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Heating up after the Cold War: The effect the Cold War had on military interventions

by

Johnathan Robert Vonderhaar

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Major: Political Science

Program of Study Committee:
Ellen Pirro, Co-Major Professor
Richard Mansbach, Co-Major Professor
Timothy Wolters

The student author and the program of study committee are solely responsible for the content of this thesis. The Graduate College will ensure this thesis is globally accessible and will not permit alterations after a degree is conferred.

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2017

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this paper to my parents, whose unrelenting support and encouragement buoyed my spirits even during the hardest moments of this work's process.

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ABSTRACT

Despite the large body of literature produced by researchers attentive to the subjects of military intervention and the historical period known as the Cold War, little attention has been given to the effect that the tensions that existed during this time period on a global scale had on military interventions. Why have previous scholars missed this and why is it important? The body of existing literature looks at the effect the Cold War had on individual countries and examines individual conflicts, but overall trends are not examined in depth. This thesis proposes some theoretical propositions based on realist and constructivist literature, to explain why proxy conflicts (military interventions perpetrated on any state excluding the rival state) would decrease after the Cold War. This document examines this effect using the two most historically prolific military interveners of the time period, the United States of America and the Soviet Union/Russia, as proxies for the overall effect that the Cold War had on the global system with respect to military interventions.[1] This thesis approaches the topic utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitatively, it uses a case study of both states' interventions in Afghanistan, one before and one after the Cold War. The case study found that, though there were small distinctions, there was no substantive difference in intervention before and after the Cold War. Quantitatively, this document utilizes data from the International Military Intervention Dataset to examine statistically the effect the Cold War had on the rate of military interventions during the identified time period. It found that, contrary to expectations, there was a constraining effect

[1] Deduced using the IMI dataset and looking at overall military interventions during the period.

with respect to the Soviet Union during the Cold War. It also found that in general, regardless of the time frame, the United States was a more interventionist state.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In a world with increasingly tense relations with China and a resurgent Russia, the question of what the future holds with regards to international relations is a very pertinent issue. China is increasing their hold on southeast Asia, is pushing their claims in the Pacific, and is poised to overtake the United States as the economic superpower. Russia is revitalized and is pushing its weight around in its historical backyard with the support of the rebels in Ukraine, the outright annexation of Crimea, and the constant use of cyberwarfare. Either state could potentially be the future rival for United States hegemony. Will this lead to a direct conflict between the United States and these countries? This is unlikely as these countries also both have the superweapon that constrained direct conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War era, nuclear weapons. That is not to say that there will not be conflicts between the rivals; but that conflict will most likely be fought between the proxies of those rivals in their sphere of influence and against nonaligned countries to increase their own sphere of influence. What support is there for that assertion? This study finds support by examining the military interventions of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, when there was that same nuclear weapon constraint.

Military interventions are a controversial phenomenon in the modern international system. Modern states are sovereign beings and, as such, they enjoy the sole right to the legitimate use of force within the borders of their nation. Military intervention is defined by the United States Department of Defense as “the deliberate act of a nation or group of nations to

introduce its military forces into the course of an existing controversy"[2]. Military interventions impact today's world in a variety of ways. They can increase the sphere of power of a state but they may also be considered as illegitimate by others in the international system. Why they are perpetrated may often be as important as how they are conducted because they will affect the balance of power in the international system.

The Cold War was a rivalry that existed between the two world superpowers of the time that never transitioned into a so-called hot war. It included the buildup of weapons, both conventional and nuclear, and the use of military interventions or proxy wars to increase the sphere of power of their own state and to decrease or limit the sphere of power of the opposing state. The Cold War dates from 1947, after the end of the second World War, and continued to 1991, ending with the dissolution of Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, the delineation between during and after the Cold War is 1991.

What constitutes military intervention? This is less simple than it seems. Should one just include the direct insertion of military troops, colloquially known as boots on the ground, or should one consider other factors such as drone strikes or sales of military hardware? For the purposes of this study the definition supplied by Pearson and Baumann 1993 as events involving "the movement of regular troops or forces (airborne, seaborne, shelling, etc.) of one country inside another, in the context of some political issue or dispute"[3] is used. Utilizing this definition means that there are several actions that will be rejected as military intervention because they have no direct impact on the military situation of any other nation and would not be considered actual use of military. These non-military actions include disaster assistance, the use of

[2] "Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms," (2010).
[3] Pearson, Frederic S., and Robert A. Baumann, "International Military Intervention, 1946-1988," *Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Data Collection* No 6035, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, (1993).

paramilitaries, the use of government backed militias, private security forces,[4] and the training of troops not involved in direct combat and other similar actions.[5]

To delineate the nature of military intervention and to provide context, this paper includes a case study of military intervention which examines the invasions of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union from 1979-1989 and the United States from 2001-2014. The case study is an attempt to isolate the variables that are examined in the statistical portion of this paper, to discuss the nature of military intervention, and to make the entire topic more understandable by looking at what is behind all the data that is examined in Chapter 5. The case study clearly demonstrates that military interventions in Afghanistan have failed every time a major nation has attempted this activity in the modern era. Nations including the British Empire, the Soviet Union, and the United States of America have tried and failed to invade and exert long term control on the Afghani people. The United States and the Soviet Union, both cases that are examined in this study, interfered in the affairs of Afghanistan for very different reasons, utilizing militaries and civil administrations that are vastly different in construction, and yet the results of their interventions were very similar.

The most conclusive argument given to explain the similarities between the results of the military interventions is the theory of asymmetrical warfare. Despite differences in the structural makeup of the administrations of the United States and the Soviet Union, they faced the same problem that is inherent in any great-power military operation, asymmetric warfare. Asymmetric warfare occurs when a conflict is seemingly one-sided with all the military strength being held

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[4] Kisangani, Emizet F., and Jeffrey Pickering, "International Military Intervention, 1989-2005," *Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Data Collection* No 21282, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, (2008).
[5] Grossman, Zoltan, "From Wounded Knee to Syria: A Century of U.S. Military Interventions," *Olympia, Washington: Evergreen State College*, (2014).

by the great power. The flaw that has consistently hurt the great powers is the fact that their militaries are geared towards large warfare and their militaries are unable to generate success as the enemies do not utilize similar tactics. Thus, the United States and Soviet Union entered into both Afghanistan conflicts with militaries that were structured to fight conventional warfare and the Afghani warriors were ultimately successful because they refused to fight this type of battle.

This paper argues that the rivalry between two nuclear powers: the United States and the Soviet Union/Russia, increased the rate of proxy military interventions because direct warfare could escalate into mutual destruction. Subsequently, after the rivalry breaks down or in this case the end of the Cold War, this thesis argues that the number of military interventions/proxy wars would decrease. Did the Cold War have a limiting effect on the rate of military interventions by the two superpowers of the time, namely the United States and the Soviet Union (Russia)? This thesis will examine military interventions that the nation-states of the Soviet Union/Russia and the United States of America have participated in during the nineteen years preceding and the nineteen years following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the corresponding end of the Cold War. These years are used because data is only available up to 2010 and it is important to keep the years even for this test to ensure balance. This thesis hypothesizes that the Cold War had an accelerating effect on the occasions for military intervention on proxies by these two countries. To verify this thesis, several empirical tests are used to examine actual instances of military intervention.

This study endeavors to examine military intervention using the United States and the Soviet Union/Russia as examples that illustrate the effect the Cold War had on military intervention and why these interventions were perpetrated on proxies rather than becoming direct conflicts between the rivals. Their use as examples is justified because they are the two

countries that have intervened in the most conflicts over the past 60 years. This study aims to examine the nature of military intervention through both qualitative and quantitative means. The qualitative method utilizes case studies to examine interventions both before and after the Cold War ended. This work examines the interventions in Afghanistan, by the Soviet Union during the Cold War from 1979 to 1989 and by the United States after the end of the Cold War from 2001 to 2014, in an attempt to examine the differences between them.

The study then analyzes all qualifying military interventions utilizing a quantitative approach incorporating data collected over roughly the past 50 years to determine what statistical conclusion can be drawn.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS AND HYPOTHESES

Theoretical Analysis

In this section the attempt is made to utilize realist literature with a bit of constructivism to form theoretical propositions regarding military interventions which occur from rivals that have the capability to destroy each other if they engage in direct warfare. The basic components are: states are the most important actor in the international system;[6] states care about security whether it be through the lens of maximizing security also known as offensive realism[7] or satisficing security also known as defensive realism;[8] in an anarchical world there are different cultures in the world and different classifications of international relations, namely enemies, rivals, and friends;[9] the United States and the Soviet Union had ideologically divergent systems there existed a rivalry between the two states; and states existing in rivalry will engage in military interventions to increase their spheres of influence and contain the rival's sphere of influence.

At a basic level, the theoretical idea to be explored is that the rivalry inherent during the Cold War would have had significant effect on the number of military interventions. Additionally, this paper examines why the rivalry never evolved past military intervention in proxy territory into a direct conflict due to the presence of nuclear deterrence and the potential

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[6] Waltz, Kenneth N, *Theory of international politics*, (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979).
[7] Mearsheimer, John J, *The tragedy of Great Power politics*, (New York: Norton, 2001); Gilpin, Robert, *War and change in world politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[8] Jervis, Robert, *Cooperation under the security dilemma*, (Los Angeles: Center for Arms Control and International Security, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977); Waltz, Kenneth N., *Theory of international politics*, (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979).
[9] Wendt, Alexander, *Social theory of international politics*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

for mutual destruction. The elephant in the room with these two superpowers is obviously the question of nuclear weapons and the effect that mutually assured destruction or MAD would have with respect to their willingness to engage in military interventions. Kenneth Waltz explores the effect that nuclear weapons have on the international system and suggests that "they (nuclear weapons) make the cost of war seem frighteningly high and thus discourage states from starting any wars that might lead to the use of such weapons."[10] This paper makes the assumption that Waltz refers to direct conflict between the enemy states and that leaves the option of interventions within other states open and, indeed, would even encourage these military interventions. Based on this premise, one would expect that both nations would have more interventions and that these interventions would typically be longer during the Cold War than afterward. The following research questions summarize these ideas and propose their application to assess the effect of the Cold War, and the concomitant rivalry between the Soviet Union / Russia and the United States, on the rate of military intervention.

