

NEUTRAL INTEVENTION

PSC/IR 265: CIVIL WAR AND INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS

WILLIAM SPANIEL

WJSPANIEL.WORDPRESS.COM/PSCIR-265

Overview

1. Ukraine Update
2. Civil War Termination Commitment Problem
3. Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement
4. Costly Signaling
5. The Iraq Surge

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The Latest

- Putin: Crimea annexed.
- 1 dead.
 - 999 more until we call it a war...

For Your Education...

- Suppose Nebraska declared independence tomorrow. Would it be a nuclear power?

For Your Education...

- Suppose Nebraska declared independence tomorrow. Would it be a nuclear power?
 - Not unless Nebraskans magically commandeered the weapons and hacked the launch codes.

For Your Education...

- Then don't call Ukraine a former nuclear power.

Budapest Memorandum

- Says: Ukraine gives up nuclear ambitions, U.S./U.K./Russia respect boundaries.
 - Russia is clearly violating the agreement.
 - Does Ukraine really “regret” the agreement?

Not Really

- No one signing it would have believed it would have held up under these conditions.
 - Everyone is getting exactly what they expected.
- Ukraine was broke upon independence.
 - Traded potential nuclear program for cash and subsidies.

America's Current Game Plan

- We don't have a credible threat to intervene militarily.

Modest Partisan Differences in Views of U.S. Actions in Ukraine

Do you think it is more important for the U.S. to ...

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Take a firm stand against Russia actions	29	37	30	25
<i>In addressing the situation should the U.S. ...</i>				
Consider military options	8	16	5	5
Only consider economic/political options	19	19	24	18
Don't know	2	1	1	3
Not get too involved in the situation	56	50	55	62
Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100

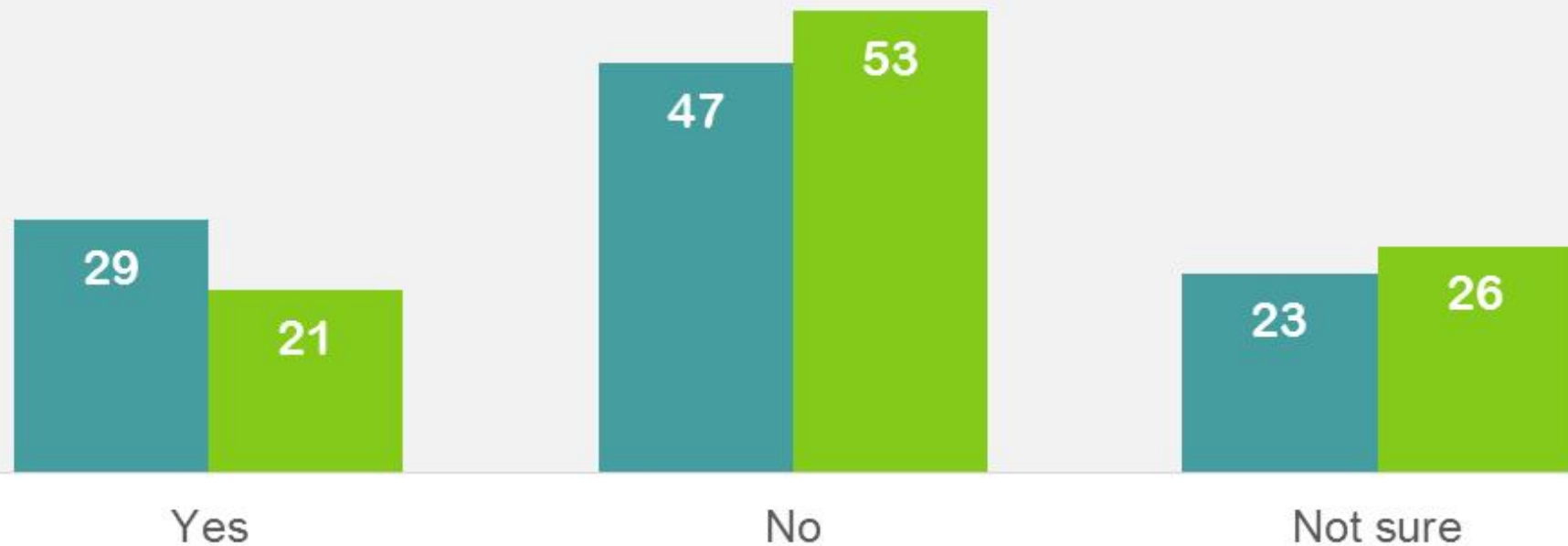
Survey conducted Mar. 6-9, 2014. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Do you think the U.S. should get involved in Russia's dispute with Ukraine? (%)

