

Everything from Recitation

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Some Study Tips

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How to Read

- Read the title. (Seriously.)
- Read the abstract.
- Read the introduction and conclusion.
- Read the rest.

Professor Goemans' Five Questions

1. What is the central question?
2. What is the answer?
3. Why is this answer right?
4. What are the competing explanations?
5. Why are they wrong?

How Not to Write a Bad Essay

1. ATQ/ATFQ
2. Put your thesis in the top half of the first page.
3. Be direct. Don't hide your answer. Don't make it hard for us to find your answer.
4. Use paragraphs.
5. Cite the readings.

The purpose of this slide is to explain why you should use paragraphs. Note that there are no run on sentences in this paragraph. I am only using short sentences. Each sentence has a straightforward meaning. Yet you will probably have a hard time finishing this paragraph. Are you still with me? Good. I hope you are having a wonderful day. I am so far. I enjoy teaching. I also enjoy corrupting the youth with my teaching. I guess I should not have typed that last sentence. Oh well.

Anyway...where was I? Oh yes—the usefulness of paragraphs. While they are necessary organize your thoughts, they also have a more practical purpose. If you stopped reading this paragraph after the third sentence, you probably stopped reading this slide in general. That is normal. When a reader gets bored of a paragraph (or is skimming your paper), he skips to the next one. If the next paragraph is two pages away, your reader will miss a lot of information. Fortunately, I am A Good Teaching Assistant™, so I would not get bored or skim your material. But I heard you have an evil TA for psychology. So, to practice appeasing him, you might as well adopt this strategy in Introduction to International Relations as well.

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Realism in a Nutshell

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PHASE 1

PHASE 2

PHASE 3

Collect
underpants

?

Profit





PHASE 1

PHASE 2

PHASE 3

Power

?

War



Power

- Power is a constant.
 - Well, sometimes. Power also shifts. Realism is actually quite helpful here, and it continues to influence current research.
- We cannot explain variation with a constant.
- Power cannot directly cause conflict.

The Moral

- We are interested in causal mechanisms in social sciences.
- Power somehow relates to war, but we need to know exactly how power leads to fighting.
- Realism does not help us here.

Coordination Problems

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The Story

- A man and a woman want to get together for an evening of entertainment, but they have no means of communication.
- They can either go to the ballet or the fight.
 - The man prefers going to the fight.
 - The woman prefers going to the ballet.
 - But if they prefer being together than being alone.

Battle of the Sexes

Player 2

Ballet

Fight

Player 1

Ballet

Fight

1, 2

0, 0

0, 0

2, 1

Battle of the Sexes

Player 2

Ballet

Fight

Player 1

Ballet

1, 2

0, 0

Fight

0, 0

2, 1

		Ballet	Fight
Player 1	Ballet	1, 2	0, 0
	Fight	0, 0	2, 1

Pick a Strategy

Player 2

Ballet

Fight

Player 1

Ballet

Fight

1, 2

0, 0

0, 0

2, 1

		Ballet	Fight
Player 1	Ballet	1, 2	0, 0
	Fight	0, 0	2, 1

[illegible]

Critical Question

- In coordination games, how do players select a PSNE and avoid the bad outcomes?
- Possible solution: **focal points**.
 - Definition: a particular pure strategy Nash equilibrium that players select due to the salience of that choice.

Problem 1: Pick a square.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
A	Green	Blue	Green	Blue	Blue	Red
B	Purple	Purple	Blue	Green	Purple	Blue
C	Blue	Green	Purple	Blue	Blue	Green
D	Blue	Blue	Blue	Purple	Purple	Green
E	Blue	Green	Purple	Blue	Purple	Blue
F	Purple	Blue	Blue	Blue	Green	Green

If we both select the same square, we win \$20.

Problem 2: Pick any whole number greater than 0.

If we both select the same number, we win \$X, where X is the number we picked.

Problem 3: Pick any day of the
year.

If we both select the same day, we win \$20.

Problem 4: Pick heads or tails.

If we both select the same choice, we win \$20.

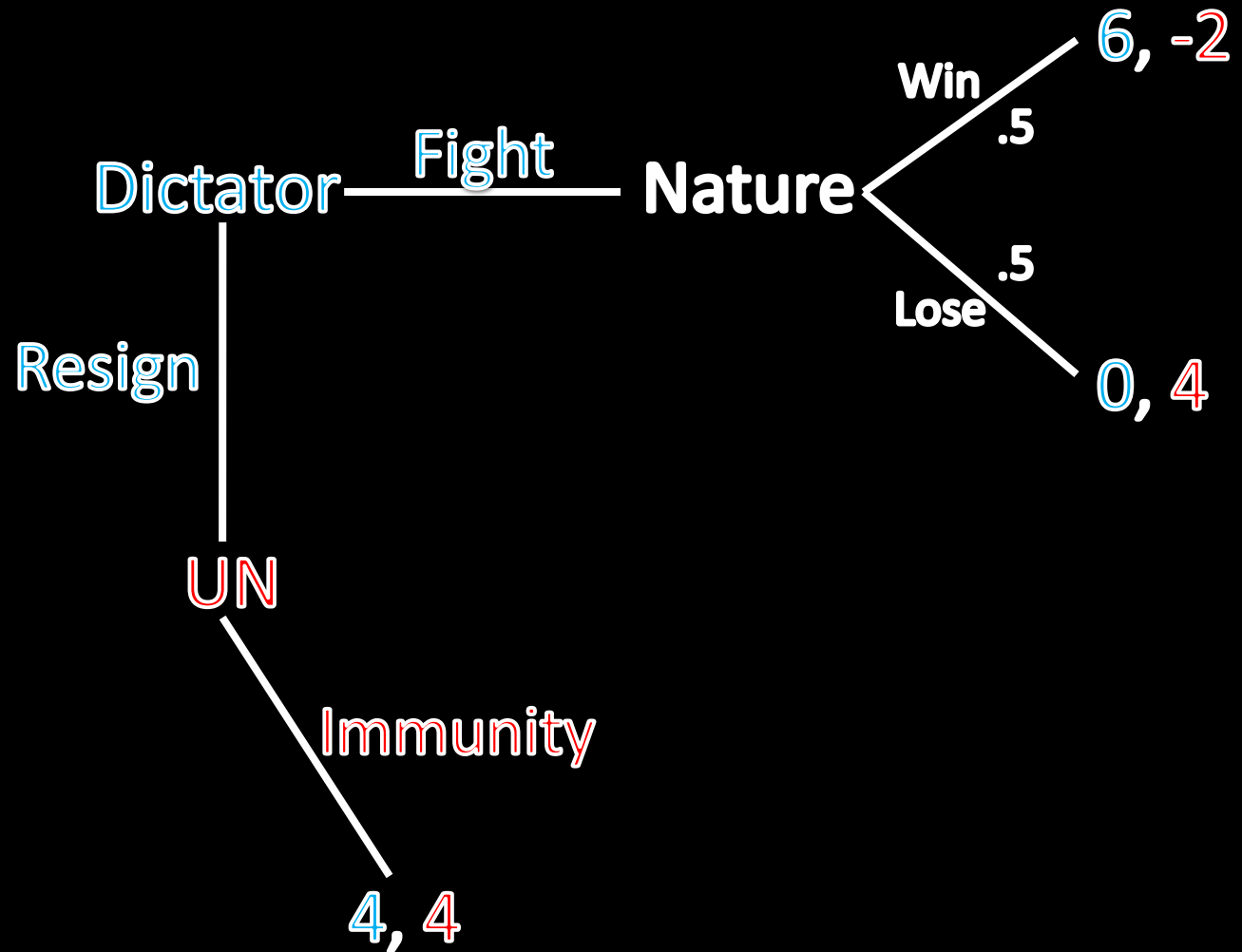
The Paradox of International Criminal Courts: Should We Bring War Criminals to Justice?