- Did the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War affect the rate of military interventions?
- Was the Soviet Union a more interventionist state in the 19 years prior to the Cold War?
- Was the United States a more interventionist state in the 19 years prior to the Cold War?
- Was Russia a more interventionist state in the 19 years following the end of the Cold War?
- Was the United States a more interventionist state in the 19 years following the end of the Cold War?

[10] Waltz, Kenneth N., "The spread of nuclear weapons: more may be better," *London: International Institute for Strategic Studies*, (1981).

The basis of these ideas is the assumption that the rivalry inherent between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War is a causal mechanism for the high rate of military interventions. A natural evolution is that, after the end of the Cold War, the rate of military interventions by both parties would decrease because there is no longer this competition for power between two relatively equal superpowers. Another aspect to consider is the ratio of military interventions and what this signals with respect to the effects of the Cold War. Thus, the hypotheses for this research are as follows:

Hypotheses

H_0: The Cold War had no effect on the absolute rate of military interventions by both the United States and the Soviet Union (Russia).

H_{A1}: The Cold War positively affected the rate of military interventions by both the United States and the Soviet Union (Russia). (i.e. there were more military interventions by both sides during the Cold War)

H_{A2}: The Cold War negatively affected the rate of military interventions by both the United States and the Soviet Union (Russia). (i.e. there were less military interventions by both sides during the Cold War)

H_{A3}: The United States was a more interventionist state than the Soviet Union during the 19 years prior to the end of the Cold War.

H_{A4}: The Soviet Union was a more interventionist state than the United States during the 19 years prior to the end of the Cold War.

H_{A5}: The United States was a more interventionist state than Russia during the 19 years following the end of the Cold War.

H_{A6}: Russia was a more interventionist state than the United States during the 19 years following the end of the Cold War.[11]

[11] Many of these hypotheses are not directly related to the core theory but have been included in this study so as to make it comprehensive in nature.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

A preliminary overview of the literature examining military interventions shows a breadth of knowledge already published in this area. There has been extensive consideration of military intervention in general, with a focus on the United States intervention in the post-Cold War World. What existing literature does not cover extensively is both detailed Soviet intervention and a comparative overview of military intervention by both the United States and Russia/Soviet Union, the predictors for their actions, how their relations with each other might affect their actions, and what this has to do with possibly predicting and explaining future military intervention by both states and by all states in general. Three sets of literature that pertain to this research are general theories of military intervention, United States military intervention, and Russian/Soviet military intervention. This review of the literature will conclude with an examination of the literature necessary to create the foundation for the propositions examined in this thesis.

General Theories of Military Intervention

Military intervention has traditionally been utilized to defend or maximize national interests such as land or critical resources. Over the past few decades, and especially since the end of the Cold War, military intervention has regularly been advocated as an action that was legal and was the responsibility of developed nations to rebuild failed states or stop humanitarian atrocities. Andrea Kathryn Talentino examines this evolution in her book "Military Intervention after the Cold War: The Evolution of Theory and Practice." In this book, she uncovers the change in the acceptability of military intervention and examines why, even though state

building is referred to as the reason for intervention, successful rebuilding of states due to intervention is rare.[12] She also examines this dynamic and how the existence of failed states allows for and, at times, actively supports both criminal actors and terrorist organizations; and how this attitude can lead to intervention.[13] Talentino provides insight into the underlying basics of military intervention and why so many interventions are ultimately unsuccessful.

Humanitarian intervention has become one of the most common criteria for military intervention within a state. While this seems to be rational, in practice it seems the humanitarian justification has been largely for show. Thomas Weiss, in his book "Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas in Action," examines this topic. Weiss researches the foundational element of sovereignty and how humanitarian interventions affect this. In his book, he outlines the components of military intervention for humanitarian reasons, which include the level of military commitment, the continuum of state sovereignty and state consent, and the fluidity of consent.[14] This book provides clear insight into the world interactions in humanitarian intervention, which in turn explains how military intervention has evolved over the last decade.

There has been less examination of the relationship between Russia and the West and how this-affects their military intervention policies. In the book, "Russia, the West, and Military Intervention", author Roy Allison examines the extant literature (as of 2013) on military interventions to evaluate Russia's role in international society and examines how their relationship with the states of the west and their relative normative values affect their stance on the legality of military intervention.[15] This book was the closest to the topic to be investigated in

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[12] Talentino, Andrea Kathryn, *Military Intervention after the Cold War: The Evolution of Theory and Practice,* (Ohio University Press, 2005).
[13] Ibid.
[14]Weiss, Thomas G., *Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas in Action*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).
[15] Allison, Roy, *Russia, the West, and Military Intervention*, (Oxford University Press, 2013).

this study and utilizes a comparative approach to examine trends since the end of the Cold War. Allison's book is useful as a starting point, but this study is focused on both the Russo-American relationship and extending the premise to examine predictors of intervention and comparing instances of intervention.

Another facet of military intervention that has been studied is the coalitions led by the United States. Sarah Kreps, in her book "Coalitions of Convenience: United States Military Interventions after the Cold War", examines the military interventions perpetrated by the United States after the end of the Cold War. The author indicates in her research of the major interventions conducted by the United States, both in concert with other states and those conducted unilaterally, that there has been a shift in perceptions on what is acceptable for interventions over the past two decades. Her position is that the Iraq War had a profound effect on what is acceptable by a state, with unilateralism becoming unacceptable and multilateral actions, especially those that are sanctioned by the United Nations, becoming the more fashionable and acceptable form of military intervention.[16] This book is relevant for this research because it examines United States military interventions, especially in the context of coalitions.

United States Military Intervention

Several scholarly works have been published discussing United States military intervention both before and after the end of the Cold War. The main book useful for this thesis with regards to United States military intervention is "US Military Strategy and the Cold War Endgame" by Stephen J. Cimbala. Cimbala examines the Cold War armed forces of the United States, the escalation paradox, and the military strategy of the United States.[17]

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[16] Naumann, Klaus, "NATO, Kosovo, and Military Intervention," *Global Governance*, Vol8(1), (2002).
[17] Cimbala, Stephen J., *US Military Strategy and the Cold War Endgame*, (Ilford, Essex, England: F. Cass, 1995).

Two time periods are examined within this thesis, so it is appropriate to discuss the literature with this timeline in mind as well. One author who examined United States intervention during the Cold War was Michael Butler. Butler investigated the decision for military intervention through the lens of the just war theory. He proposed, and found support for, the theory that United States "simultaneously assumed the role of ideological warrior and champion of the free world while also relying on a measure of multilateralism."[18] There are two other authors who also looked at United State Cold War interventions. They are both proponents of a hegemonic viewpoint: Evan Luard and J.H. Peterson. They propose that U.S. behavior with regards to military intervention splits from the international norms of noninterference due to sovereignty more often and in greater force when the country or location in question was within their sphere of influence, namely that of Latin America.[19] Another perspective regarding intervention focused on structural realism and one of the main proponents in this school of thought was Mortan Kaplan. Kaplan proposed that military intervention by the United States can be best understood with respect to the bi-polarity inherent in the international system of the time and the importance of maintaining the stability of that system.[20] The final major school of thought explains United States interventions using ideological factors as rational justification. Two scholars with this view are Mark Katz and Samuel Huntington. They contend that the

[18] Butler, Michael J., "U.S. Military Intervention in Crisis, 1945-1994: An Empirical Inquiry of Just War Theory," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol.47, No.2, (2003).
[19] Petersen, J. H., *Economic interests and U.S. foreign policy in Latin America: An empirical approach,* (In The politics of aid, trade and investment, edited by S. Raichur and C. Liske, New York: Russell Sage, 1976); Luard, Evan, *Conflict and peace in the modern international system,* (London: Macmillan, 1988).
[20]Kaplan, Morton A., *System and Process in international politics,* (New York: John Wiley, 1957).

desire to spread liberal democracy and combat communism were the largest drivers of U.S. military intervention during the Cold War.[21]

The first of the literature to be examined with regards U.S. military intervention in the post-Cold War world is "Innovation and Precedent in the Kosovo War: The Impact of Operation Allied Force on US Foreign Policy" by David Hastings Dunn and "NATO, Kosovo, and Military Intervention" by Klaus Naumann. These are two significant articles that scrutinize the Kosovo conflict and the resulting intervention. The Dunn article focuses on US foreign policy innovation and the increase in humanitarian intervention that it was signaling. It also looks at the environment the Kosovo intervention fostered in the United States and how this environment could have contributed to later interventions by the United States.[22] The shorter Naumann article considers how this intervention was viewed by the international community. Naumann posits that unilateral and even regional interventions are increasingly viewed as illegal by the international community and that the Kosovo conflict is one of the events influencing this trend.[23]

Many people focus on the Iraq war as the single event that signaled the change from unilateral intervention to multilateral intervention. This study's intention is to indicate that, while the Iraq war is important to this story, there were other factors and events impacting this development and the Kosovo intervention is one of these factors.

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[21] Huntington, Samuel P., "Patterns of intervention: America and the Soviets in the Third World," *National Interest* Vol. 7, (1987); Katz, Mark N., "Beyond the Reagan Doctrine: Reassessing U.S. policy toward regional conflicts," *Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 14, (1991).

[22] Dunn, David Hastings, "Innovation and Precedent in the Kosovo War: the Impact of Operation Allied Force on US Foreign Policy," *International Affairs*, Vol.85(3), (2003).

[23] Naumann, Klaus, "NATO, Kosovo, and Military Intervention," *Global Governance*, Vol8(1), (2002).

