

Keyel, J. (2023). A world waiting to be born: Charting a liberatory anti-war praxis. *Journal of International Political Theory*, (in press). https://doi.org/10.1177/17550882221121972

Kormych, B., Malyarenko, T. & Wittke, C. (2023) Rescaling the legal dimensions of grey zones: Evidence from Ukraine. *Global Policy*, *14*, 516–530. https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13233

Koubi, V. (2019). Climate change and conflict. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *22*, 343–360. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050317-070830

Kumar, A. (2023). An analytical study of Russia-Ukraine war in reference to the offensive realist approach in international relations. *World Journal of Advanced Research and Reviews*, *18*(3), 926–933. https://doi.org/10.30574/wjarr.2023.18.3.0906

Lambach, D., Johais, E., & Bayer, M. (2020). Militarization, factionalism and political transitions: An inquiry into the causes of state collapse. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, *14*(2), 99–122. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12286-020-00450-9

Lee, S-Y. (2021). Understanding everyday peace in Cambodia: Plurality, subtlety, and connectivity. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, *16*(1), 24–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/1542316620974371

Lemay-Hébert, N. (2019a). From saving failed states to managing risks: Reinterpreting fragility through resilience. In: Lahai J., von Strokirch K., Brasted H., Ware H. (eds) Governance and Political Adaptation in Fragile States. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 75–101. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-90749-9_4

Lemay-Hébert, N. (2019b). State fragility and international recognition. In: Visoka, G., Doyle, J., Newman, E. (eds.) Routledge Handbook of State Recognition, Taylor & Francis Group, Milton Park, UK, pp. 306–315. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351131759-24

Litsas, S. N. (2014). The Greek failing state and its "smart power" prospects: A theoretical approach. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, *25*(3), 52–73. https://doi.org/10.1215/10474552-2772262

Loh, D. M., & Heiskanen, J. (2020). Liminal sovereignty practices: Rethinking the inside/outside dichotomy. *Cooperation and Conflict*, *55*(3), 284–304. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836720911391

Macheka, M. T. (2022). Political violence and faceless perpetrators in Zimbabwe: Reconceptualising a peace building strategy. *Cogent Social Sciences*, *8*(1), 2046315. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2046315

Magu S. M. (2019a). Great powers, international order and stability: Transformation? In: Great Powers and US Foreign Policy towards Africa. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 33–54. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94096-0_3

Magu S. M. (2019b). Great powers and US foreign policy towards Africa. In: Great Powers and US Foreign Policy towards Africa. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 171–185. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94096-0_8

Mahmoud, Y. (2023). How can the UN Sustaining Peace Agenda live up to its potential? In: de Coning, C., Saraiva, R., Muto, A. (eds) Adaptive Peacebuilding. Twenty-first Century Perspectives on War, Peace, and Human Conflict. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 49–90. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18219-8_3

McNeill, C. (2017). "Playing the away game": AFRICOM in the Sahara-Sahel. *Political Geography*, *58*, 46–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.01.003

Mehrl, M., & Thurner, P. W. (2021). The effect of the Covid-19 pandemic on global armed conflict: Early evidence. *Political Studies Review*, *19*(2), 286–293. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478929920940648

Mielke, K., Mutschler, M., & Meininghaus, E. (2020). For a dynamic approach to stabilization. *International Peacekeeping*, *27*(5), 810–835. https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2020.1733424

Milačić, F. (2022). Stateness and Democratic Consolidation: Lessons from Former Yugoslavia. Springer Nature Switzerland AG, Cham, Switzerland, 192 pp. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-04822-7

Millar, G. (2021). Trans-scalar ethnographic peace research: Understanding the invisible drivers of complex conflict and complex peace. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *15*(3), 289–308. https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2021.1896180

Muto, A. (2023). The challenges and effects of externally driven and locally driven peacebuilding approaches in a complex context: A case study of the Syrian conflict. In: de Coning, C., Saraiva, R., Muto, A. (eds) Adaptive Peacebuilding. Twenty-first Century Perspectives on War, Peace, and Human Conflict. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 179–206. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18219-8_7

Newman, E. (2009). Failed states and international order: Constructing a post-Westphalian world. *Contemporary Security Policy*, *30*(3), 421–443. https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260903326479

Newman, E. (2011). A human security peace-building agenda. *Third World Quarterly*, *32*(10), 1737–1756. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2011.610568

Newman, E. (2013). The violence of statebuilding in historical perspective: Implications for peacebuilding. *Peacebuilding*, *1*(1), 141–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2013.756281

Newman, E., Saikia, J., & Waterman, A. (2023). The impact of COVID-19 on insurgency and rebel governance: Lessons from India's Northeast. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, *8*(2), ogad006. https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogad006