William Spaniel

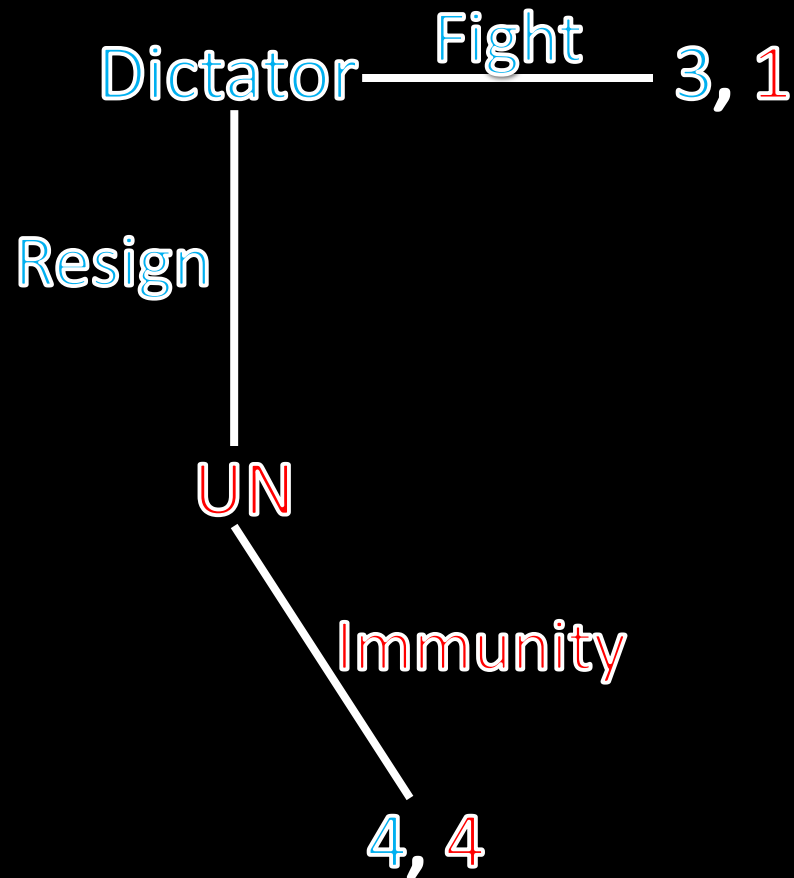
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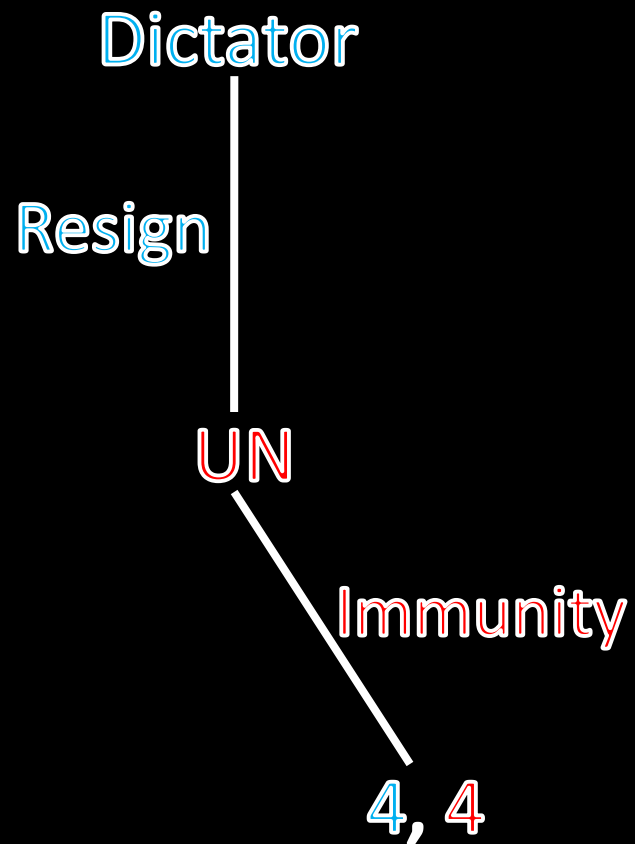
With No International Criminal Courts