The next body of literature to be explored is that covering the conflicts in the Middle East, specifically Iraq and Afghanistan. There is a plethora of research covering this topic, especially the United States' involvement in the area. Some of the works covering this topic include: "Military Intervention in Iraq: Security, Democracy and War against Terrorism" by Malik Chaouch, "Western Imperialism in the Middle East: The Case of the United States' Military Intervention in the Persian Gulf" by George Klay Kieh, and "Public Support for Military Intervention Across Levels of Political Information and Stages of Intervention: The Case of the Iraq War" by C. V. Sirin. The Kieh article delves into the first Gulf War and while the author approaches it from the view of imperialism, it is a serious investigation into the intervention and the possible aftermath of this action, namely instability in the region.[24] Both of the other articles focus on the Iraq War, with Chaouch exploring the effects of this war on the international community and questioning the reasons for intervention[25] while Sirin scrutinized the public support within the United States for the Iraq war and how/why this support fluctuated.[26]

Russian Military Intervention

This study also intends to examine the instances of Russian and Soviet intervention, which, although not as well documented as the United States instances, are just as controversial. Some of the important interventions include Czechoslovakia, Yemen, and Ethiopia. One seminal

[24] Kieh, George Klay, "Western Imperialism in the Middle East: The Case of the United States' Military Intervention in the Persian Gulf," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol.14(1), (2002).
[25] Malik, Chaouch, "Military Intervention in Iraq: Security, Democracy, and War Against Terrorism," *Historia Critica*, Jul. Issue 26, (2003).
[26] Sirin, C. V., "Public Support for Military Interventions across Levels of Political Information and Stages of Intervention: The Case of the Iraq War," *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol.38(2), (2012).

example of Soviet intervention during the Cold War, namely that of Afghanistan, is explored in depth later in this work in the case study section.

Georgia, Ukraine, and Syria are three of the main instances of intervention for Russia since the end of the Cold War. Some articles examining Russian instances of intervention in the South Caucus region are "Identity, Legitimacy, and the Use of Military Force: Russia's Great Power Identities and Military Intervention in Abkhazia" by Ted Hopf, "Russia Resurgent? Moscow's campaign to 'coerce Georgia to peace'" by Roy Allison, "Securing the South Caucasus: Military Aspects of Russian Policy towards the Region since 2008" by Tracey German and "The Tagliavini Report Revisited: Jus ad Bellum and the Legality of the Russian Intervention in Georgia" by Alexander Lott[27]. The Hopf research covers Russian intervention in the Abkhazia region of Georgia in the 1990s and posits that it was an illegitimate action.[28] The Allison article regarding Georgia focuses on the activities of 2008, with the military incursion into Georgia and the formal recognition by Russia of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.[29] A second instance of Russian intervention is the intervention in Ukraine, which is covered in the article "Russian 'deniable' intervention in Ukraine: how and why Russia broke the rules" by Roy Allison. In Allison's examination of the crisis in Ukraine, he reviews the civil war in Ukraine, the Russian intervention in the conflict, and the annexation of the Crimea peninsula. A third significant instance of Russian intervention is that of the ongoing conflict in Syria. This intervention is inspected in the article "Russia, Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: the Case of Syria" by Derek Averre and Lance Davies. Averre and Davies probe this

[27] Lott, Alexander, "The Tagliavini Report Revisited: Jus ad Bellum and the Legality of the Russian Intervention in Georgia," *Utrecht Journal of International and European Law*, 28(74), (2012): 4–21.
[28] Hopf, Ted, "Identity, Legitimacy, and the use of Military Force: Russia's Great Power identities and Military Intervention in Abkhazia," *Review of International Studies,* Vol.31(S1), (2005).
[29] Allison, Roy, *Russia, the West, and Military Intervention,* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

situation in which Russia has ignored humanitarian concerns that are the current imprimatur for intervention and supporting the Assad regime.[30]

The Foundation of the Theory

Kenneth Waltz takes the position that the state is the most important actor in the international system. There are many proponents of examining the actors at the subnational and the supranational levels but Waltz effectively argues against both sides. With regards to subnational units he states that it "is not possible to understand world politics simply by looking inside of states"[31] because it would lead to a huge increase in variables with any observable phenomenon that would require the addition of new unit level variables. With respect to supranational arguments Waltz states that structures in the international system are not direct causes but they "act through socialization of the actors and through competition between them." [32] Waltz shows that although there are merits to examining the international system using different levels of analysis, the state remains the most important actor in any discussion of the international system.

The second argument is that states, as the most important actor, care about security. This is firmly grounded in realist thought and is a basic assumption of realism. For the purposes of this study there are two main schools of realist literature with regards to security, namely offensive realism and defensive realism. Offensive realism, first postulated by John Mearsheimer, postulates that great powers are power-maximizing and always looking towards the ultimate aim of dominating the international system. He finds that states can never be certain

[30] Averre, Derek and Lance Davies, "Russia, Humanitarian, Intervention, and the Responsibility to Protect: The Case of Syria," *International Affairs*, Vol 91(4), (2015).
[31] Waltz, Kenneth N., *Theory of international politics*, (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979).
[32] Ibid.

of the intentions of other states and since the primary goal of states is survival, the maximization of their own power is going to always be the focus over just maintaining the balance of power. If Mearsheimer's position holds, then "the world is condemned to perpetual great power competition" [33] which can be translated in the constant increase in a state's power regardless of the presence of a rival. The second pertinent school of thought is that of defensive realism, first espoused by Kenneth Waltz. This position indicates that the anarchic system encourages states to pursue defensive and moderate policies and that "their first concern is not to maximize power but to maintain their position in the system"[34] which can be visualized as the view that as long as a state maintains dominance there is little need for the continuance of the expansion of their power base.

Next, this study examines the development of cultures and how these will affect the ways in which states will interact in the international system. Alexander Wendt pictures the international system in three different ways: Hobbesian with states assuming other states are potential enemies, Lockean with states assuming other states are potential rivals, or Kantian with states assuming that other states are potential friends.[35] Given that realism puts security as the primary concern, the two positions that are examined in this paper are enemies and rivals. In a Hobbesian system, the states would pursue a maximizing approach to power in international relations because they would view all other states as potential enemies and, to safeguard security, they would maximize their own power. In a Lockean system, the states would pursue a status-quo or satisficing approach to power in international relations because they would view other states as potential rivals and therefore would pursue a status quo option. In a maximizing

[33] Mearsheimer, John J., *The tragedy of Great Power politics*, (New York: Norton, 2001).
[34] Waltz, Kenneth N., *Theory of international politics*, (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979).
[35] Wendt, Alexander, *Social theory of international politics*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

scenario, we would see an increase of interventions by the United States and a decrease of interventions by Russia after the Cold War because the victorious party would rapidly increase their interventions to occupy the space of the losing party. In a status quo scenario (which is the main hypothesis of this study) one would tend to see a decrease in both parties' interventions after the Cold War, with Russia's decrease being due to being the losing party and the United States decrease being due the lack of a rival they need to compete against.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDIES: INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN

Comparing Both Invasions

This case study's purpose is to approach the question of military intervention from a qualitative point of view with the goal of isolating relevant variables. By examining military interventions in the same nation but perpetrated by different countries and in different time periods, with the Soviet Union intervening during the Cold War and the United States intervening after the end of the Cold War, readers may discover whether the Cold War had any effect on the interventions themselves. The case study is divided into three portions. In the first portion, the period leading up to the intervention is examined to look for possible reasons for the intervention. The second portion scrutinizes the conflict itself and how it was conducted by both actors. The third section examines the withdrawal period and hypothesizes on potential reasons for the withdrawal and whether or not the intervention was a failure. This case study illustrates how military interventions typically occur by providing an in-depth examination and comparison of the invasions of Afghanistan by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Before Intervention

The circumstances that led up to the military interventions in Afghanistan vary dramatically between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States intervention occurred over ten years after the end of the Cold War. For the United States, the intervention was a result of a catastrophic terrorist attack on both the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The intervention was retaliation against the Taliban controlled government of Afghanistan which had allowed the terrorist attackers a safe harbor. In contrast,

the Soviet Union's motivation for military intervention was very different. The Soviet intervention was more of a war of their own making as it was inspired by the geopolitical competition engendered by the Cold War.[36] While it is true that the Soviets were invited to intervene by Afghanistan's then communist government, that government did not enjoy widespread support and was not representative of the population. Therefore, utilizing this intervention is justified due to the perceived illegitimacy of the Afghani government by the populace. Basically, the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan as an attempt to tip the scale of political influence in the region away from the United States and towards the Soviet Union. The contrast between the two military interventions could not be clearer: one was a response to a direct military attack while the other was an attempt to shift the balance of power in the region.

Next, consideration should be made of the domestic situation of both states and how this could affect their willingness and ability to intervene. The time preceding the Soviet intervention in 1979 was during the latter years of the rule of Leonid Brezhnev as leader of the Soviet Union. This period is commonly characterized as the "Period of Stagnation" in which "the Soviet economy entered a period of stagnation from which it never recovered."[37] This could have affected the Soviet willingness to intervention as they would be searching for ways to transfer their issues onto a someone or something else in order to distract attention from domestic problems. The domestic situation of the United States in the period preceding their intervention into Afghanistan in 2001 is rocky as well. They were just recovering from the dot com bubble bursting and were reeling from the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Both of

[36] Kuchins, Andrew C., "The Soviet and U.S. Experiences in Military Intervention in Afghanistan and Current U.S.-Russian Cooperation," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, (2011).
[37] 1964-1982 – The Period of Stagnation. http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/russia/cccp-history-period-of-stagnation.htm (accessed on February 20, 2017).

these events could have affected the United States motivations for military intervention. This shows that the domestic situation has a possible effect upon the chance for a state to intervene militarily and would be a potential intervening variable.

When examining for potential variables that would affect a nation's willingness or ability to intervene militarily, the situation of the global system and how that state is interacting within that system also must be considered. The 1970s was a time of economic stress and was one of the worst times for industrialized countries' performance since the Great Depression.[38] Economic growth rates slowed considerably during this time period for both the United States and the Soviet Union. There were oil shocks and high rates of inflation throughout most of the decade and stagnation of the economies of the much of the Soviet bloc.[39] Issues with economic stagnation and oil shocks could be a potential factor in why the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan as it is a potential location for much mineral and oil wealth.

The decade preceding the United States intervention was a time of both positives and negatives. It was a time of extreme advances in technology such as the internet, computers, and the cell phone; and in capitalism with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. It was also an era of renewed ethnic tensions, the rise of right-wing extremism[40], and the re-birth of nationalism. These rising tensions, especially in the Middle East, could be especially important in the reasoning for United States intervention. The world situation can have a potential influence in motivations or willingness to intervene and, as such, is a potential extraneous factor. There are many other potential extraneous factors that could have affected the

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[38] Frum, David, *How We Got Here: The '70s.* (New York: Basic Books, 2000): 292–293.