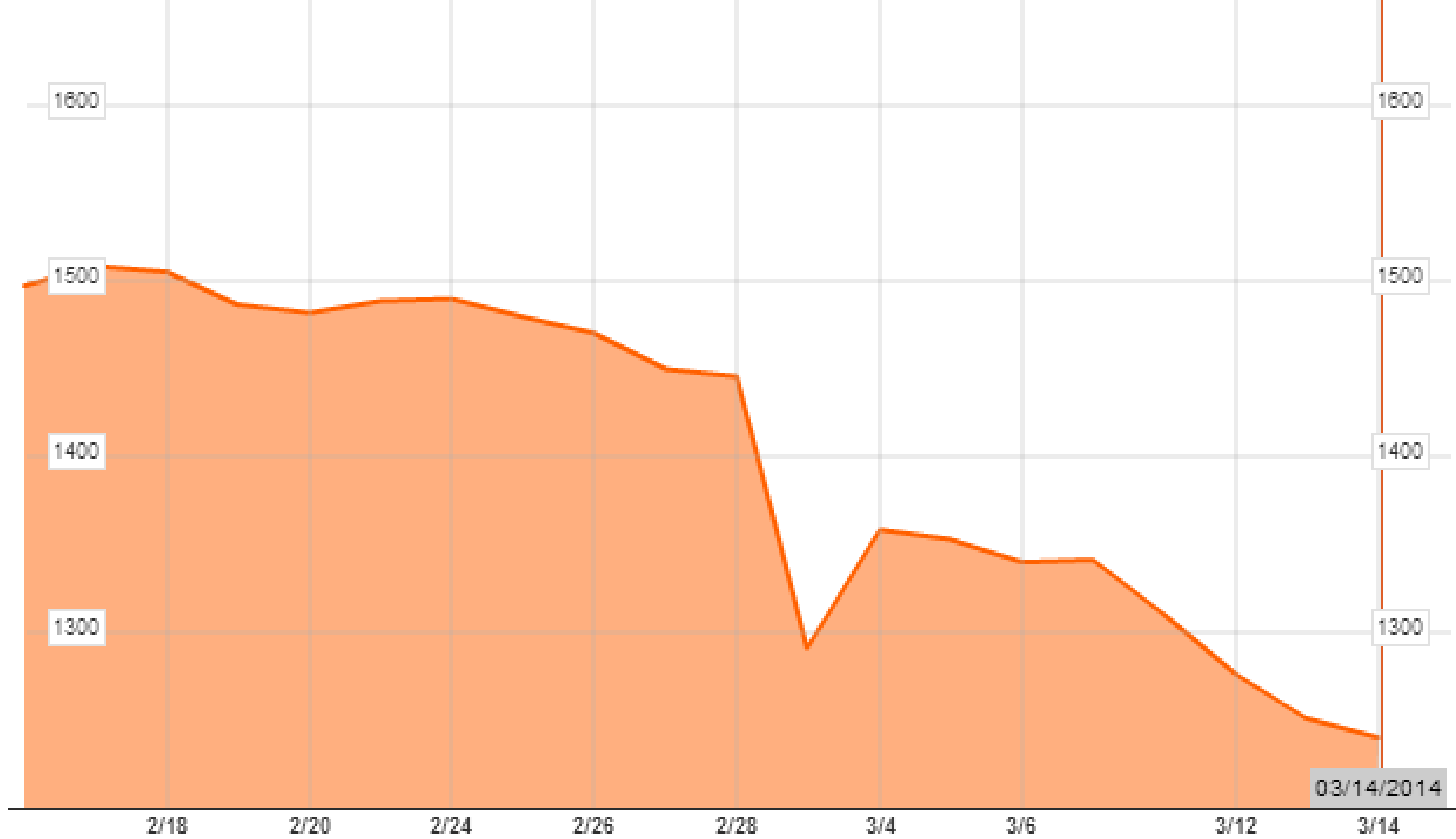
■ Asked about Hitler before

■ Asked about Hitler after



America's Current Game Plan

- Sanctions threat.