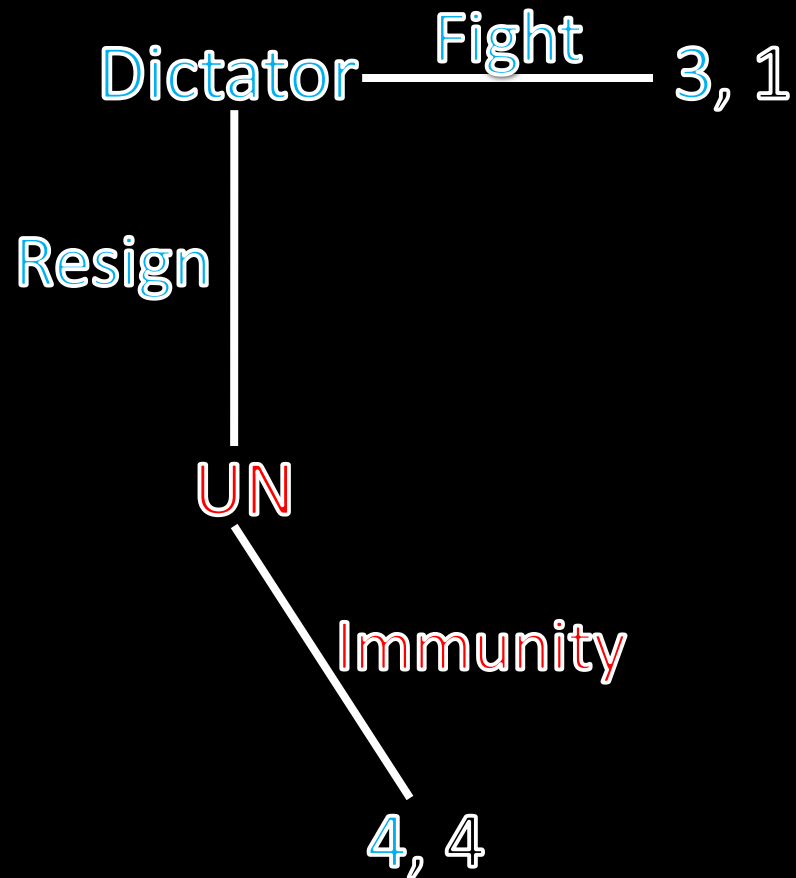
With No International Criminal Courts



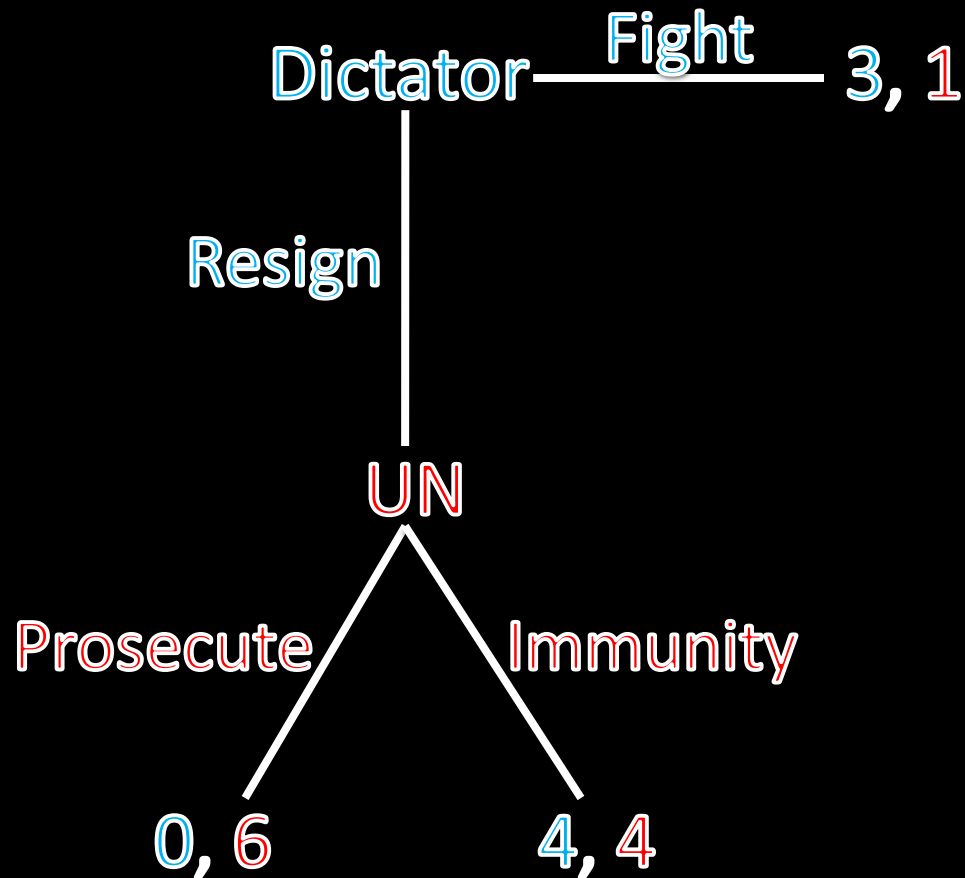
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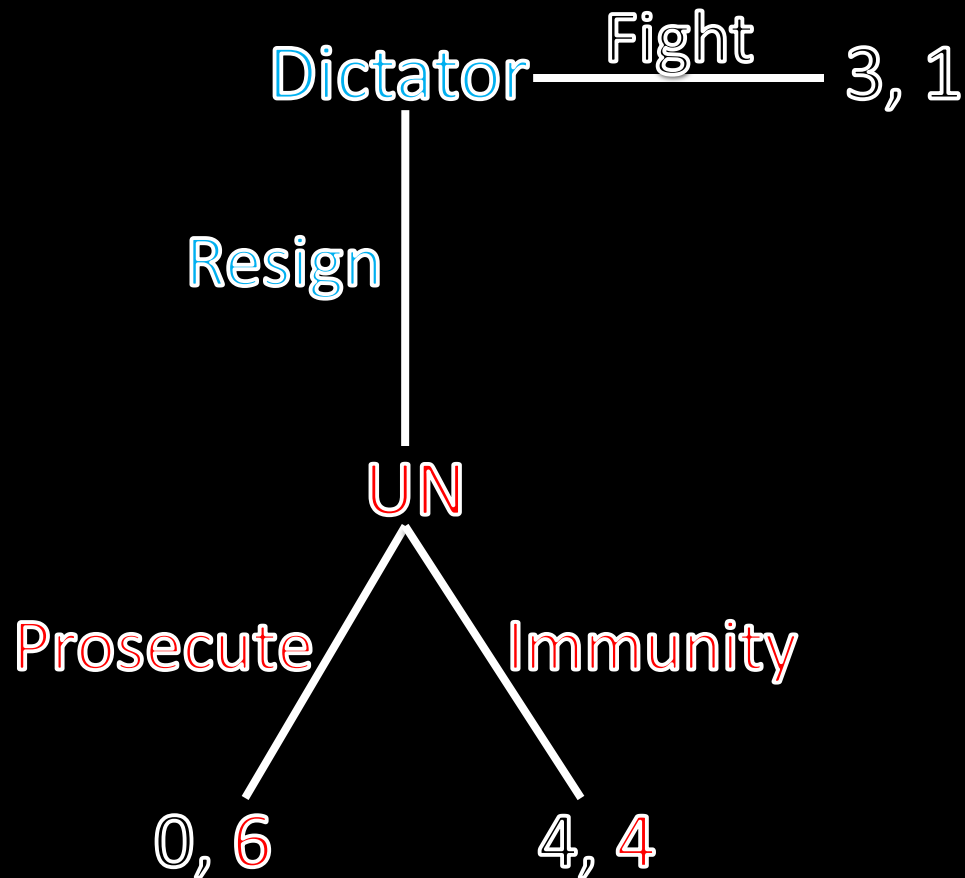
With No International Criminal Courts



