Since the end of the Cold War foreign policymakers appear to be devoting increasing amounts of energy to containing intra-state conflicts, they are doing so, moreover, with little guidance from the social science community. This essay uses data on all third party interventions into intra-state conflicts since 1944 to assess historical patterns of intervention strategies and their relative success rates, and then building on this uses a logit analysis to develop prescriptive outlines for future intervention attempts. The results demonstrate that it is the characteristics of the intervention strategy, and not characteristics of the conflict that largely determine the success of the intervention.
Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War many foreign policy decisionmakers are faced with decisions over whether, when, and how to intervene in intra-state conflicts (eg. Gurr, 1994). Efforts to contain these new threats to stability are becoming increasingly salient at a time when we know little about the conditions under which successful intervention is most likely. This increased salience of intra-state conflict has spawned a plethora of studies on the causes of, consequences from, and strategies for managing intra-state conflict, and prescriptive essays on how third parties might successfully intervene to bring an end to the hostilities (eg Licklider, 1993; Gurr, 1993; Horowitz, 1985; Gurr and Harff, 1994; Midlarsky, 1992; Gottlieb, 1993; Boutros-Ghali, 1992; Damrosch, 1993). Few studies, however, have systematically examined questions of whether to intervene, and how best might intervention be carried out in an effort to further foreign policy goals. Understanding the conditions under which interventions are likely to be successful might lessen the trauma of dealing with this new international environment.

For example, between 1987 and 1992 there was a four-fold increase in the use of United Nations peacekeeping forces in intra-state conflicts around the globe, while according to Gurr (1994:350) there were a total of 70 ethnopolitical groups involved in serious conflict during 1993-94. A look at some of the more glaring examples of third party interventions, such as Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti, the former Soviet Republics, and Cambodia, gives a sense of both the magnitude of the intervention efforts and the success which these forces have had. In spite of numerous attempts by third parties to bring a halt to intra-state fighting, we know surprisingly little about the conditions under which, and the types of interventions that are most likely to be successful.

This essay will address these questions in a manner that should: a) give a better understanding of the role and effect of strategies of internation influence attempts, and b) develop a blueprint for policymakers grappling with questions of when, whether, and how to successfully intervene in civil conflicts. Procedurally I will use data generated for all intra-state conflicts, and any associated third party interventions, in the post-WWII period to develop a comprehensive picture of the scope of intra-state conflict, the strategies used by interveners, and the relative success of the latter in bringing an end to the hostilities in the former. After describing the data I will articulate and test a theoretical model that should account for the conditions under which third party intervention will be successful.
At the outset a distinction about the theoretical enquiry and research strategy should be made clear. Some scholars have begun examining the nature of ethnically based conflict in order to identify the conditions under which third party interventions will lead to the internationalization of these conflicts; much of the focus is on interstate ethnic conflict (Carment, 1993; Carment and James, 1995a & b). The emphasis is on the goals of the groups in conflict (irredentism, secession) and characteristics of potential interveners. However, a quite common form of third party intervention does not "internationalize" the conflict, but merely results in external support for some of the internal combatants. I argue that internal conflicts, such as Mexico, Pakistan, and Northern Ireland, where for the most part inter-group conflict is confined within state boundaries, differ from irredentists ethnic conflicts that transcend state borders -- eg Somalia & Ethiopia (Carment and James, 1995a). This difference, moreover, has policy implications that influence the decision making process in potential intervening states.

Concepts and Definitions

The most thorough treatment of the dimensions of intra-state conflict can be found in Gurr's volume on the plight of minority groups around the world, identifying the issues over which they are fighting, and trends in ethnopolitical conflicts since the end of World War II (1993; see also 1994). Gurr (1994:352) defines an ethnopolitical conflict as one in which "one or more contenders ... defines itself using communal criteria and makes claims on behalf of the group's collective interests against the state, or against other communal actors". Using the label of ethnic conflict, Carment (1993) argues that they generally involve either irredentist, secessionist, or anticolonial movements, though these goals can lead to inter- as well as intra-state conflict. Rupesinghe (1987), however, points out that giving all intra-state conflicts an ethnic label may be too simplistic and obscure as much as is clarifies. Small and Singer (1982) classify intra-state conflicts based on three criteria: a) that they take place within the internal boundaries of a state, b) that one of the combatants be the government in power, and c) that the opposition has the ability to offer sustained resistance. Small and Singer denote internal conflicts that do not meet these criteria as communal violence and regional internal wars (p. 216).
I define intra-state conflict as armed, sustained combat between groups within state boundaries in which there are at least 200 fatalities. This threshold is lower than that generally used as part of the definition of war (Small and Singer, 1982), though is high enough to exclude events such as coups, riots, and demonstrations. Two hundred fatalities conveys some sense that the level of conflict is intense and that the potential for further escalation is reasonably high. I adopt a three-fold typology of civil conflict that allows discrimination between the makeup of the groups in conflict and the broad outlines of the causes of the strife. The typology used here breaks intrastate conflict into ethnically, religiously, and ideologically based groups, with the first two groups roughly corresponding to what Gurr (1993) refers to as ethno-nationalists or ethno-class, and militant sects. Ethnically-based conflicts involve groups that identify with a distinct ethnic or cultural heritage; religious conflicts involve groups that are organized in defense of their religious beliefs. Ideological conflicts, on the other hand, involve groups contesting the dominant political or economic ideology, which can but need not incorporate an ethnic or religious dimension. Williams and Kofman (1989) use similar criteria to identify community conflict.