Sanctions Expectations

- Incomplete information can result in sanctions.
 - Incomplete information is hard to measure.
 - Why can we use leader tenure as a proxy?

Sanctions Expectations

- Incomplete information can result in sanctions.
 - Incomplete information is hard to measure.
 - Why is leader tenure a useful proxy?

Sanctions Expectations

- Newer leaders more likely to be sanctioned.
 - Putin is old news.
- International consensus more likely to result in sanctions.
 - Remains unseen.

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Principle of Convergence

- War transmits information.
- Rejecting offers credibly reveals strength.
- So do battlefield outcomes.
- Costs => war ends when it loses informational relevance.

One Slight Detail

- 55% of interstate wars end in negotiated settlement.
- Only 20% of civil wars do.
- What gives?

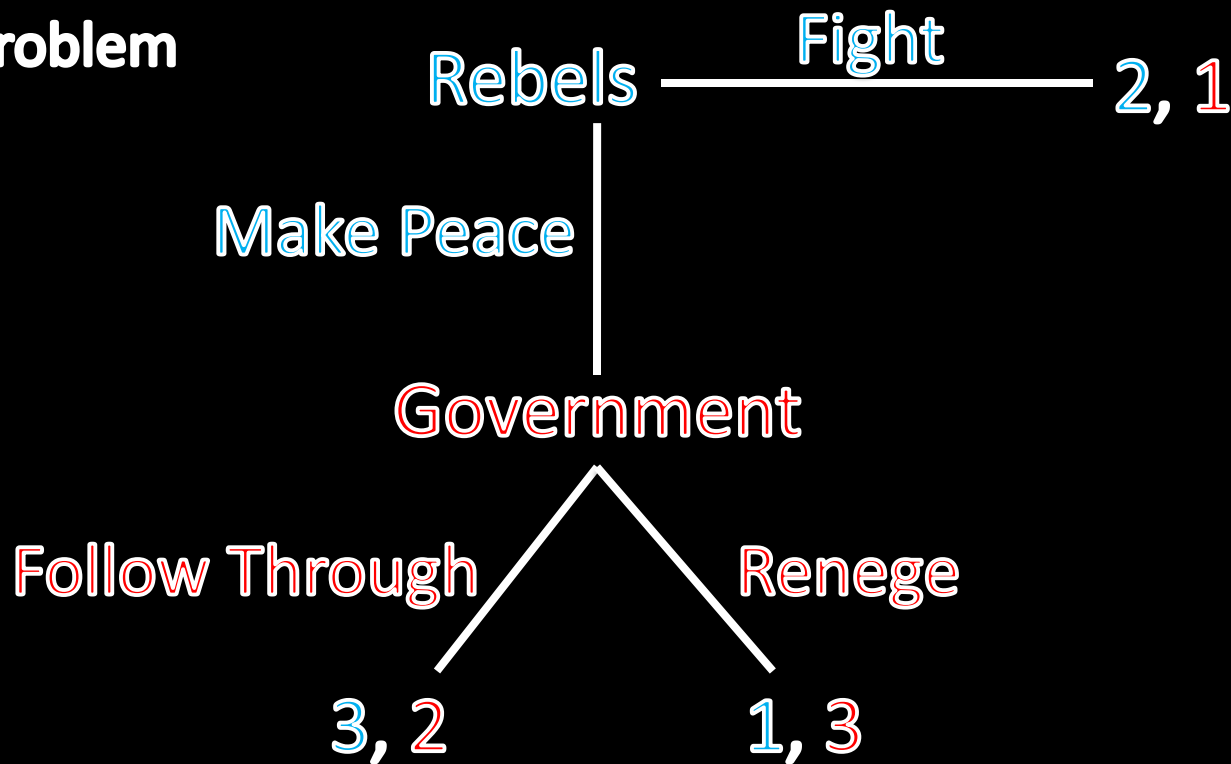
It's a commitment
problem. *Also,*
there's still no "s" in
my last name.