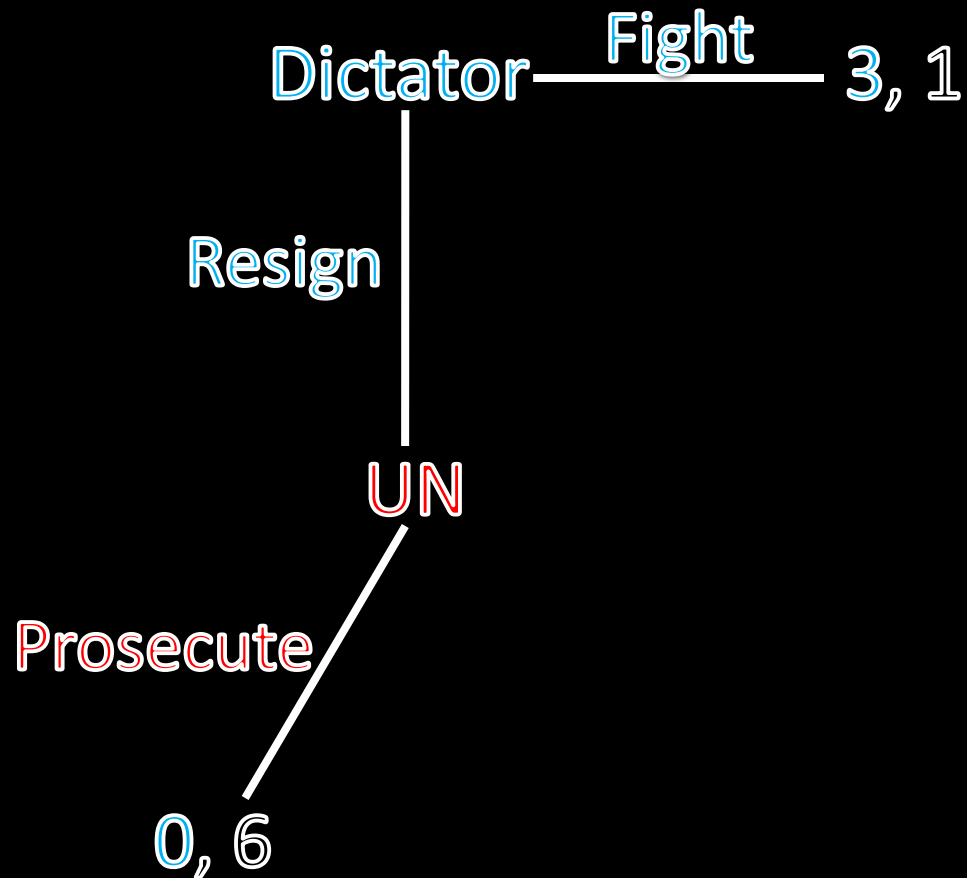
With International Criminal Courts



With International Criminal Courts



With International Criminal Courts



With International Criminal Courts

Dictator Fight 3, 1

**With No International
Criminal Courts**

Dictator

Resign

UN

Immunity

4, 4

**With International
Criminal Courts**

Dictator — Fight — 3, 1

The Dilemma

- International courts entrench evil dictators.
 - They know they will be prosecuted if they try to leave office, so they put up a fight if challenged.
 - Thus, in a one-time interaction, international courts are really, really bad.
- But they discourage future evil dictators.
 - If a dictator just entered office, he might play nice with his people to avoid future prosecution because he knows its coming.

The Dilemma

- So are international courts a good thing?
 - Who knows?

A Brief History of Post-Cold War US Intervention

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Why Are We Talking about This?

- There are a lot of bad men in the world.
- The United States has a lot of military power and is (or at least pretends to be) slightly idealist.
- Why don't we kick a little more dictator butt?

Why Are We Talking about This?

- There are a lot of bad men in the world.
- The United States has a lot of military power and is (or at least pretends to be) slightly idealist.
- Why don't we kick a little more dictator butt?
- Answer: Wars are costly, particularly this specific type of intervention.

Preview

- Vietnam (Prologue)
- Iraq (Part 1)
- Somalia
- Rwanda
- Serbia
- Afghanistan
- Iraq (Part 2)
- Libya
- Syria (?)

Vietnam

- The United States' last major engagement before Afghanistan/Iraq.
- Fought to prop up a democratic government (South Vietnam) against communism.
- Epic failure: 58,000 dead, 300,000 wounded; US exited in 1973; South Vietnam fell in 1975.
- Sparked huge anti-war movement.

Iraq (1991)

- US went 18 years before another major engagement.
- Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990.
- UN was not happy; large coalition strikes back.
- Massive success: US lost only 300 soldiers, most due to *accidents*; Iraq had more than 20,000 casualties; Kuwait freed.
- We did *not* pursue Saddam Hussein, however.

Somalia (1993)

- Somalia was (and is) a...mess.
- The US sent a small contingent of soldiers to arrest Mohammad Farrah Aidid, a warlord inhibiting UN humanitarian aid.
- Failure: 18 dead; Americans at home wonder why we were even over there.
- *Black Hawk Down* is based on this battle.

Rwanda (1994)

- Rwanda has two major ethnic groups: Hutu (84%) and Tutsi (15%).
- Juvénal Habyarimana, president of Rwanda in 1994, dies in a suspicious plane crash.
- Leads to Hutu slaughtering of Tutsis.
- After Somalia, US looked the other way.
- *Hotel Rwanda* takes place during the genocide.

Serbia (1999)

- Slobodan Milošević is a bad person and enjoyed killing people who weren't Serbian.
- His latest target: Kosovars, an ethnic minority in Serbia.
- US took care of business: Kosovo (eventually) becomes an independent republic; Milošević loses an election in 2001, tries to resist, fails, and eventually gets shipped to the Hague.

Afghanistan (2001-Today)

- Note to dictators: if you want to stay in power, don't aid and abet people who attack the United States...
- ...but winning the war is not the same as winning the peace.

Iraq (2003-2011)

- This time, we actually went for Saddam Hussein, who was captured on December 13, 2003.
- But winning the war is still not the same as winning the peace.

Libya (2011)

- Muammar Gaddafi had been a stylish (but still evil) dictator since 1979.
- Uprising starts in early 2011.
- Gaddafi cracks down.
- NATO installs a no-fly zone and “defensively” attacks key Libyan military outposts.
- Months later, rebels take the capital.

Syria (2011)

- Bashar al-Assad is another bad person.
- Ongoing uprising in Syria; lots of deaths.
- Western powers not really doing much.
 - Our best hope: al-Assad's wife nags him into submission.