[39] 1964-1982 – The Period of Stagnation. http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/russia/cccp-history-period-of-stagnation.htm (accessed on February 20, 2017).

[40] Weinberg, Leonard, *Right-wing Extremism in the Twenty-first Century (Political Violence)*, (Routledge; Rev ed., 2004).

decision to enter into a military intervention in both instances that can be further explored in future work. In the cases of both domestic situation and world situation there is an attempt to control for these factors in the regression conducted later in this paper so as to attempt to tease out whether the cold war truly had an effect.

During Intervention

When the specifics of each invasion are examined, they are drastically different as well. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan on December 24, 1979 due to their fear of a collapse of the extremely unpopular local communist government. They sent 30,000 troops in armored columns across the border at two locations, at Termez in the northeast and at Kushka in the northwest. They also sent commandoes by air to the capital at Kabul to seize strategic locations in the city. The two armored columns followed the main highway and continued on to meet at the capital. After a week of fighting and many deaths, the Afghani president was killed and a new one was installed by the Soviets on December 29th.[41]

Image 1. Sourced from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7883532.stm.

[41] "Timeline: Soviet war in Afghanistan," *BBC News*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7883532.stm.

The United States invaded Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 as a reaction to the 9/11 attacks after the Taliban refused to hand over Osama bin Laden, the terrorist leader who instigated those attacks. In contrast to the Soviet invasion, very few ground troops were initially used by the United States. Their main tactic in the early stages of the war was to utilize airstrikes and only 1300 ground troops were initially deployed. It took longer for the United States forces to take control of the country than it did the Soviets. By November 13th the Taliban had been evicted from the capital of Kabul and by December 7th their stronghold at Kandahar was taken by United States troops, though top Taliban leadership escaped. On June 13th of 2002 a new Afghani head of state was elected who was friendlier to American forces.[42] This was how the initial stages of each war went.

Following this initial stage of the interventions, both sides maintained their presence within Afghanistan in order to continue their interests and achieve their goals. The Soviets, due to the intransigence of the mujahedeen rebels, increased their occupation force by 50,000 soldiers which brought their total up to 80,000 troops. This is the rough number that they maintained for five years, until 1985, when Gorbachev increased that number by an additional 30,000 troops in an effort to quickly win the war. This led to the bloodiest year of the war to date.[43] In contrast, the initial troop count of American forces remained relatively low for the first portion of the occupation. This study will observe just U.S troop numbers, though they operated in tandem with other NATO forces. In August of 2003, NATO deployed 11,000 troops for peacekeeping purposes and the United States had roughly 10,000 troops at this point in the country. By September of 2008, there were 31,000 United States troops in Afghanistan. Under

[42] "The War in Afghanistan: A Timeline," *CBS News*, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-war-in-afghanistan-a-timeline/.
[43] "Timeline: Soviet war in Afghanistan," *BBC News*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7883532.stm.

President Obama's initiative to win the war against the insurgents, over 40,000 troops were added in 2009, bringing the total up to 71,000 United States troops.[44] Clearly, there are many similarities between the interventions and, while both include a troop surge as an attempt to quickly end the fighting, these troop surges were ultimately unsuccessful. In both cases the invaders were working with allied Afghani governments that were propped up by the invading forces. Both sides tried the "surge" strategy in an attempt to shorten what was becoming a protracted struggle.

Withdrawal and Aftermath of Intervention

The withdrawal phase is the final aspect. Both countries had huge numbers of troops within Afghanistan that were costing exorbitant amounts to maintain. At their peak, the Soviets had approximately 110,000 troops within the country and the United States had roughly 90,000 troops within the country.[45] The Soviet Union began its withdrawal in 1988 and by February 15, 1989, the last Soviet troops had left Afghanistan. Over one million Afghans and 13,000 Soviet troops had been killed during this decade long war.[46] The joint United States and NATO withdrawal began in 2011 with most of the NATO troops being withdrawn relatively quickly. On December 28, 2014, NATO officially ended combat operations within Afghanistan.[47] For the purposes of this study the United States is characterized as failing in their intervention into Afghanistan because the United States ended its combat operations without completing all of their objectives. The argument can be made that the war was not a failure and, indeed, that the

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[44] "The War in Afghanistan: A Timeline," *CBS News*, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-war-in-afghanistan-a-timeline/.
[45] Landler, Mark and Helene Cooper, "Obama Will Speed Pullout From War in Afghanistan," *The New York Times*, (June 2011).
[46] "Timeline: Soviet war in Afghanistan," *BBC News,* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7883532.stm.
[47] "U.S. formally ends the war in Afghanistan," *CBS News,* Associated Press., December 28th 2014.

war is still ongoing as there are still troops in the country. However, the official mission was ended without completing all of the stated objectives and the troops currently in country are there for a different mission with new objectives. Though the war had ended, NATO and United States troops would remain in a limited way with Operation Freedom's Sentinel and Operation Resolute Support, which were missions intended to "train, advise, and assist the Afghan security forces and institutions."[48] As of May 2016, this mission had 12,813 troops in country, and 6,954 of them were United States troops.

NATO OTAN

Resolute Support Mission

Troop Contributing Nations

Albania	43	Germany	980	Portugal	10
Armenia	65	Greece	4	Romania	588
Australia	174	Hungary	84	Slovakia	40
Austria	9	Iceland	2	Slovenia	7
Azerbaijan	94	Italy	827	Spain	7
Belgium	40	Latvia	22	Sweden	23
Bosnia-Herzegovina	55	Lithuania	13	the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia[1]	39
Bulgaria	109	Luxembourg	1	Turkey	520
Croatia	81	Mongolia	120	Ukraine	10
Czech Republic	214	Montenegro	17	United Kingdom	352
Denmark	90	Netherlands	82	United States	6,954
Estonia	5	New Zealand	8		
Finland	30	Norway	35		
Georgia	861	Poland	198	Total	12,813

Note on numbers: The number of troops above reflects the overall contribution of individual contributing nations. They should be taken as indicative as they change daily, in accordance with the deployment procedures of the individual troop contributing nations.

1 Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

2 See links to media backgrounder on "A new chapter in NATO-Afghanistan relations (February 2016)" and to media backgrounder on the ANA Trust Fund.

May 2016

Image 2. Sourced from http://www.rs.nato.int/images/media/20160518_rsmplacemat.pdf.

[48] "NATO Resolute Support Mission: Key Facts and Figures". *NATO*. http://www.rs.nato.int/images/media/20160518_rsmplacemat.pdf

While both invasions / interventions began very differently, much of the warfare was conducted in similar ways. The difference between them that is pertinent for this study is the reason for the invasions themselves. The Soviets invaded Afghanistan to protect their hegemonic interests against their rivals in a bipolar world; whereas the United Sates invaded as a response to a terrorist attack and an attempt to eradicate the presence of terrorist support within Afghanistan. Another question that needs to be asked is why did the two most powerful countries of their times fail to win a war in a relatively insignificant country. The answer to that question can be explained by asymmetric warfare.

Asymmetric Warfare

What is asymmetric warfare? According to Major Robert M. Cassidy, asymmetric warfare is "whenever a great power faces a pre-industrial and semi-feudal enemy who is intrinsically compelled to mitigate the great power's numerous advantages with cunning and asymmetry."[49] While this is a good definition, the pre-industrial criterion seems to be needlessly specific to the instances of the war in Afghanistan. One could view asymmetric warfare in any conflict in which the great power intervenes militarily within a country that has primitive technology in comparison, which then forces them to fight with guerrilla tactics and eschew the traditional ways to fight wars. At a basic level, the great power does poorly in these small-scale wars due to the structure of their military and other factors that constrain the actions of great powers militarily; they cannot escape a big-war paradigm when conducting any war.[50]

[49] Cassidy, Robert M., "Russia in Afghanistan and Chechnya: Military Strategic Culture and the paradoxes of Asymmetric Conflict," *Strategic Studies Institute*, (2003).
[50] Ibid.

There are "paradoxes" that accompany this type of asymmetric warfare, which lead to the "failure" of the great power. Any great power, when confronted with the invasion of a much weaker power, brings potentially overwhelming resources and technology to the conflict, yet they often do not prevail. Why is this? Often it is because the "inferior" opponent exhibits the ability and willingness to accept high costs and to persevere in the face of great odds since they are often fighting for their survival. The United States and Soviet Union were invading another state, while the local Afghanis were fighting for their homes, for their families, and for their way of life.

The example of the people of Afghanistan, a state comparatively inferior in strength to their invaders, persevering against a great power due to asymmetric conflict is not new. Throughout history there are examples of great powers failing in similar circumstances: the Romans in the Teutoburg Forest area in Germania, the British Empire in the American War of Independence, the United States in Vietnam, and many other examples. The differences between these examples and the numerous times that great powers were victorious over lesser powers is that in these cases the lesser powers refused to fight the great power on their own terms.[51] The invaded states did not fight the great powers using tactics similar to the great powers; they utilized asymmetrical methods such as insurgency, low intensity conflict, and guerrilla tactics.

Military interventions in Afghanistan have failed every time a major nation has attempted such an intervention in the modern era. Though they have vastly larger amount of resources, great nations have the inability to win wars with smaller powers that refuse to respond with conventional warfare. The United States and the Soviet Union, both cases that are examined in

[51] Ibid.

this study, interfered in the affairs of Afghanistan for very different reasons, utilizing militaries and civil administrations that are vastly different in construction, and yet the end result of their interventions are very similar. A viable explanation for why these two superpowers, which had vastly different structures, both failed to overcome relatively weak opponents in almost the exact way is the asymmetrical warfare issue. Both of these powers, because they are constrained in their warfare techniques and abilities due to their great power status, are unable to successfully adapt to fight counterinsurgency warfare. They are intrinsically designed to fight other states on the battlefield and to pursue strategic targets. This is unattainable in these insurgency wars because the enemy utilizes techniques such as hit and run attacks, IEDs and roadside bombing attacks, and utilizing the local populace to hide, which the great power cannot combat effectively.

There are several conclusions that can be drawn for future wars between great powers and lesser ones. For the great powers, there needs to be either an ability to field units that can utilize the same tactics as the local (such as gaining allies amongst the local populace to hide with, bombing the insurgents, and the willingness to take the fight to the end) or the acceptance of the use of brutal repression and retaliation against the local populace to reduce the number of locals willing to aid the insurgents. Some suggestions for future small powers that might be invaded would be to utilize these insurgency techniques. The smaller powers should not attempt to fight the great power on their own terms as this will lead to definite loss.