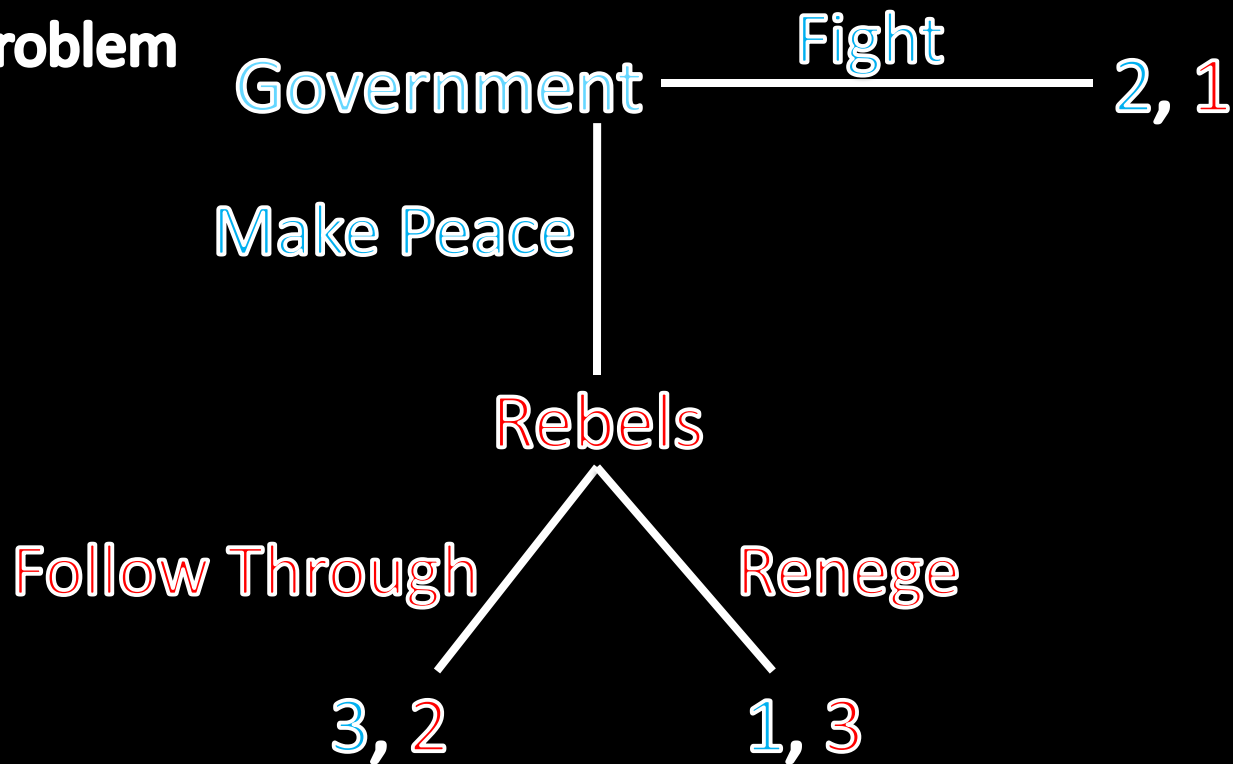
Civil War Realities

- Settlements ask for combatants to do the “unthinkable”—give up weapons in the absence of a credible enforcer.
- War continues.

A Commitment Problem



A Commitment Problem





**Brotherly Leader and Guide
of the Revolution of Libya**



Muammar Gaddafi

1969

1974

1979

1984

1989

1994

1999

2004

2009

**Brotherly Leader and Guide
of the Revolution of Libya**

Main Problem

- Power controls distribution of settlement.
 - But peace requires disarmament...which changes the distribution of power.
- Power is indivisible...
 - ...or at least extremely hard to divide.

Interstate War

- This isn't a problem with interstate wars.
- After war, both states maintain militaries.
 - These militaries sustain prior power.
 - Failure to adhere to an agreement reverts back to war, costs.

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If enforcement is
the problem, third
party enforcement
is the solution.



Making Peace

- Third parties act as arbiter.
 - Observe the terms of settlement.
 - Observe compliance to those terms.
 - Intervene (politically, militarily) if violations persist.

Evidence

- No guarantee: 2/37 bargained resolution.
- Guarantee: 6/6 bargained resolution.

Evidence

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 - Selection problem?

Evidence

- No guarantee: 2/37 bargained resolution.
- Guarantee: 6/6 bargained resolution.
 - Selection problem?
 - Similar patterns among parties that negotiated.
 - Qualitative evidence: agreements w/o third parties.

The Solution!

- We should have more interventions everywhere!!!

Not so
fast.