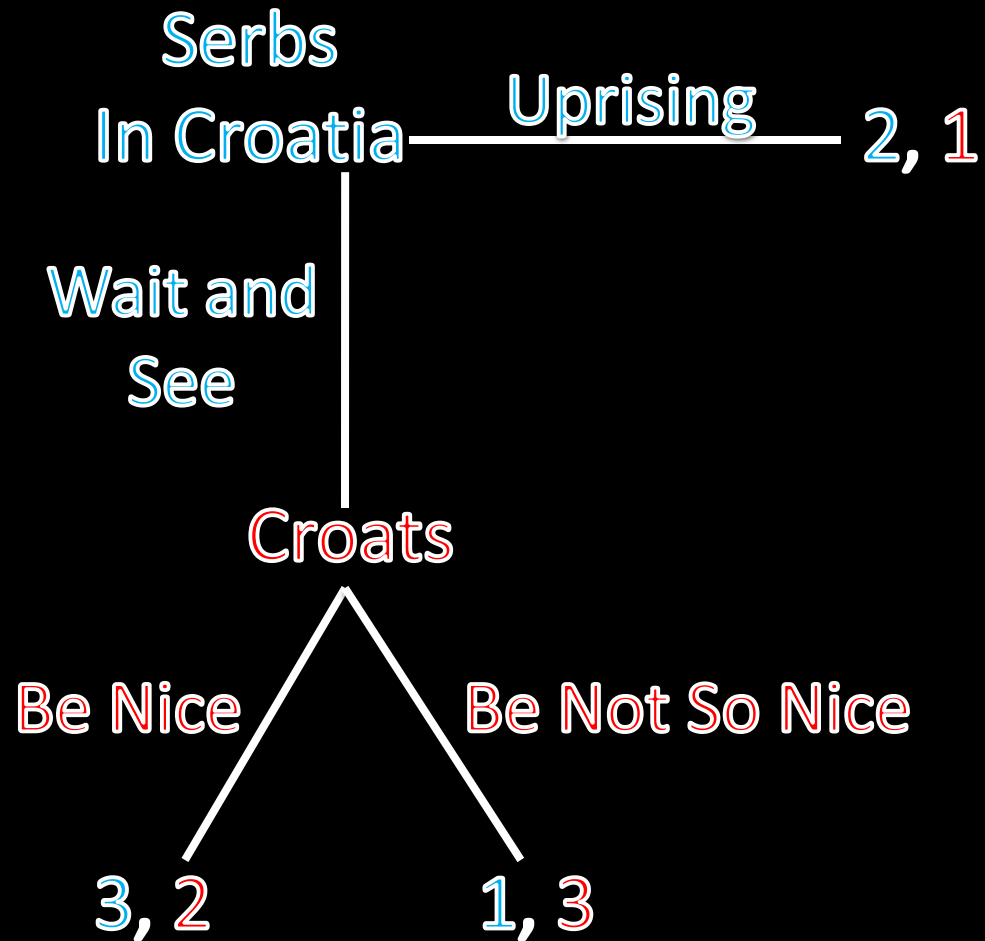
Why Don't We Intervene More?

- Cost is the obvious answer.
 - Not all wars can be fought as cheaply as the Libyan intervention was.
 - The US simply does not have the resources to intervene everywhere every time.
- But these types of wars have a particular problem...

Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement

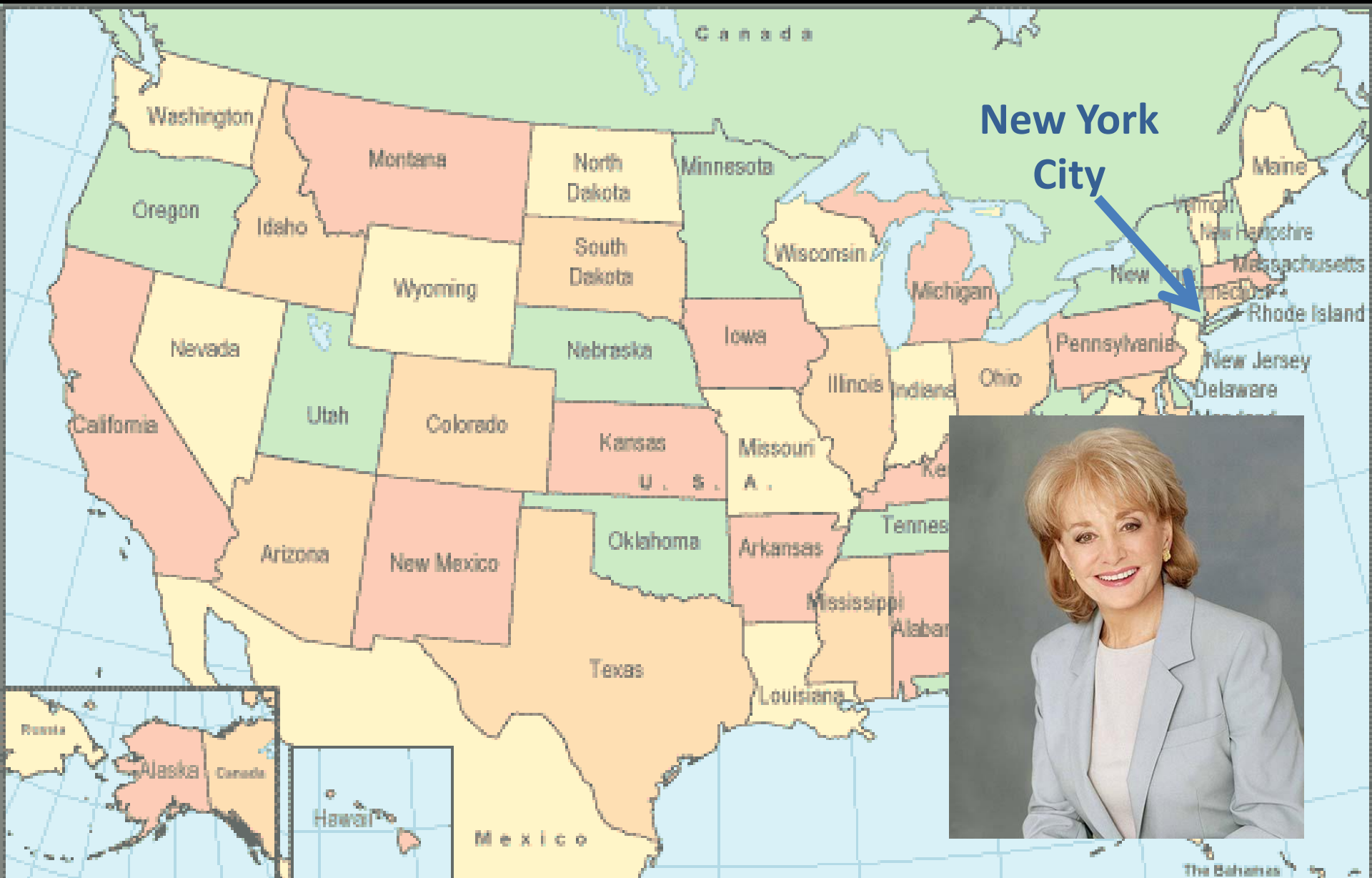
- Civil wars ultimately leave power in the hands of one side.
- Thus, there is a *commitment problem*.
 - The victor cannot guarantee an equitable peace to the loser.
 - In turn, the losing side has incentive to continue fighting even if it is very unlikely to win.