Njeri, S. (2019). Somaliland; the viability of a liberal peacebuilding critique beyond state building, state formation and hybridity. *Peacebuilding*, *7*(1), 37–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2018.1469341

Nogueira, J. P. (2017). From failed states to fragile cities: Redefining spaces of humani-

tarian practice. *Third World Quarterly*, *38*(7), 1437–1453. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1282814

Nordhag, A. (2021). Exploring peace in the midst of war: Rojava as a zone of peace? *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, *16*(1), 9–23. https://doi.org/10.1177/1542316620949838

O'Connor, F., & Akin, K. (2023). Analysing the PKK's rebel governance: Data limitations and some potential solutions. *The Commentaries*, *3*(1), 91–106. https://doi.org/10.33182/tc.v3i1.3004

Öjendal, J., Bachmann, J., Stern, M., & Leonardsson, H. (2021). Introduction – Peacebuilding amidst violence. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *15*(3), 269–288. https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2021.1913006

Onuoha, G. (2020). The state, resources and developmental prospects in sub-Saharan Africa. In: Oloruntoba, S., Falola, T. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of African Political Economy. Palgrave Handbooks in IPE. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 621–643. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38922-2_34

Orman, T. F. (2016). An analysis of the notion of a "failed state". *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, *4*(1), 77–85. https://doi.org/10.11114/ijsss.v4i1.1199

Paffenholz, T. (2021). Perpetual peacebuilding: A new paradigm to move beyond the linearity of liberal peacebuilding. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *15*(3), 367–385. https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2021.1925423

Pašagić, A. (2020). Failed states and terrorism: Justifiability of transnational interventions from a counterterrorism perspective. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *14*(3), 19–28.

Péclard, D. (2019). State formation and conflict in Africa. In: Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 25 pp. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.833

Penagos, L. (2023). Experiencing adaptive actions within a complex peacebuilding framework: The Colombian case. In: de Coning, C., Saraiva, R., Muto, A. (eds) Adaptive Peacebuilding. Twenty-first Century Perspectives on War, Peace, and Human Conflict. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 91–119. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18219-8_4

Pfeifer, H., & Schwab, R. (2023). Politicising the rebel governance paradigm. Critical appraisal and expansion of a research agenda. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, *34*(1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2144000

Phillips, S. G. (2019). Proximities of violence: Civil order beyond governance institutions. *International Studies Quarterly*, *63*(3), 680–691. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqz036

Polo, S. M. T. (2020). A pandemic of violence? The impact of COVID-19 on conflict. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, *26*(3), 20200050. https://doi.org/10.1515/peps-2020-0050

Potočňák, A., & Mares, M. (2023). Donbas conflict: How Russia's Trojan horse failed and forced Moscow to alter its strategy. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *70*(4), 341–

351. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2022.2066005

Quinn, J., Zeleny, T., & Bencko, V. (2014) Food is security: The nexus of health security in fragile and failed states. *Food and Nutrition Sciences*, *5*(19), 1828–1842. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/fns.2014.519197

Qureshi, W. A. (2018). Examining the legitimacy and reasonableness of the use of force: From just war doctrine to the unwilling-or-unable test. *Oklahoma City University Law Review*, *42*(3), 221–279.

Raineri, L., & Baldaro, E. (2020). Resilience to what? EU capacity-building missions in the Sahel. In: Cusumano E., Hofmaier S. (eds) Projecting Resilience Across the Mediterranean. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 169–187. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-23641-0_9

Richter, S., & Barrios Sabogal, L. C. (2023). Dynamics of peace or legacy of rebel governance? Patterns of cooperation between FARC-ex-combatants and conflict-affected communities in Colombia. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *34*(1), 165–194. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2117824

Roberts, D. (2008). Post-conflict statebuilding and state legitimacy: From negative to positive peace? *Development and Change*, *39*(4), 537–555. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2008.00495.x

Rondeau, S. (2011). Participation of armed groups in the development of the law applicable to armed conflicts. *International Review of the Red Cross*, *93*(883), 649–672. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383112000136

Rusche, J. (2022). Imagining peace outside of liberal statebuilding: Anarchist theory as pathway to emancipatory peacefacilitation. *Alternatives*, *47*(1), 18–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/03043754221074618

Saeed, R. (2020). The ubiquity of state fragility: Fault lines in the categorisation and conceptualisation of failed and fragile states. *Social & Legal Studies*, *29*(6), 767–789. https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663920906453

Samson, Z. (2018). Bottom-up peace-building: Local engagement in resolving conflicts. Świat Idei i Polityki, *17*, 25–54. https://doi.org/10.15804/siip201802