This case study endeavors to make a qualitative examination of military intervention by looking at the interventions in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and United States. Though there are many similarities and differences between these two military actions, this document postulates that the Cold War did not have a significant effect on these instances of intervention.

The Cold War had no effect on these two interventions possibly due to the failure of this paper's supposition or possibly because there are extraneous factors that qualitative studies cannot examine. If there was going to be an effect, it would have been observed during these two interventions as they were typical interventions. They are typical interventions based on the criteria that they were perpetrated upon a weaker country by one of the states examined and there were actual troop invasions. Though the invasions took different means and used different tactics, there were few substantive differences in the course of the interventions and both failed due to the same flaws. While there are more complete analyses of these two interventions in the literature[52] the similarities in how the wars were conducted, how they were concluded, and their effects upon both the states invading and the state being invaded, outweigh the differences of ideology and circumstances. Using this case study, several possible variables can be teased out for use in the quantitative study. These variables include the states' capabilities, reasons for intervention, time period (Cold War or after), strength of alliances, and the nations themselves.

Although the reason for the initial actions varied significantly, there are numerous similarities between the circumstances and the results of both interventions. Both the United States and the Soviet Union could have been considered to be in their prime with respect to global power and influence; however, by the time of their withdrawal, both states were facing huge domestic, economic, and political crises. While the interventions in Afghanistan are not the root cause of these problems, it is interesting to consider the parallels between them. Both states were also faced with fighting counterinsurgency warfare, which they were ill-equipped to do, while the enemy was supplied and found refuge in the border region of Pakistan, which was

[52] Maley, William, *The Afghanistan wars,* (Basingstroke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

nearly impossible to combat. Both states were attempting to supplement their military efforts with economic development support and political rapport-building with dissidents, which largely failed due to the deep corruption that was endemic to Afghanistan. Attempts were made by both states to coordinate policy on key issues such as governance, economic development, and others, which failed in both instances due to inefficient, ineffective or counterproductive officials. Both instances of intervention also had the participation of more than one administration, which led to changing policy directives midway through the interventions. In both cases the invaders were able to seize control over the political centers, but vast swathes of land were left in insurgent hands because there was little strategic value in fighting over small towns. Finally, in both cases, though attempts were made to fight a counterinsurgency based war, the militaries of both countries were unable to adapt to these new circumstances due to the built-in power structure of their militaries, namely the constraint to fight traditional warfare. There are numerous lessons that should have been drawn by the United States based on the Soviet experience in Afghanistan. These lessons are: the Afghani government needs to establish legitimacy, the border regions with Pakistan need to be considered, conventional military tactics are poor counterinsurgency tools, and ethnic tensions need to be considered.

CHAPTER 5

METHODS AND DATA

Before I begin the quantitative analysis, it is first important to describe the data and the process by which data was collected. I utilized data gathered from the International Military Intervention data set collected initially by Pearson and Baumann in 1993 and updated by Kisangani and Pickering in 2008.[53] "The International Military Intervention (IMI) data set records events involving "the movement of regular troops or forces (airborne, seaborne, shelling, etc.) of one country inside another, in the context of some political issue or dispute" (Pearson and Baumann, 1993, 1). Paramilitaries, government backed militias, private security forces, and other military units that are not part of the regular uniformed military of the state are excluded. Similarly, events must be purposeful, not accidental. Foreign military interventions are the result of conscious decisions by national leaders. Random or inadvertent border crossings are not recorded, nor are unintentional confrontations between fighter planes or naval ships. In all, 1,114 cases meeting these criteria are cataloged for the years 1946 to 2005. Twenty-seven separate pieces of information are coded for each case in an attempt to capture multiple dimensions of the intervention. Analysts can easily separate out and focus on the forms of intervention (supportive, hostile, humanitarian, territorial, etc.) that are relevant to their research."[54] With regards to the data actually used in this study, there was an initial motion to

[53] From 1946 to 1988: Pearson, Frederic S., and Robert A. Baumann, "International Military Intervention, 1946-1988," *Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research*, Data Collection No 6035, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, (1993); From 1989 to 2005: Kisangani, Emizet F., and Jeffrey Pickering, "International Military Intervention, 1989-2005," *Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research,* Data Collection No 21282, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, (2008).

[54] Kisangani, Emizet F., and Jeffrey Pickering, "International Military Intervention, 1989-2005," *Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research,* Data Collection No 21282, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, (2008).

exclude humanitarian intervention. Because this paper utilizes a realist foundation to build its propositions the decision was made to increase the political capital of the state and increase its sphere of power in that way. Regardless, this is a potentially hazardous way of examining the data so it was examined both including and excluding humanitarian interventions and there was no significant difference in the results that it produced.

This combined dataset examined interventions ranging from 1947 to 2005 and I extended that timeline to 2010 by utilizing the Correlates of War Militarized International Disputes.[55] In the MIDs data set I only utilized data that was coded as 4, which is defined in the dataset as the explicit use of force, because the other lesser disputes did not fall within my definition of military intervention. To directly test my hypotheses, I construct variables that measure the military interventions of the United States and the Soviet Union/Russia as a percentage of all military interventions conducted through the world from 1946 to 2005. This measures the military intervention activity and controls for the climate in world affairs. Some years may have provoked more military interventions from all countries, thus the percentage method controls for this potential effect. Data regarding capabilities are based on CINC scores that are provided in the COW project. CINC stands for the Composite Index of National Capability and looks at six variables to produce this standard. These variables are total population, urban population, iron and steel production, energy consumption, military personnel, and military expenditure.[56] The CINC data is only used to control for the capabilities of the states in question. There are other potential variables which are not examined within these tests that might influence this study.

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[55] Palmer, Glenn, Vito D'Orazio, Michael Kenwick, and Matthew Lane, "The MID4 Data Set: Procedures, Coding Rules, and Description," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. (2015).

[56] Singer, David J., "Reconstructing the Correlates of War Dataset on Material Capabilities of States, 1816-1985," *International Interactions*, 14, (1987): 115-132.

These variables might include such things as: the opinion of the United Nations on the intervention, the state of the economy of the intervening countries, the state of the economy of the country being invaded, the public opinion of the domestic populaces, and many others. These are areas in which future studies could expand the significance of the existing literature.

To look at the generalizability of the conclusions of the case studies, this paper utilizes quantitative analysis to provide conclusions about the effect a Cold War type rivalry would have on the rate of military interventions. First, I utilize a method with few parametric assumptions to analyze the data (chi squared test statistic). I look at the number of military interventions for each country and time period and analyze whether knowing information regarding the time period and country would improve the quality of guesses about the number of military interventions. The years looked at within the chi squared range from 1973 to 2010, or the 19 years during the Cold War and the 19 years after the Cold War. These years were selected because they were the years that data was available. The chi squared only allows us to look at total interventions during and after the Cold War with statistical significance. Second, I look at T-tests between the number of Russian or United States military interventions during the Cold War as a percentage of total military interventions for that year compared to the percentage of military interventions post-Cold War. This metric looks at whether there is a difference in proportions between the two states in the two time periods. In contrast with the chi squared, the T tests allow for comparison of the countries. Finally, I utilize an ordinary least squares regression that predicts the share of military interventions utilizing variables that indicate the Cold War, the state, and other relevant control variables. The regression allows for controls that can isolate the effect of rivalry on the share of military interventions.

Summary statistics for the variables, namely the mean, standard deviation, minimum values and maximum values can be found below. The summary statistics are used to examine the distribution of the variables and look for potential skews that need to be accounted for. I look at the dependent variable over time and the distribution of the dependent variable using kernel density estimates, which estimates the distribution of this variable for possible skews. We need the dependent variable to be normally distributed to be useful for the purpose of this examination and thus the transformation is necessary. Because there is a skew for the dependent variable it is transformed via a natural logarithm to correct for this issue. This forces the dependent variable to look like a more normal bell curve, which is the expected distribution shape of most data. For all data MIRU stands for military interventions by Russia/Soviet Union and MIUS stands for military interventions by the United States. See below.

Table 1. Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
PercentMIR~a	60	.0321588	.0457824	0	.1818182
PercentMIUS	60	.1096763	.0971623	0	.5
USCap	60	.186649	.0626451	.1281606	.3639884
RUCap	60	.1396508	.0505579	.0390802	.1845277

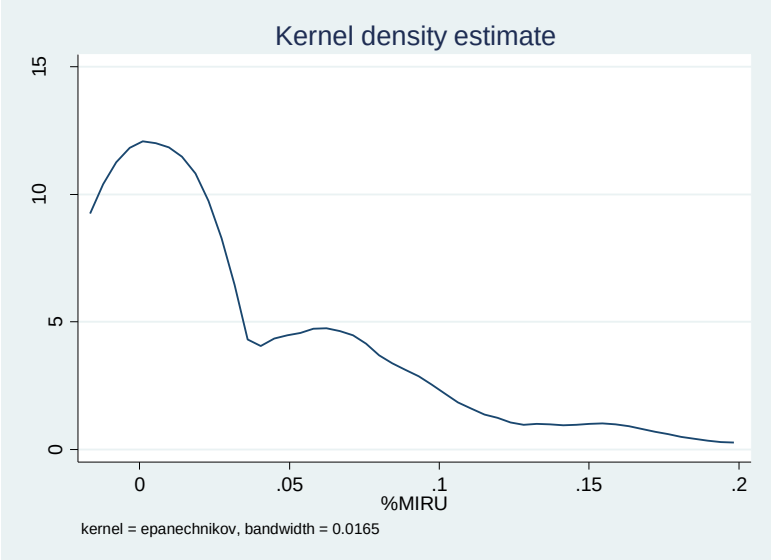

Figure 1. Distribution of Share of Russian Military Interventions

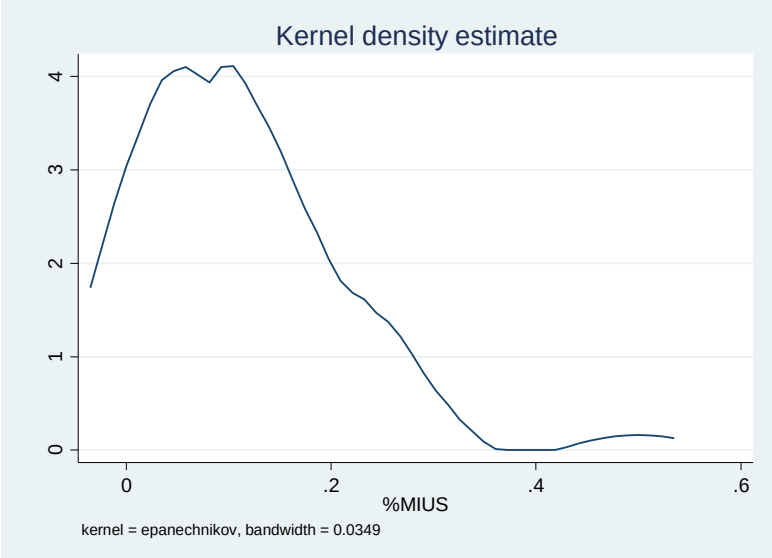

Figure 2. Distribution of Share of US Military Interventions.