Effective Third Parties

1. Self-interest
2. Military capability
3. Signal of resolve

Self-Interest

- Intervention is costly.
- Unwilling to pay? You can't enforce peace.
- Who fits this category?
 - Economic investments, colonial ties, military alliances.

Military Capability

- If the new government can overrun you, you are not an effective deterrent.
 - Bright spot: most states involved in civil wars aren't internationally powerful.
 - Just about any competent state will work.

Signal of Resolve

- How can the parties be sure the other side will intervene and not run at first blood?
 - Military tripwires.
 - Costly signaling.

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Applying to Grad School

- Immediately after accepting an offer, you will have to pay a deposit.
- Why do schools do this? Does it matter if the deposit is refundable?

Getting Engaged

- You are supposed to spend $\$xn$ dollars, where x is your monthly income and n is some arbitrary number of months the diamond industry picked from a dart board.

Costly Signal

- Problem: Schools and potential spouses have a hard time differentiating between committed and uncommitted types.
 - Incomplete information!
- Cash payment informs them about commitment.

A photograph of JAY-Z performing on stage. He is in the center, wearing a shiny, sequined suit, holding a microphone in his right hand and gesturing with his left hand. He has long, curly hair. Two backup dancers, also in shiny sequined outfits, are on either side of him, mirroring his hand gestures. The background is dark with stage lights.

IF YOU LIKED IT

**THEN YOU SHOULDA PUT A
COSTLY SIGNAL ON IT.**

**IF YOU NEED AN EXPENSIVE RING TO VERIFY
CREDIBLE COMMITMENT TO YOUR
RELATIONSHIP**



**YOU'RE ABOUT TO MARRY THE
WRONG PERSON.**

Costly Signal

- Not all signals that are costly are effective costly signals.
- Critical component: cost paid by one type is cost another type would *not* pay.

Example

- You are a third party state.
- Continued war in your country is costly to you.
 - But I don't know how costly. (You know yourself better than I do.)
 - 50% chance: \$10 billion
 - 50% chance: \$5 billion

Example

- Intervention is (more or less) free if no one breaks the peace or if you leave immediately.
- Intervention is costly otherwise.
 - Say, \$7 billion.

Example

- I am the gov't of the country and thinking about taking advantage of a shift in power.
- I want to challenge if you are uncommitted to keeping the peace but don't want to if you are committed.

Example

- With no additional information, suppose I prefer trying to renege on the settlement.
 - 50% chance I am successful.
 - 50% chance you intervene and do bad things to me.

Example

- No extra info \Rightarrow I challenge \Rightarrow uncommitted type leaves and committed type puts down the challenge.
 - Costs \$7 billion to the committed type.

You Are the Committed Type

- Why will saying “I’m the committed type” not work?

You Are the Committed Type

- You have a stack of \$10 billion in front of you. Is there something you can do with that money to credibly reveal information?
 - Intervention costs \$7 billion. You value peace at \$10 billion. Uncommitted type values peace at \$5 billion.

Solution

- Take \$5,000,000,001 and light it on fire.

Why It Works

- Uncommitted type's best case scenario: I believe it is committed and don't challenge the peace.
 - Committed type receives \$5 billion for no war.

Why It Works

- Net payoff: -\$1.
- But uncommitted type could do nothing and earn \$0 instead!
 - Conclusion: Anyone who burns \$5,000,000,001 cannot possibly be uncommitted.

Why It Works

- Committed type burns the money.
- I see the money burnt, update my belief that you are the committed type, and do not challenge.

Why It Works

- You earn \$4,999,999,999 for this outcome.
- If you don't burn, I infer that you are uncommitted and challenge. You intervene.
 - You earn \$3 billion.

Critical Components

1. Your types care about the issue at differential values.
2. You as the committed type sacrificed more than the less committed type would be willing to sacrifice.

Final Question

- Why is burning \$1 a signal that is costly but not A Costly Signal?

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Iraq War in Four Phases

1. Negotiation
2. Invasion
3. Civil War
4. Surge

Negotiation

- Dragged on for months.
- Very public.
- Probably not ultimately about WMD.