Saraiva, R. (2023). Adaptive peacebuilding in Mozambique: Examples of localized international non-governmental organizations (L-INGOs) in a complex and uncertain environment. In: de Coning, C., Saraiva, R., Muto, A. (eds) Adaptive Peacebuilding. Twenty-first Century Perspectives on War, Peace, and Human Conflict. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 121–150. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18219-8_5

Schwarz, R. (2010). NATO and prevention of state failure: an idea whose time will come? *Contemporary Security Policy*, *31*(2), 339–362. https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2010.491398

Selby, J. (2013). The myth of liberal peace-building. *Conflict, Security & Development*, *13*(1), 57–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2013.770259

Söderberg Kovacs, M., Höglund, K., & Jiménez, M. (2021). Autonomous peace? The

Bangsamoro region in the Philippines beyond the 2014 agreement. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, *16*(1), 55–69. https://doi.org/10.1177/1542316620987556

Solomon, H. (2013). Discarding the failed state thesis: neo-Weberian institutionalism as an alternative approach to policy formulation. *Yönetim Bilimleri Dergisi*, *11*(22), 221–251.

Solomon, H. (2015). African solutions to Africa's problems? African approaches to peace, security and stability. *Scientia Militaria*, *43*(1), 45–76. https://doi.org/10.5787/43-1-1109

Souleimanov, E. A., Abrahamyan, E., & Aliyev, H. (2018). Unrecognized states as a means of coercive diplomacy? Assessing the role of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Russia's foreign policy in the South Caucasus. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, *18*(1), 73–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2017.1390830

Stewart, M. A. (2023). Identity, networks, and learning in the study of rebel governance. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *34*(1), 305–315. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2158615

Stuenkel, O., & Tourinho, M. (2014). Regulating intervention: Brazil and the responsibility to protect. *Conflict, Security & Development*, *14*(4), 379–402. https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2014.930593

Swed, O. (2021). Implausible sovereigns and their organizational logic: Violent non-state actors' response to COVID-19. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *32*(8), 1302–1331. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2021.1956091

Tadesse, M., Kifle, A. A., & Desta, D. (2021). Evolving state building conversations and political settlement in Ethiopia. *Conflict, Security & Development*, *21*(4), 455–474. https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2021.1974698

Tadros, M., & Allouche, J. (2017). Political settlements as a violent process: Deconstructing the relationship between political settlements and intrinsic, instrumental and resultant forms of violence. *Conflict, Security & Development*, *17*(3), 187–204. https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2017.1319699

Termeer, A. (2023). Rebel legal order, governance and legitimacy: Examining the Islamic State and the Taliban insurgency. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, (in press). https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2023.2231641

Tikuisis, P., Carment, D., Samy Y., & Landry, J. (2015). Typology of state types: persistence and transition. *International Interactions*, *41*(3), 565–582. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2015.982116

Tilly, C. (1992). Coercion, capital and European states, A.D. 990–1992. Blackwell, Oxford, U.K..

Travouillon, K. (2023). The power of uptake: Negative emotions and the (neo)liberal limits of imagination in transitions to justice and peace. *Cooperation and Conflict*, (in press). https://doi.org/10.1177/00108367231184720

Tuastad, D., Sogge, E. L., & Lia, B. (2021). Rebel governance and kinship groups in the Middle East and Africa. *Third World Thematics*, *6*(1-3), 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1080

/23802014.2022.2152862

Tusalem, R. F. (2016). The colonial foundations of state fragility and failure. *Polity*, *48*(4), 445–495. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41279-016-0006-4

UN (United Nations). (2021). Development Reform. United Nations, New York, USA. https://reform.un.org/content/development-reform (last accessed: 24 September 2023)

UNSC (United Nations Security Council). (2016). Resolution 2282, S/RES/2282. https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N16/118/51/PDF/N1611851.pdf (last accessed: 24 September 2023)

UN & World Bank (2018). Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict. World Bank Washington, DC, USA. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28337 (last accessed: 24 September 2023)

Vieira, M. (Ed.) (2023). Global Approaches on State Fragility & Organized Crime. University for Peace, San José, Costa Rica, 249 pp.

van Baalen, S. (2023). Civilian protest in civil war: Insights from Côte d'Ivoire. *American Political Science Review*, (in press). https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055423000564

