Project Description

<u>Project Title</u>: The Critical Ally: Conditions for Cooperation and Defiance in
Counterinsurgency Partnerships

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This dissertation examines high stakes counterinsurgency wars with large-scale foreign interventions such as the current U.S. mission in Afghanistan in order to explain under what conditions dependent allies such as the Karzai regime comply with the policy demands of their foreign benefactors, and under which conditions they risk the alliance and ignore requests. In the uncertain environment of ongoing counterinsurgency war, how do allies make decisions, interact, coerce one another, establish collective military and political policy, cooperate in politics and on the battlefield, yet protect their individual interests? Analyzing eleven counterinsurgency wars with over 1,000 foreign deaths (including Vietnam, Yemen, Angola, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Iraq), this study principally relies on declassified primary source documents to trace processes behind compliance (or non-compliance) with demands made by foreign allies on their domestic partners. The study aims to better understand why certain decisions are made by actors in their relationships with their allies when faced with an ever-present enemy and a dynamic wartime environment.
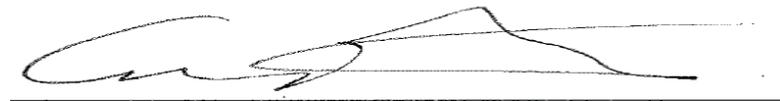
It is a pioneering study in two major ways. First, it analyzes a political dynamic that is frequently overlooked, yet critical to this type of warfare. Second, it innovatively uses government documents to not only conduct qualitative study, but also builds a quantitative database tracking compliance. Ultimately, the project will outline strategies for gaining leverage within wartime counterinsurgency coalitions by mapping decision making processes and identifying critical influences on alliance behavior. Identifying conditions that foster or hinder inter-alliance cooperation has several implications, including: 1) better diplomatic strategies, 2) potentially faster domestic transitions and shortened wars, 3) less reliance on military firepower, greater reliance on political solutions, 4) promotion of rule of law institutions and greater stability in the warzone after ceasefire.

Analyzing these eleven post-1945 (non-colonial) counterinsurgency wars, this study principally relies on declassified documents to trace circumstances of compliance (or non-compliance) with policy demands made by foreign allies on their domestic partners.[1] The purpose of the study is to measure whether the domestic regime is complying or diverging from the policies ascribed by the ally and why. Data is gathered almost exclusively from declassified materials because it is best to analyze policy documents produced at the time by actors outlining their interests and interpreting events. However, due to access limitations, certain parts of the study will be conducted using historical accounts or primary source observations from outside actors such as U.S. or U.K. departments and intelligence agencies.

For example, researching Cuban involvement in Angola (1975), I intend to rely on declassified U.S. materials from the Central Intelligence Agency, the U.S. National Archives and Record Administration and the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library. Because states like Cuba are highly restricted and have made very limited declassification efforts, American intelligence assessing their involvement may be the best available sources for relevant information. Therefore, I am asking the Wharton Risk Management and Decision Processes Center at the University of Pennsylvania to consider providing support for gathering additional data required to complete the project.

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[1] The 1,000 casualty marker is an indicator of strong foreign commitment and is a standard borrowed from the Correlates of War dataset on civil wars. The eleven cases that meet these criteria are Yemen (1962), South Vietnam (1964), Angola (1975), Lebanon (1975), Morocco (1975), Mozambique (1976), Sri Lanka (1976), Afghanistan (1978), Cambodia (1978), Afghanistan (2001), and Iraq (2003).