Invasion

- Extremely successful
- 172 coalition deaths
- Defection rampant
- Saddam choose to run, not fight



**FOX
NEWS**

10:32 ET

S&P

6.71



IS WHAT ALLOWS U.S. GROUND TROOPS TO CONDUCT





Invasion

- Last 10 days (3/30 to 4/9)
- Ultimately relatively unimportant
 - Wikipedia: 16,477 words on the Iraq War. Only 1125 (6.8%) about the invasion



Civil War

- Lawlessness prevails for a while after war.
 - Part of this was bad policy.
 - Part of this was...well...the government disappeared over ten days.

Civil War

- August 2003: Jordanian embassy and U.N. headquarters bombed










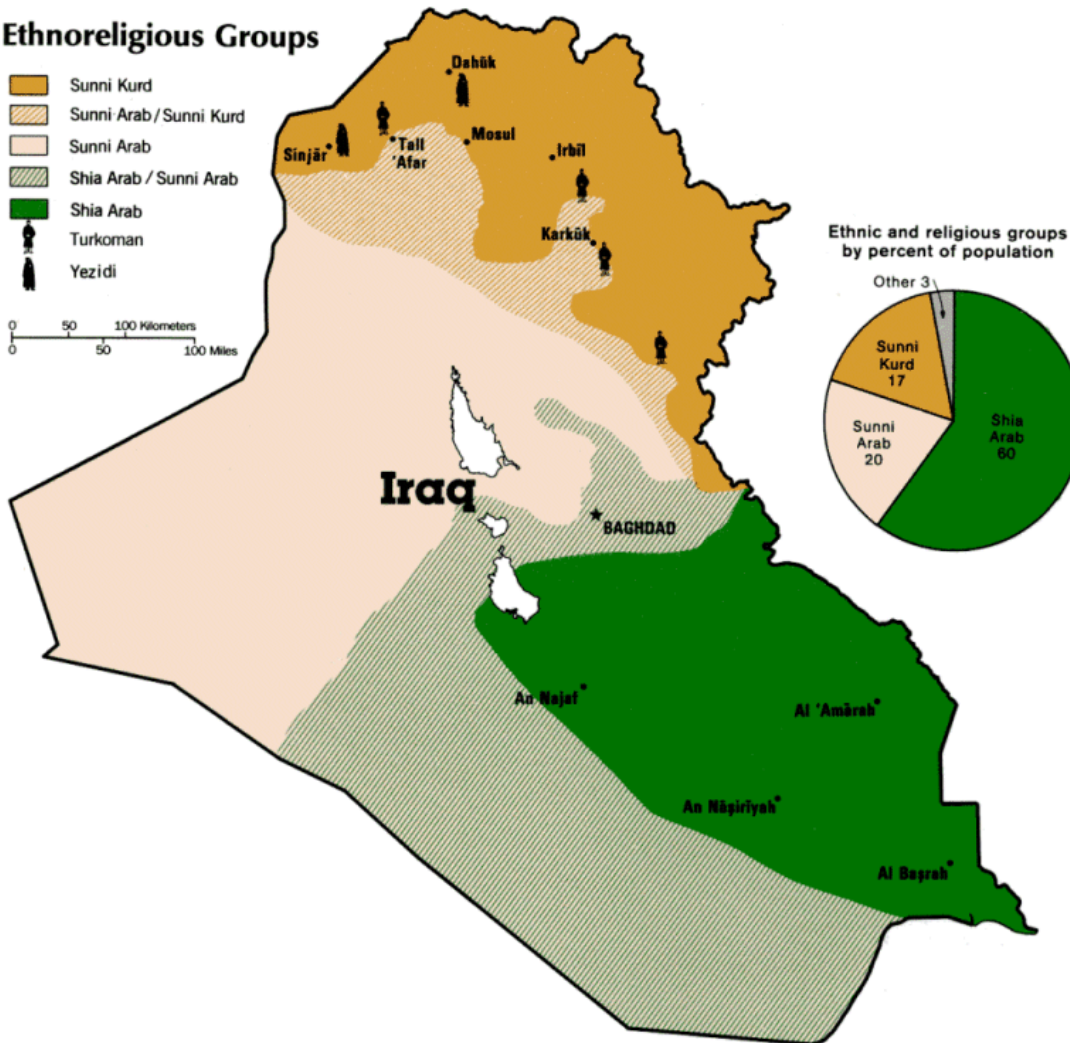
Civil War: Why?