Figures 1 and 2 are two kernel density estimates that show that there is a clear skew to the data, which is accounted for in the natural logarithm that is done later in this thesis with regards to the regression information. The dependent variable needs to be normally distributed for the

regression to work, but the distribution of the independent variables and controls do not need to be transformed because the central limit theory accounts for it.

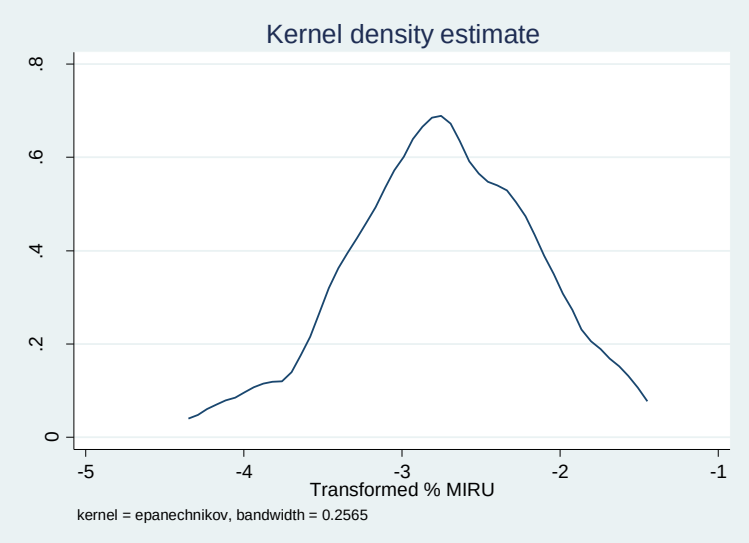

Figure 3. Distribution of Share of Russian Military Interventions (Transformed).

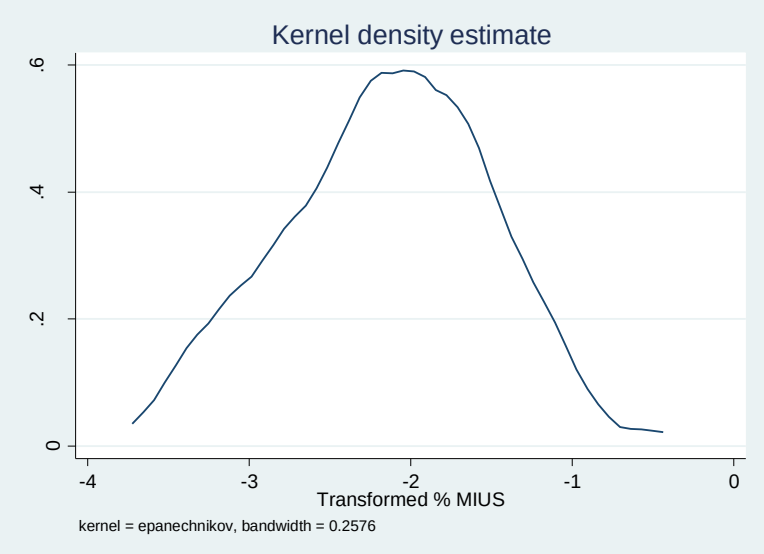

Figure 4. Distribution of Share of US Military Interventions (Transformed).

Figures 3 and 4 are the two kernel density estimates after the natural logarithm was used to transform the data into manageable and useable statistical information.

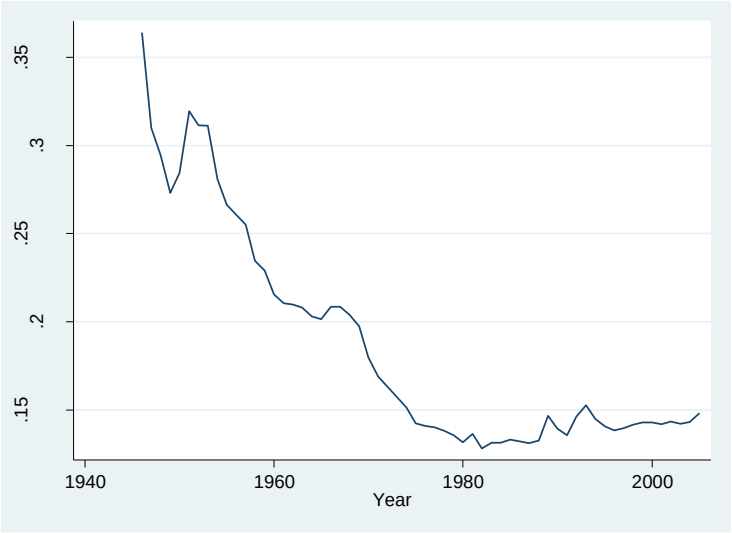

Figure 5. US Capabilities over time (CINC Scores).

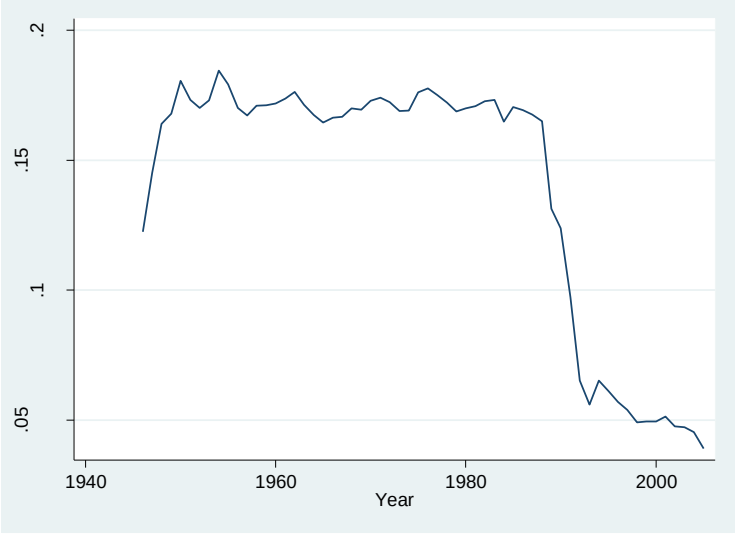

Figure 6. Russian Capabilities over time (CINC Scores).

Figures 5 and 6 show the capabilities of both states over time and shows that the United States' capabilities steadily decline after World War Two while the Soviet Union stays roughly the same until its fall. Since the United States started off with much higher capabilities it was above the Soviet Union until it reached rough parity around 1980. This is controlled for in the regression.

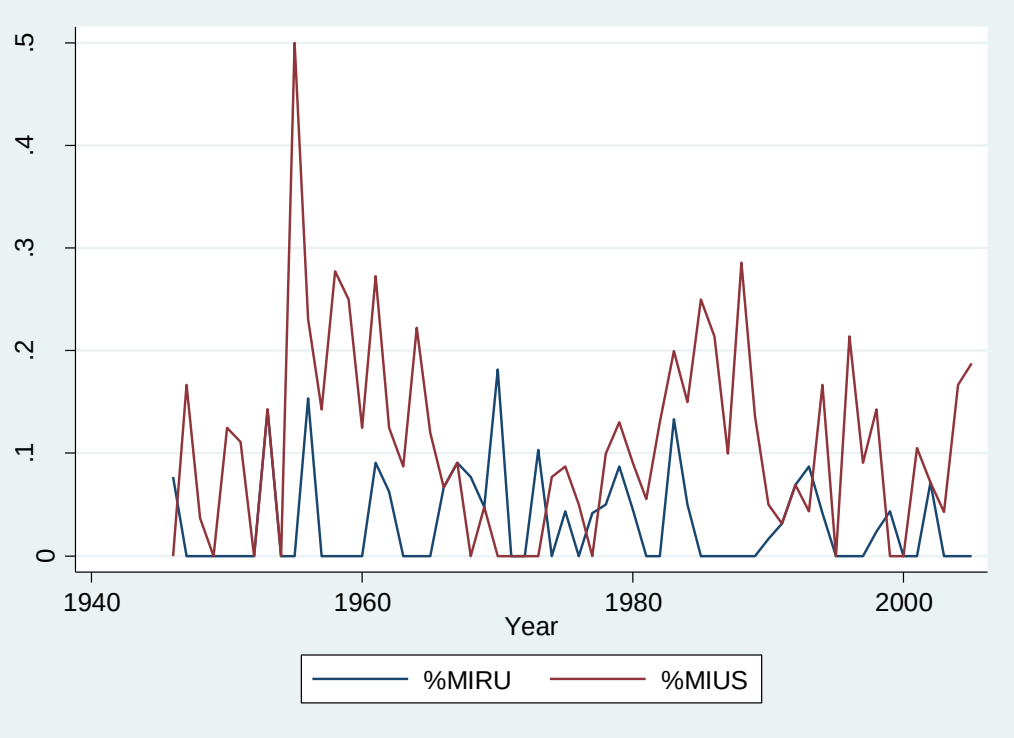

Figure 7. %MIRU and %MIUS over time.