Commitment Problem

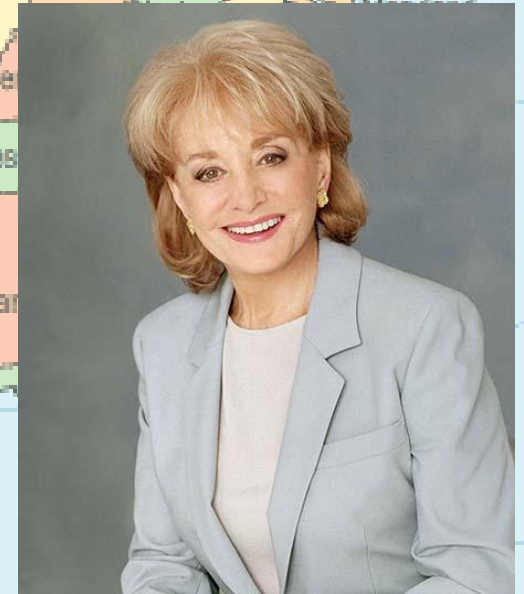


Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement

- Barbara Walter (1997) explains the critical barrier to civil war settlement.



New York
City





Walter

Walters



Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement

- Barbara Walter (1997) explains the critical barrier to civil war settlement.
- Warring sides need a third party to enforce the terms of the settlement.
- But, to be credible, the third parties actually have to care enough about the issues to be willing to pay costs of war.

Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement

- The US cares enough about the short term, but we don't care enough about the long term.
 - Afghanistan/Iraq: Easy to win, hard to ensure the post-war government is significantly better than the previous one.
- Rebels strategize accordingly.

Suicide Terrorism/Nuclear Proliferation

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Part I: Everything You Know about Suicide Terrorism Is Wrong

Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism

- Suicide terrorism is not just for Islamic extremists.
 - Tamil Tigers have executed more suicide bombings than any other group.



Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism

- Suicide terrorism is not just for Islamic extremists.
 - Tamil Tigers have executed more suicide bombings than any other group.
- Suicide terrorists are not just young, disgruntled, unemployed, unmarried men.

American Airlines
11



Al Suqami



Waleed M. Alshehri



Wail M. Alshehri



Alomari



Atta

American Airlines
77



Moqed



Almihdhar



Nawaf Alhazmi



Salem Alhazmi



Hanjour

United Airlines
93



Alghamdi



Al Haznawi



Alnami



Jarrah

United Airlines
175



Al-Shehhi



Alghamdi



Al Qadi Banihammad



Hamza Alghamdi



Alshehri

Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism

- Suicide terrorism is strategic.
 - Leaders of terrorist groups almost always have *political* goals.
 - Demonstrates resolve.

A Brief Rant about Mathematical Modeling

- Common criticism of rational choice modeling of terrorism: “people who kill themselves are not rational.”
- In math world, rational \neq sensible.
 - “Rational” just means that an actor’s preferences are complete and transitive.
 - Thus, we can model actors with silly preferences—including those with a death wish.

Which of these People Is Rational?

Person 1

- “I prefer the Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim to the New York Yankees. I also prefer the New York Yankees to the Chicago Cubs. And I prefer the Chicago Cubs to the Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim.”

Person 2

- “I prefer blowing myself up to kill five people to working a 9-5 desk job. I prefer working a 9-5 desk job than being in Will’s recitation. And I prefer blowing myself up to kill five people than being in Will’s recitation.”

Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism

- Suicide terrorism is strategic.
 - Leaders of terrorist groups almost always have *political* goals.
 - Demonstrates resolve.
- Suicide terrorism did not begin in 9/11.
 - Pape's article gives a detailed history from 1980 forward, and there are plenty more instances before then.

Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism

- Suicide terrorism *works*.
 - Lebanon 1983
 - Gaza Strip 1994
 - West Bank 1995
 - Sri Lanka 1990
 - Turkey 1990

Part II: A Brief History of Nuclear Weapons

Can You Name...

- The ten countries today with nuclear functioning nuclear weapons?
 - I use the word “functioning” loosely for one of them.
- The four countries that once had nuclear weapons but gave them up?

United States (1945)

- Manhattan Project
- Dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ending World War II
- Would have been a lot worse if the Nazi scientists beat us to it.



Soviet Union (1949)

- The Soviets had spies in the Manhattan Project.
- US knew the Soviets were developing a bomb but chose not to launch preventive war.
 - War exhaustion from World War II?
- Cold War starts in earnest.

United Kingdom (1952)

- Tube Alloys
- Agreement with the United States.

France (1960)

- France and the United States do not have as intimate a relationship as the U.S. and the U.K.
- Concern that the U.S. would not use its nuclear arsenal to defend France.
 - Therefore, nukes.

China (1964)

- They have them. Let's just move on.

India (1974)

- India does not like Pakistan very much.
- Tested the “Smiling Buddha,” a “peaceful nuclear explosion,” in 1974.
- Remained mostly dormant until 1998. (Hold that thought.)

Israel (1979)

- Israel does not have nuclear weapons.

South Africa (1979)

- The Vela Incident
 - A US satellite (Vela Hotel) detected a flash in the Atlantic Ocean between South Africa and Antarctica.
- Built due to concerns of civil war spillover from Angola.
 - #2 silliest historical fact I know of.
- Dismantled at the end of Apartheid.

#1: The Fall of the Berlin Wall



Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine (1991)