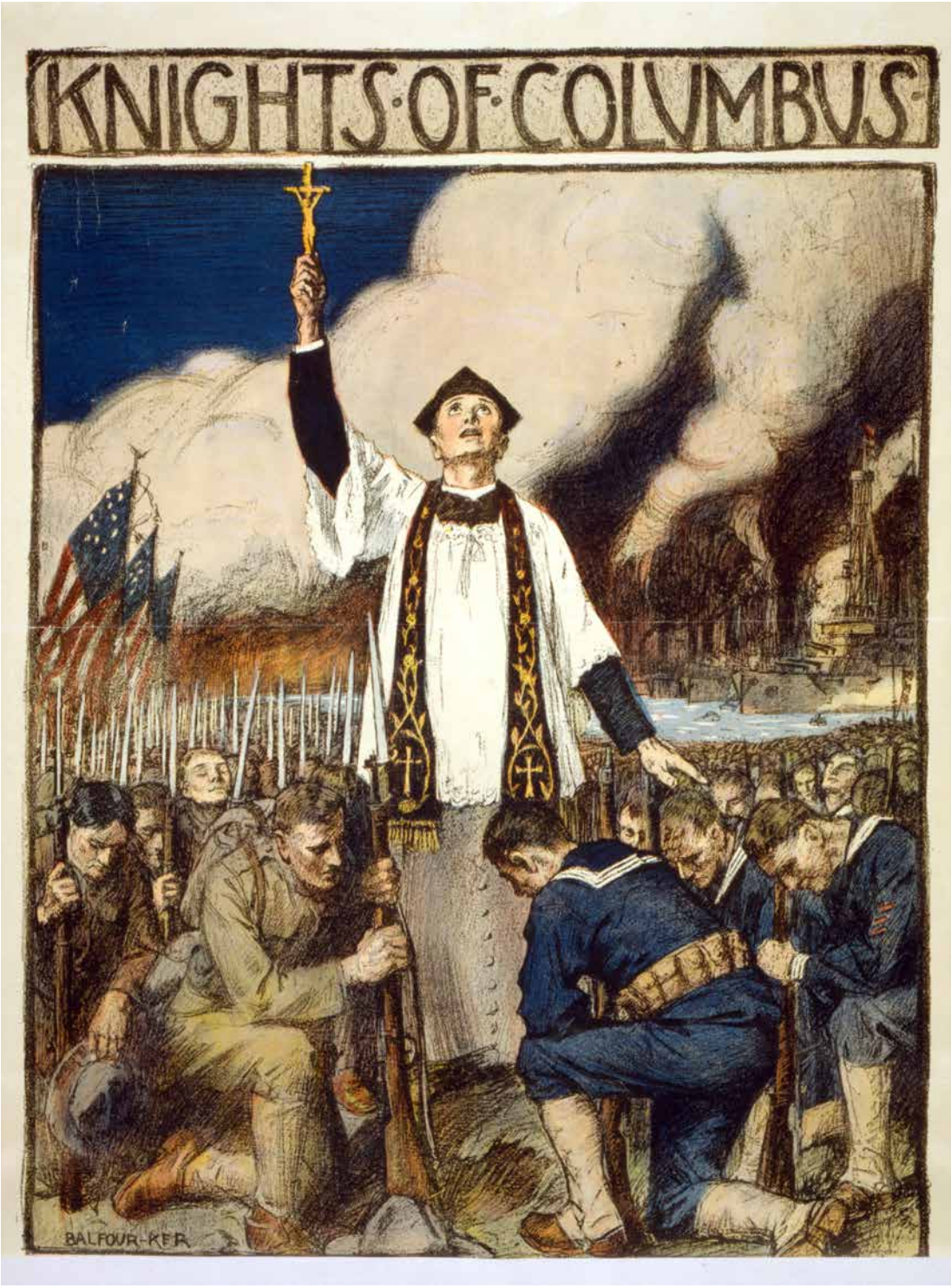
van Baalen, S., & Terpstra, N. (2023). Behind enemy lines: State-insurgent cooperation on rebel governance in Côte d'Ivoire and Sri Lanka. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *34*(1), 221–246. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2104297

von Engelhardt, M. (2018). Fragile states: The discrepancy between empirical and juridical statehood. In: International Development Organizations and Fragile States. Governance and Limited Statehood. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 17–43. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62695-6_2

Wilde, R. (2003). The skewed responsibility narrative of the "failed states" concept. *ILSA Journal of International & Comparative Law*, *9*, 425–430.

Wydra, D. (2020). Between normative visions and pragmatic possibilities: The EUropean politics of state recognition. *Geopolitics*, *25*(2), 315–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1556643

Yeşiltaş, M., Kardaş, T. & Jacoby, T. (2023). Rethinking non-state armed actors and sovereignty. *International Politics*, *60*(1), 128–133. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-022-00377-w



William Balfour Ker (1877-1918), *Knights of Columbus*, 1917 / Poster showing a priest looking heavenward and raising a crucifix, blessing kneeling soldiers. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. Reproduction Number: LC-USZC4-10131 Rights Advisory: No known restrictions on publication. https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002711996/

Storia Militare Contemporanea (6)

Articoli / Articles - Military History

Strategic History

Documents and Insights

Notes

Recensioni / Reviews