Figure 7 shows the proportion of military interventions that the Soviet Union/Russia and the United States conducted as a proportion to all military interventions conducted during the same time. The Soviet Union/Russia is the blue line as indicated by %MIRU or military interventions Russia and the United States is the red line as indicated by %MIUS or military interventions United States.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Results

Table 2. Chi-square results with humanitarian

Country	1973-1991	1992-2010	Total
USSR/Russia	13	13	26
United States	37	40	77
Total	50	53	103
Pearsons chi2 = 0.0295	Kendall's tau-b = - .0169	ASE = 0.099	P-value = **0.864**

Table 3. Chi-square results without humanitarian

Country	1973-1991	1992-2010	Total
USSR/Russia	12	13	25
United States	18	23	41
Total	30	36	66
Pearson chi2 = 0.1052	Kendall's tau-b = - 0.0399	ASE = 0.123	P value = **0.746**

Table 2 and Table 3 show the Chi squared test conducted both with and without humanitarian interventions. As indicated by a p value of 0.864 for the test including humanitarian interventions and 0.746 for that without humanitarian interventions, the Cold War

did not have a significant effect upon military interventions. Based on this test we would tend to fail to reject the null hypothesis. This test is not the most rigorous test available as control variables cannot be accounted for. Thus, before a final decision is made further tests will be conducted.

T-Test

Table 4. T-Test of During Cold War RU vs US.

Paired t test

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Rpre	46	.0346353	.0072539	.0491985	.0200252	.0492455
USpre	46	.1147827	.0152709	.1035726	.0840254	.14554
diff	46	-.0801474	.0174449	.1183168	-.1152831	-.0450116

mean(diff) = mean(Rpre - USpre) t = -4.5943
Ho: mean(diff) = 0 degrees of freedom = 45

Ha: mean(diff) < 0 Ha: mean(diff) != 0 Ha: mean(diff) > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0000 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000 Pr(T > t) = 1.0000

Table 5. T-Test of Post Cold War RU vs US.

Paired t test

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Rpost	14	.0240218	.0086235	.0322662	.0053918	.0426518
USpost	14	.0928981	.0194882	.0729181	.0507965	.1349998
diff	14	-.0688764	.0231064	.0864562	-.1187947	-.018958

mean(diff) = mean(Rpost - USpost) t = -2.9808
Ho: mean(diff) = 0 degrees of freedom = 13

Ha: mean(diff) < 0 Ha: mean(diff) != 0 Ha: mean(diff) > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0053 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0106 Pr(T > t) = 0.9947

In Table 4 we examine the 95% confidence interval for the difference between the United States during the Cold War or USpre and the Soviet Union/Russia during the Cold War or Rpre (the difference between the percentage of military interventions of both countries compared to

the rest of the world during the Cold War) to find that the data shows that we are 95% confident that the true difference between the two is contained within the confidence interval of -0.12 and -.05. Given that 0 is not contained within this confidence interval, we can say that the difference is statistically significant. By examining the three directional tests of the probability, with the probability of the difference being larger than 0 is 1.00, the probability of the difference being 0 is 0.000 and the probability of the difference being less than 0 is 0.000 we can see that the United States share of military interventions during the Cold War was higher than the Soviet Union/Russia's share of the military interventions during the Cold War.

In Table 5 we examine the 95% confidence interval for the difference between the United States after the Cold War or USpost and the Soviet Union/Russia during the Cold War or Rpost (the difference between the percentage of military interventions of both countries compared to the rest of the world after the Cold War) to find that the data shows that we are 95% confident that the true difference between the two is contained within the confidence interval of -0.12 and -0.02. Given that 0 is not contained within this confidence interval, we can say that the difference is statistically significant. By examining the three directional tests of the probability, with the probability of the difference being larger than 0 is 0.99, the probability of the difference being 0 is 0.01 and the probability of the difference being less than 0 is 0.005 we can see that the United States share of military interventions after the Cold War was higher than the Soviet Union/Russia's share of the military interventions after the Cold War.

Based on the results of these two tables we find support for the hypothesis that the United States was more interventionist than the Soviet Union/Russia during the Cold War and reject the hypothesis that the Soviet Union was more interventionist during the Cold War. We also find support for hypothesis that the United States was more interventionist after the Cold War than

the Soviet Union and reject the hypothesis that the Soviet Union was more interventionist after the Cold War.

Regression.

Table 6. Predicting the Russian Share of MIs.

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	26
				F(3, 22)	=	6.07
Model	3.66278031	3	1.22092677	Prob > F	=	0.0036
Residual	4.42814252	22	.201279206	R-squared	=	0.4527
				Adj R-squared	=	0.3781
Total	8.09092284	25	.323636913	Root MSE	=	.44864

TD	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
CW	-1.480366	.5567561	-2.66	0.014	-2.635008	-.3257249
USCap	4.558231	1.6033	2.84	0.009	1.23319	7.883272
RUCap	14.7046	4.720767	3.11	0.005	4.914328	24.49487
_cons	-4.445307	.408892	-10.87	0.000	-5.293297	-3.597316

Table 7. Predicting the US Share of MIs.

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	47
				F(3, 43)	=	2.10
Model	2.24693931	3	.748979771	Prob > F	=	0.1142
Residual	15.3320319	43	.356558881	R-squared	=	0.1278
				Adj R-squared	=	0.0670
Total	17.5789712	46	.382151548	Root MSE	=	.59713

TF	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
CW	-1.340669	.706222	-1.90	0.064	-2.764901	.0835635
USCap	1.103242	1.646074	0.67	0.506	-2.216383	4.422867
RUCap	12.82847	6.063129	2.12	0.040	.6010084	25.05594
_cons	-3.104627	.4018422	-7.73	0.000	-3.915019	-2.294235

Table 8. Predicting the US and Russian Share of MIs.

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	53
				F(3, 49)	=	1.82
Model	1.91006773	3	.636689242	Prob > F	=	0.1558
Residual	17.1402895	49	.349801827	R-squared	=	0.1003
				Adj R-squared	=	0.0452
Total	19.0503572	52	.366353024	Root MSE	=	.59144

TBoth	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
CW	-1.202745	.6439555	-1.87	0.068	-2.496823	.0913317
USCap	1.048566	1.4355	0.73	0.469	-1.83618	3.933312
RUCap	11.3998	5.38191	2.12	0.039	.5844419	22.21515
_cons	-2.852215	.3917403	-7.28	0.000	-3.639447	-2.064984

Tables 6 through 8 utilize regressions to examine United States and Russian share of military interventions both singly and together. In Table 6 the probability of obtaining the data given that there is no relationship between the Cold War and the dependent variable, or military interventions, is low at 0.014. We can safely reject the null hypothesis that the Cold War had no effect and find that the Cold War is a statistically significant explanatory variable with respect to Russian military interventions.

In Table 7 the probability of obtaining the data given there is no relationship between the Cold War and the dependent variable, or military intervention is 0.064. Given that the accepted cutoff is 0.05 we fail to reject the null hypothesis that the Cold War had no effect and find that the Cold War is not quite statistically significant with respect to United States military interventions, though it is quite close as it would be within a 90% confidence interval.

In Table 8 the probability of obtaining the data given there is no relationship between the Cold War and the dependent variable, or military intervention is 0.068. Given that the accepted cutoff is 0.05 we fail to reject the null hypothesis that the Cold War had no effect and find that

the Cold War is not quite statistically significant with respect to interventions by both states. Again, this is quite close to being statistically significant and would be with some studies.

In all three regressions, the Cold War or CW has a negative coefficient, which would suggest that it actually has a constraining effect.

Conclusions

This study endeavored to examine military intervention utilizing two different methods. It incorporated a qualitative approach with a case study and a quantitative approach through data analysis and statistical evidence.

In the qualitative study, we looked at the United States and Soviet military interventions in Afghanistan. We found that there was no substantive difference between the two interventions in Afghanistan even though one occurred during the Cold War and one occurred after the Cold War and were conducted by countries with vastly different economic and ideological behaviors. Both interventions followed the same general level of intensity, troop counts, and followed similar timelines, leading to similar results. There were minor differences in tactics of the initial invasion because the Soviets used mainly ground troops to take strategic sites while the United States relied on airstrikes to take out key targets and initially focused their ground forces on Kabul. Both interventions had periods of intensive operations and maintained large forces within the country for the majority of the occupation, with the Soviets deploying 110,000 troops at the peak and the United States deploying 90,000 at its peak. Supporting this level of involvement was expensive, and thus both states ultimately became disenchanted with the conflict, which led to the withdrawal phase. In both cases the withdrawal occurred relatively

quickly, though the United States maintained a marginal troop level for several years. Although there were small differences in the methods of intervention utilized by the Soviet Union and the United States, they followed the same general course and they fell to the same fatal flaw, asymmetric warfare. Each country has powerful state militaries which were designed to counter other similar militaries and to fight conventional battles. They were ultimately frustrated by the guerilla tactics of the local forces in Afghanistan. Because of the similarities between the conduct and outcome of these wars despite the change in time period and circumstance, one could conclude that the Cold War had no effect upon military interventions.

When looking at the quantitative portion of this thesis several interesting and surprising findings were uncovered. Each hypothesis will be examined in turn. We fail to reject the null hypothesis of our main theory, namely that the Cold War had no effect on the absolute rate of military interventions by both countries. This is surprising as I expected to find that the Cold War increased the rate of military interventions but the data indicated there was no effect when considering both countries. We also fail to reject the null hypothesis with respect to the Soviet United States and the effect the Cold War had on the rate of interventions when looking at the country alone. Interestingly, we do reject the null hypothesis when examining the Soviet Union/Russia alone. The Cold War did have an effect on the Soviet Union/Russia's rate of military interventions and it is the opposite of what I expected. I expected, due to the rivalry inherent in the Cold War between the two parties, that there would have been more interventions but in the case of the Russia it seems to have had a constraining effect. According to the regressions the Cold War had a constraining effect because the coefficient was negative. Examining why this phenomenon occurs is beyond the scope of this study but a possible reason for this could be that the rivalry would tend to inhibit interventions, possible due to fear of

reprisal or response by the rival. Another interesting result of our examination is the conclusion that the United States is a more interventionist state than the Soviet Union/Russia. There are many possible reasons for why the United States is generally more interventionist. It could be they have a more advanced and better funded military, a larger alliance structure, their position as the superpower or any other number of things. This study could not control for these variables and future studies into this topic could look further into teasing out causal mechanisms for these results and for examining why the United States intervenes so much, even when compared to their one-time fellow superpower.