- New democratic rules
- Commitment problem
- Saddam's pro-Sunni propaganda
- Problems with splitting the country

Ethnoreligious Groups

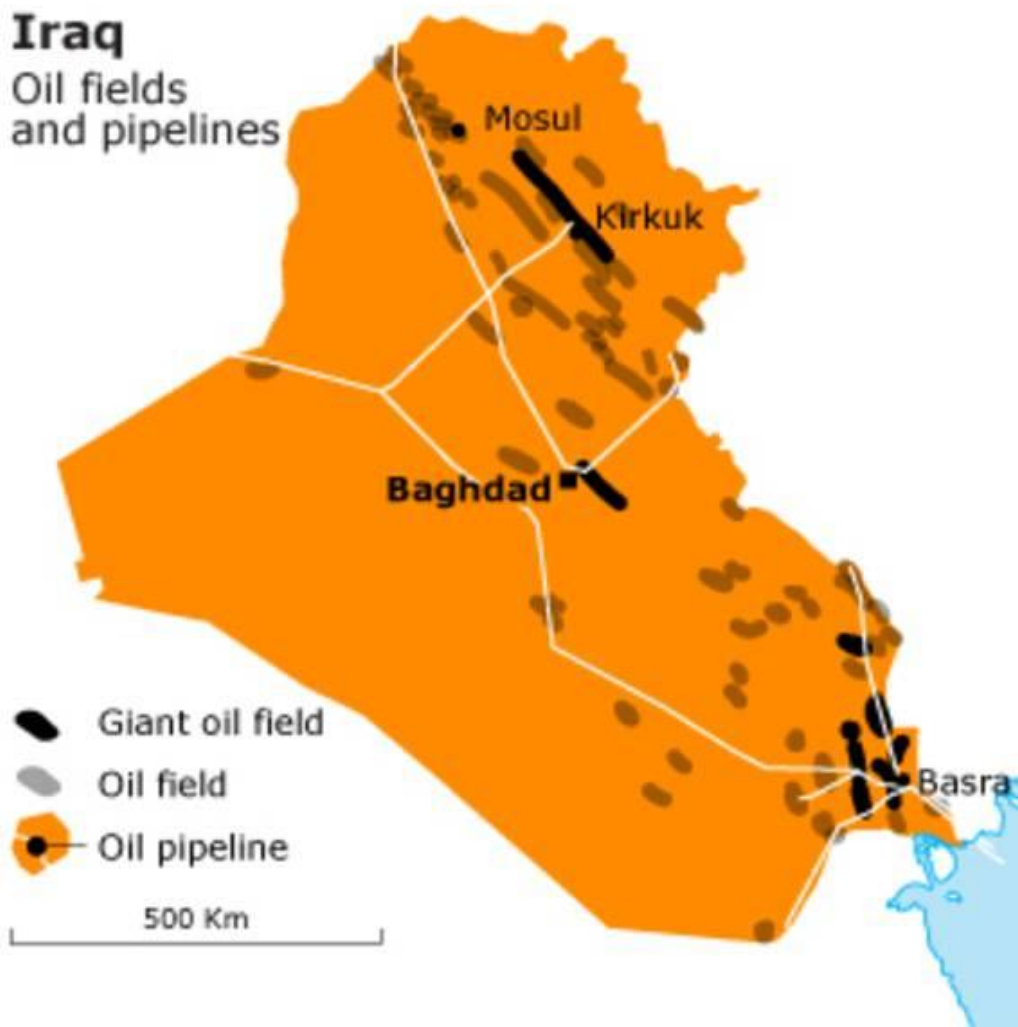
-  Sunni Kurd
-  Sunni Arab / Sunni Kurd
-  Sunni Arab
-  Shia Arab / Sunni Arab
-  Shia Arab
-  Turkoman
-  Yezidi

0 50 100 Kilometers
0 50 100 Miles



Iraq

Oil fields
and pipelines



Results

- Government not widely recognized as legitimate within Iraq.
- Fighting, lawlessness continues.
- U.S. suffers casualties.
- American political opposition to war increases.