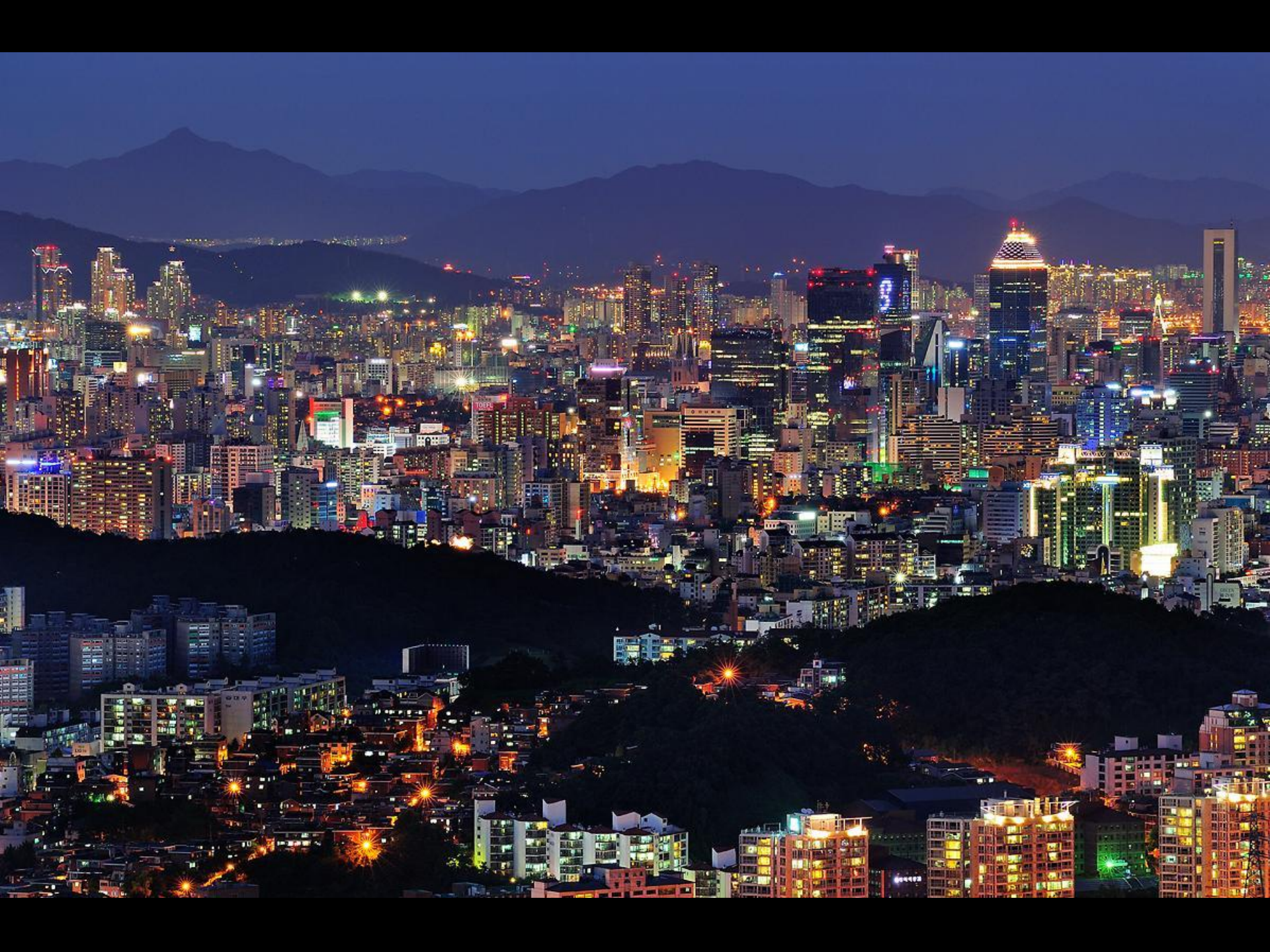
- When the Soviet Union dissolved, nuclear weapons were leftover in these countries.
- Moscow still controlled the launch codes.
 - But, with enough time, the governments could have hacked the bombs.
- Governments were flat broke, however.
- Transferred the bombs back to Russia in exchange for international aid.

Pakistan (1998)

- Five weeks after India's nuclear tests in 1998, Pakistan tested six bombs.
- Pakistan is now "too nuclear to fail."
- The A.Q. Khan network

North Korea (2005)

- Conducted a (relatively crappy) explosion in 2005 and 2006.
- But a crappy bomb on Seoul...



North Korea (2005)

- Conducted a (relatively crappy) explosion in 2005 and 2006.
- But a crappy bomb on Seoul...
- They have tentatively traded us their bombs for a billion pounds of food (seriously).

Iran (2013)

- ?

Questions

- Nuclear weapons are costly. Why do some states pursue them? Why do the other states *not* pursue them?
- Do nuclear weapons promote peace or risk war?
- If a nuclear war were to happen, what strategies should states adopt?

Why Not Proliferate?

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Two Topics

1. “Nothing to Fear But Fear Itself?”
2. Proliferation with repeated interaction and perfect monitoring.

Nothing to Fear

- The name of the working paper is now “Nothing to Fear But Fear Itself?”
 - Google it with “Debs” and you will find it.

Some (Sad) Truths of Research

- What does game theory do anyway?
 - Answer: Maps assumptions to logically valid conclusions.

Some (Sad) Truths of Research

- What does game theory do anyway?
 - Answer: Maps assumptions to logically valid conclusions.
 - Still unclear? Let's consult South Park.



PHASE 1

PHASE 2

PHASE 3

Assumptions

Game
Theory

Conclusions



Some (Sad) Truths of Research

- What does game theory do anyway?
 - Answer: Maps assumptions to logically valid conclusions.
 - Still unclear? Let's consult South Park.
- Assumptions do all the dirty work. Game theory is just math.
 - Thus, changing assumptions often changes conclusions.

Some (Sad) Truths of Research

- When a researcher finds an interesting result, others try to “break” the result.
 - What critical assumptions are necessary to maintain the outcome?

Fearon's Assumptions

- Rising states magically grow more powerful.
 - Umm.
- Shifting power is not costly.
 - Definitely *not* true.
- Declining state can perfectly monitor the rising state.
 - Definitely not always true.

Fearon's Assumptions

- Disclaimer: making these assumptions does not make James Fearon a bad researcher. Relaxing assumptions usually requires a lot more dirty work (math). It makes sense to start small and work our way up.

Fearon's Assumptions

- Will preventive war still hold after relaxing these assumptions?
 - Goes away if the rising state chooses whether to grow.
 - If shifting power is costly and monitoring is imperfect, Debs and Monteiro show that war returns.

Nothing to Fear?

- Imagine that the declining state was completely blind to the rising state's actions.
 1. Would the rising state ever not want to proliferate?

Nothing to Fear?

- Imagine that the declining state was completely blind to the rising state's actions.
 1. Would the rising state ever not want to proliferate?
 - Only if proliferating is ridiculously expensive. Otherwise, regardless of how much the declining state offered, the rising state could proliferate and demand more later.

Nothing to Fear?

- Imagine that the declining state was completely blind to the rising state's actions.
2. Can the declining state successfully bribe the rising state not to proliferate?

Nothing to Fear?

- Imagine that the declining state was completely blind to the rising state's actions.
2. Can the declining state successfully bribe the rising state not to proliferate?
 - No. The rising state is going to build anyway. So the rising state will take the declining state's concessions and screw them over anyway.

Nothing to Fear?

- Imagine that the declining state was completely blind to the rising state's actions.
3. Should the declining state launch preventive war?

Nothing to Fear?

- Imagine that the declining state was completely blind to the rising state's actions.
3. Should the declining state launch preventive war?
- Yes—if war is a relatively cheap option. If the declining state does not prevent, it knows the rising state will proliferate. So if the declining state would rather fight a war than suffer the consequences of a nuclear rival later, it fights.

Nothing to Fear?