As this paper utilizes the United States and the Soviet Union/Russia as proxies for military intervention in general, due to their position as the states with the highest rate of intervention, our attempt to generalize failed due to the failure to reject the null hypothesis. And yet the United States' increases in interventions following the end of the Cold War is interesting as it could lead to several other potential theories on intervention. Why did the United States become more interventionist after the end of the Cold War? Was it due to the lack of a constraining factor, in this instance the Soviet Union? Why was there no change in the rate of interventions by the Soviet Union/Russia? Was it due to their lack of power and their high instability that existed during the 1990s? As Russia continues to expand their influence and to become at least a regional power, will we see an upswing in their rate of interventions, such as their current interventions in Syria and Ukraine? This research has uncovered some interesting and unexpected finding and it is my hope that these questions will be examined further in future research.

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APPENDIX:

DATA USED FOR STUDY

Country	Time Period	target	start	end
United States	Pre-1991	352	19740722	19740724
United States	Pre-1991	800	19750514	19750515
United States	Pre-1991	811	19750515	19750516
United States	Pre-1991	660	19760620	19760621
United States	Pre-1991	490	19780519	19790831
United States	Pre-1991	110	19781121	19781126
United States	Pre-1991	93	19790614	19790615
United States	Pre-1991	94	19790708	19790710
United States	Pre-1991	145	19791108	19791108
United States	Pre-1991	630	19800425	19800425
United States	Pre-1991	31	19800513	19800513
United States	Pre-1991	420	19810808	19810809
United States	Pre-1991	660	19820624	19820624
United States	Pre-1991	660	19820825	19820901
United States	Pre-1991	660	19820829	19840330
United States	Pre-1991	92	19830202	19881231
United States	Pre-1991	483	19830731	19830815
United States	Pre-1991	55	19831025	19831216
United States	Pre-1991	625	19840323	19840331
United States	Pre-1991	670	19840815	19841231
United States	Pre-1991	651	19840817	19841231
United States	Pre-1991	625	19850322	19850323
United States	Pre-1991	325	19851010	19851010
United States	Pre-1991	31	19851231	99999999
United States	Pre-1991	620	19860324	19860415
United States	Pre-1991	145	19860714	19861115
United States	Pre-1991	91	19861207	19880320
United States	Pre-1991	90	19870503	19870504
United States	Pre-1991	91	19880317	19880331
United States	Pre-1991	95	19880402	19881231
United States	Pre-1991	660	19890906	19890906
United States	Pre-1991	840	19891201	19891209
United States	Pre-1991	95	19891220	19900228
United States	Pre-1991	450	19900805	19910110
United States	Pre-1991	670	19900808	19910115
United States	Pre-1991	690	19900811	19910406
United States	Pre-1991	645	19910222	19910228
United States	Post-1991	451	19920503	19920503
United States	Post-1991	520	19921209	19940325
United States	Post-1991	346	19930228	19960109
United States	Post-1991	490	19940730	19940930
United States	Post-1991	517	19940730	19940930
United States	Post-1991	41	19940919	19950331
United States	Post-1991	690	19941008	19941224
United States	Post-1991	450	19960409	19960618
United States	Post-1991	482	19960521	19960731
United States	Post-1991	690	19960918	19961215
United States	Post-1991	339	19970312	19970314
United States	Post-1991	451	19970530	19970601
United States	Post-1991	484	19970610	19970618
United States	Post-1991	531	19980606	19980609

United States	Post-1991	910	19980723	19980801
United States	Post-1991	710	19980810	19980810
United States	Post-1991	625	19980820	19980820
United States	Post-1991	700	19980820	19980820
United States	Post-1991	450	19980925	19980925
United States	Post-1991	700	20011007	20011208
United States	Post-1991	700	20011220	88888888
United States	Post-1991	437	20020925	20020929
United States	Post-1991	645	20030320	88888888
United States	Post-1991	450	20030811	20030930
United States	Post-1991	41	20040229	20040601
United States	Post-1991	770	20040502	20040420
United States	Post-1991	800	20041230	20050401
United States	Post-1991	850	20041230	20050126
United States	Post-1991	780	20050103	20050215
United States	Post-1991	41	20050201	20050513
United States	Post-1991	770	20051010	20060330
United States	Post-1991		20061030	20101217
United States	Post-1991		20070111	20070611
United States	Post-1991		20070828	20070829
United States	Post-1991		20070122	20070227
United States	Post-1991		20080302	20080302
United States	Post-1991		20081026	20081026
United States	Post-1991		20080129	20090312
United States	Post-1991		20090225	20090225
United States	Post-1991		20100927	20101126
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	652	19730430	19730630
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	698	19731231	19731231
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	645	19731231	19750305
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	540	19751110	19881231
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	530	19771231	19791231
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	40	19780213	99999999
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	700	19790731	19791211
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	700	19791211	19881231
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	770	19800930	19820228
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	652	19830331	19881231
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	770	19830918	19881231
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	680	19840819	19841231
USSR/Russia	Pre-1991	670	19900813	19910115
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	700	19910731	19951231
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	359	19920622	88888888
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	372	19920721	88888888
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	372	19930221	19930814
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	372	19931020	19931106
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	372	19940623	88888888
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	531	19980606	19980607
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	345	19990611	19990619
USSR/Russia	Post-1991	372	20020730	20020823
USSR/Russia	Post-1991		20060816	20060816
USSR/Russia	Post-1991		20070806	20100924
USSR/Russia	Post-1991		20090130	20090130
USSR/Russia	Post-1991		20090219	20090219

Year	Total MI	MIRU	%MIRU	MIUS	%MIUS	%MIBoth	USCap	RUCap
1946	13	1	0.076923077	0	0	0.076923	0.363988	0.122541
1947	6	0	0	1	0.166667	0.166667	0.309942	0.145217
1948	27	0	0	1	0.037037	0.037037	0.29466	0.164
1949	7	0	0	0	0	0	0.273166	0.167918
1950	16	0	0	2	0.125	0.125	0.284443	0.180599
1951	9	0	0	1	0.111111	0.111111	0.3195	0.173163
1952	3	0	0	0	0	0	0.311367	0.170199
1953	7	1	0.142857143	1	0.142857	0.285714	0.311158	0.173121
1954	9	0	0	0	0	0	0.28094	0.184528
1955	4	0	0	2	0.5	0.5	0.266423	0.179166
1956	13	2	0.153846154	3	0.230769	0.384615	0.260614	0.170197
1957	14	0	0	2	0.142857	0.142857	0.255049	0.167267
1958	18	0	0	5	0.277778	0.277778	0.23447	0.170953
1959	8	0	0	2	0.25	0.25	0.228965	0.171201
1960	8	0	0	1	0.125	0.125	0.215444	0.17179
1961	11	1	0.090909091	3	0.272727	0.363636	0.210655	0.173759
1962	16	1	0.0625	2	0.125	0.1875	0.209911	0.176337
1963	23	0	0	2	0.086957	0.086957	0.207967	0.17128
1964	27	0	0	6	0.222222	0.222222	0.202983	0.167494
1965	25	0	0	3	0.12	0.12	0.201539	0.164547
1966	15	1	0.066666667	1	0.066667	0.133333	0.20867	0.166316
1967	22	2	0.090909091	2	0.090909	0.181818	0.208548	0.166741
1968	13	1	0.076923077	0	0	0.076923	0.203926	0.169985
1969	21	1	0.047619048	1	0.047619	0.095238	0.197547	0.169439
1970	11	2	0.181818182	0	0	0.181818	0.179844	0.172923
1971	11	0	0	0	0	0	0.168882	0.174019
1972	16	0	0	0	0	0	0.163286	0.172377
1973	29	3	0.103448276	0	0	0.103448	0.157198	0.168881
1974	13	0	0	1	0.076923	0.076923	0.151321	0.169067
1975	23	1	0.043478261	2	0.086957	0.130435	0.142502	0.176149
1976	20	0	0	1	0.05	0.05	0.140885	0.177637
1977	24	1	0.041666667	0	0	0.041667	0.140172	0.17514
1978	20	1	0.05	2	0.1	0.15	0.138162	0.172273
1979	23	2	0.086956522	3	0.130435	0.217391	0.135674	0.168808
1980	22	1	0.045454545	2	0.090909	0.136364	0.131705	0.170027
1981	18	0	0	1	0.055556	0.055556	0.136528	0.170866
1982	23	0	0	3	0.130435	0.130435	0.128161	0.172665
1983	15	2	0.133333333	3	0.2	0.333333	0.131504	0.173288
1984	20	1	0.05	3	0.15	0.2	0.13134	0.164892
1985	12	0	0	3	0.25	0.25	0.133253	0.170436
1986	14	0	0	3	0.214286	0.214286	0.132095	0.169235
1987	10	0	0	1	0.1	0.1	0.131279	0.167673
1988	7	0	0	2	0.285714	0.285714	0.132756	0.165073
1989	22	0	0	3	0.136364	0.136364	0.146693	0.131293
1990	60	1	0.016666667	3	0.05	0.066667	0.139376	0.123861
1991	32	1	0.03125	1	0.03125	0.0625	0.135599	0.097295
1992	29	2	0.068965517	2	0.068966	0.137931	0.146081	0.065221
1993	23	2	0.086956522	1	0.043478	0.130435	0.15271	0.056026
1994	24	1	0.041666667	4	0.166667	0.208333	0.144825	0.065154
1995	16	0	0	0	0	0	0.140641	0.061081
1996	14	0	0	3	0.214286	0.214286	0.138339	0.056931
1997	33	0	0	3	0.090909	0.090909	0.13966	0.053965
1998	42	1	0.023809524	6	0.142857	0.166667	0.141734	0.049232
1999	23	1	0.043478261	0	0	0.043478	0.142888	0.049467
2000	7	0	0	0	0	0	0.142951	0.049524
2001	19	0	0	2	0.105263	0.105263	0.142012	0.051414
2002	14	1	0.071428571	1	0.071429	0.142857	0.14346	0.047563
2003	47	0	0	2	0.042553	0.042553	0.142094	0.047298
2004	24	0	0	4	0.166667	0.166667	0.143169	0.045459
2005	16	0	0	3	0.1875	0.1875	0.14829	0.03908