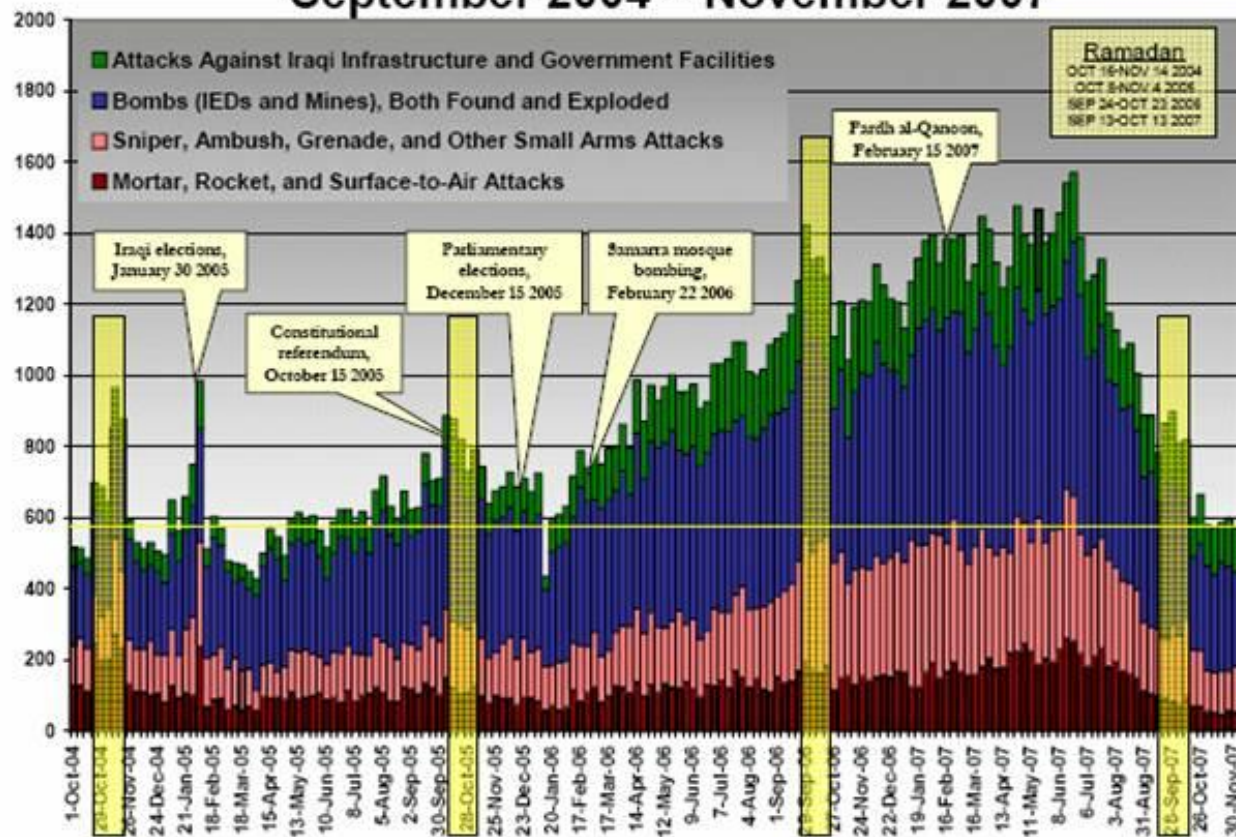
The Surge

- Bush wants more troops in Iraq.
- Opposition in Congress fights.
- Bush makes it a sticking point of his presidency and carries on.

Overall Weekly Iraq Attack Trends

(Includes Found and Cleared Bombs)

September 2004 – November 2007



This chart has been added since the last report. It is included to show overall insurgent activity and methods of attack and therefore includes found and cleared bombs. Source: SIGACTS III Database (Coalition Reports only)—Chart includes executed attacks and potential (found and cleared) events; as of Nov 30 2007.

Some Explanations

- More troops
- Counterinsurgency strategy
- David Petraeus
- All the Sunnis had been killed already

More Troops?

- More is better than less.
- 30,000 is a lot.
 - But 130,000 were already there.

Strategy?

- Clear-hold-build

Petraeus?

- Okay.
- If Petraeus was the answer, what's the policy prescription?

Petraeus?



-

-

ne answer, what's the policy

Petr



ne



cy

Blood Bath?

- Losing is a part of the learning curve.
- Even if you know things are going bad, commitment problem is still scary.

Another Explanation

- Bush signaled commitment to Iraqi security.
 - He would not have wasted the political capital otherwise.
 - Moderates internalize American commitment.
- U.S. offers payments to Sunnis.

Sunni Decision

1. Continue fighting against Shia and a resolved United States.
2. Accept payments and work with United States against AQL.