- In the actual paper, Debs and Monteiro consider a scenario where monitoring is “noisy.”
 - Sometimes the rising state gets caught proliferating, sometimes not.
 - This leads to a bluffing outcome.
 - The rising state sometimes proliferates and sometimes doesn't. The declining state sometimes launches preventive war and sometimes does not.

Nothing to Fear?

- This leads to a bluffing outcome.
 - The rising state sometimes proliferates and sometimes doesn't. The declining state sometimes launches preventive war and sometimes does not.
- Thus, sometimes we fight preventive wars for no good reason (Iraq 2003).

Two Topics

1. “Nothing to Fear But Fear Itself?”
2. Proliferation with repeated interaction and perfect monitoring.

Motivation

- The Debs and Monteiro paper assume that proliferation is a now-or-never proposition.
- But if Iran does not proliferate today, nothing will stop it from proliferating tomorrow.

Motivation

- History has many instances of “butter-for-bombs” negotiations.
 - Soviet Successor States, Libya, Iran and North Korea (ongoing).
 - How can we explain this? Doesn't power bring concessions?

Common Features

- Strong actor (United States) gives money to weaker state over the long term.
- Weaker state accepts the money and gives up weapons programs and do not restart their programs even after receiving those concessions.

Two Problems

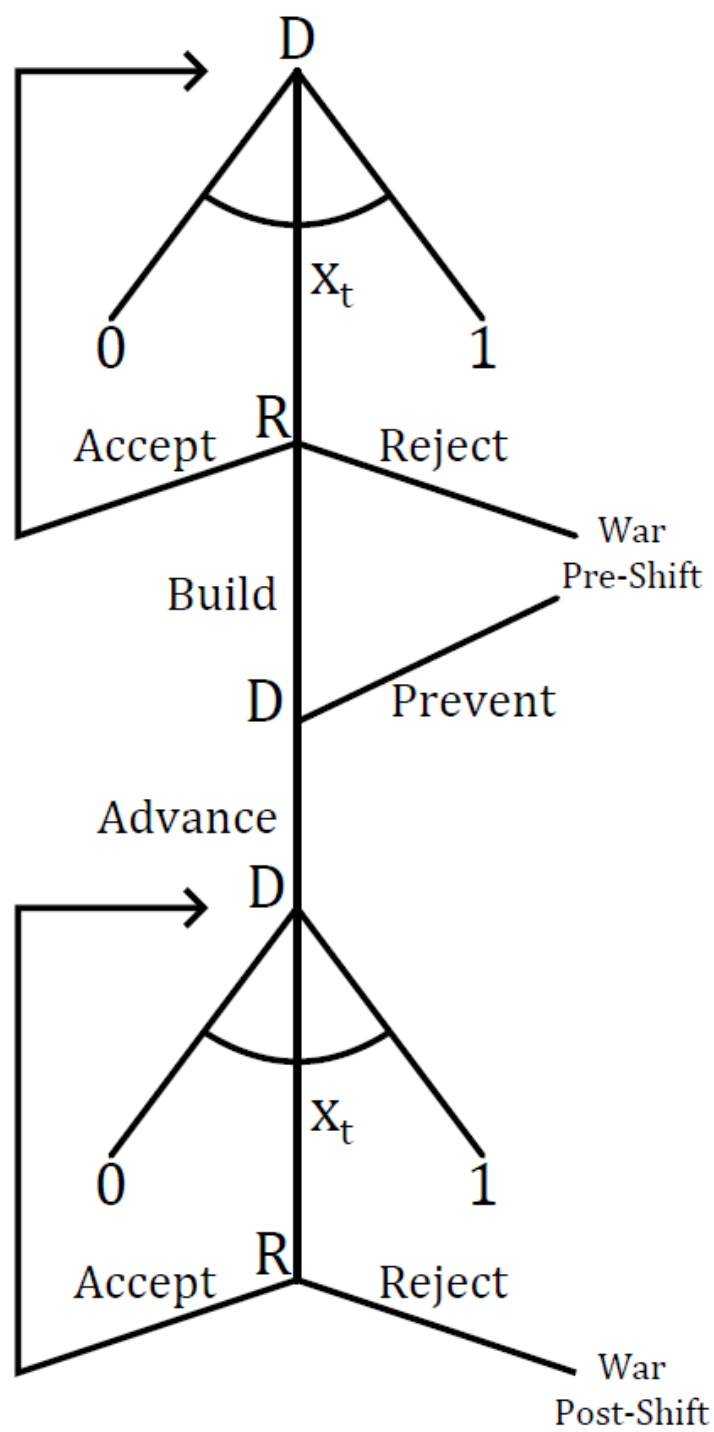
- Theoretical problem
 - In models of shifting power and preventive war, declining states only make concessions *after* power has shifted.
- Applied problem
 - Will North Korea and Iran follow through with the agreements?
 - Why not take the concessions and build power anyway?

Critical Insight: Cost of Power

- Power does not magically grow on trees.
- States must pay costs to increase the size of their military and have more bargaining power.

Critical Insight: Cost of Power

- Incorporating these costs of power, there exist peaceful equilibria in which the rising state never shifts power.
 - The declining state makes immediate concessions.
 - The rising state could shift power and force the declining state to make additional concessions. But those additional concessions do not cover the costs of the weapons.



Outcome 1: “Too Cold”

- Suppose the cost of proliferation is extremely great.
- Declining state can offer no concessions and still induce the rising state to accept and not build.
 - It’s just not profitable to proliferate.

Outcome 2: “Too Hot”

- Suppose the proliferating causes a gigantic shift in power.
 - The declining state would want to prevent in this case. (Remember: perfect monitoring here.)
- The declining state can offer no concessions and still induce the rising state to accept.
 - The rising state’s alternative is to induce the declining state to launch preventive war.

Outcome 3a: Butter-for-Bombs

- Suppose outcome 1 and 2 are not the case and proliferating is still relatively expensive.
- The declining state makes immediate concessions to the rising state. The rising state accepts and does not proliferate.

Outcome 3a: Butter-for-Bombs

- Why?
 - Remember, proliferating is costly.
 - The benefit from proliferating is extracting more concessions out of the declining state.
 - But the declining state is already offering some concessions.
 - If the rising state builds, it will get more concessions. But those additional concessions don't make up for the cost of proliferation.

Outcome 3b: Hardball

- Suppose outcome 1 and 2 are not the case and proliferating is relatively cheap.
- Declining state offers no concessions at first. Rising state proliferates. Declining state offers great concessions afterward.

Outcome 3b: Hardball

- Why?
 - It's just too easy for the rising state to proliferate.
 - Butter-for-bombs won't work because the rising state is too tempted to renege.
 - Thus, the declining state takes as much as it can at first and accepts the consequences of proliferation later on.

Fin.

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