This typology is not without its limitations, the most immediate being the exclusivity of the groupings. Although Gurr (1993) and the Correlates of War Project are able to make the necessary distinctions between ethnic and religious identifications, there is room for considerable overlap within contending groups. Gurr, for instance, categorizes groups based on primary and secondary affiliations. The ideological distinction is a much more clear-cut distinction to make. In spite of these limitations the typology is a useful one, for as Carment and James demonstrate, the degree of similarity between the ethnic makeup of the groups in conflict and the ethnic diversity of a potential intervening country plays a crucial role in determining when interventions are likely (1995a & b).

Furthermore, it is assumed that the decision to intervene in an intra-state conflict reflects concerns over who is fighting and why, and as such one critical aspect of the decision calculus will involve the cultural or ethnic characteristics of the disputants (Carment and James, 1995a & b). The emphasis here is on determining, inter alia, how the characteristics of the disputants affects the strategy for and likelihood of successful third party intervention. In his analysis of communal mobilization, Gurr posits that intergroup grievances can be tied to discriminations and disadvantages between the conflicting parties, as well as their distinct cultural identities. The specific character of these opposition groups, therefore, should influence the intervention strategy used to bring about a cessation of hostilities.
Policymakers, for instance, would benefit from knowing that specific types of conflicts tend to be rather impervious to outside interventions, while others respond well to certain types of interventions.

The mechanisms for intervening in intra-state conflicts also require some elaboration. For example, the United Nations identifies three goals in terms of resolving ongoing conflicts: preventative diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping (Buotros-Ghali, 1992). The first of these relies primarily on the acumen of the available diplomatic corps; the other two initiatives generally entail the use of military and/or humanitarian and economic support to one or another of the combatants. Excluding the role of diplomacy restricts the options available to potential interveners to the use of military or economic support or sanctions; it is these that I will focus on.

My decision to exclude the role of diplomacy as a strategy of conflict management is predicated on two factors: a) there is already a substantial body of work describing and detailing the conditions associated with mediation and negotiation (eg Bercovitch and Rubin 1994; Touval and Zartman, 1985), and b) the use of diplomacy is generally not the type of intervention-decision that causes much anxiety among decisionmakers. Although not always the mechanism of first resort, diplomacy generally incurs the least costs, is usually not politically troublesome, and is often used in conjunction with other forms of intervention. For analytical purposes, however, isolating the more intrusive forms of intervention can help to clarify some of the policy issues that decisionmakers regularly confront.

Third party intervention, furthermore, can take place on behalf of the government or opposition forces. If the decision as to whether or how to intervene is predicated largely on the character of the parties in conflict, then the decision of who to support, or which of the antagonists to constrain, becomes central to the deliberative process (Carment and James, 1995a & b). Following Small and Singer (1982:219), I dichotomize this question, with interventions considered to be carried out either on behalf of the government or against it.

Possibly the most visible form of intervention into civil conflicts is the use of military force. Pearson (1974) outlined internal conditions under which external military intervention was likely, while Cooper and Berdal (1993) give prescriptive advice on when and where military intervention should be considered. Tanca (1993) identifies 30 instances of armed interventions into internal conflicts since 1956, though Tillema (1989) has undertaken probably the most comprehensive study of foreign military interventions, identifying 591 overt military interventions within 269 international conflicts between
1945 and 1985. His data, however, include foreign military interventions into inter-nation as well as intra-nation disputes. Small and Singer (1982) identify 106 civil wars during the period 1816-1979, with 55 military interventions on behalf of either the government or the opposition forces. Although Tillema and Small and Singer provide a systematic profile of who is fighting and who is intervening, they do not address issues pertaining to the relative success of intervention strategies, nor do they incorporate economic interventions.

Military force, however, is not the only form of third party intervention into intra-state conflicts. Economics can be, and has been, a forceful tool with which to intervene in ongoing domestic disputes, both through positive inducements and punitive sanctions. The usefulness of economic sanctions as a mechanism of international influence has received considerable attention in the literature (eg Leyton-Brown, 1987; Martin, 1993; Carter, 1988; Renwick, 1981; Hufbauer and Schott, 1983; Li, 1993), though there is much skepticism over the degree to which sanctions help achieve the desired outcome. Hufbauer and Schott (1983), for example, find that economic sanctions are successful about 50% of the time when the goal was the destabilization of a government, and are about 40% successful when trying to disrupt the military adventures of target states.

In many intervention attempts, moreover, we are likely to see a mix of strategies, with economic inducements or punishments used alongside their military counterparts. Interventions are also not constrained to bilateral initiatives, with organizations such as the United Nations, NATO, and the European Union playing increasingly important roles in the effort to contain internal conflicts. To summarize the classificatory scheme being constructed to this point, we have three general types of intra-state conflict: ethnic, religious, and ideological; three basic strategies for intervening in these conflicts, incorporating military, economic, and mixed strategies; and we have the target of the intervention identified as either the government or the opposition. This essentially describes a 3 X 3 X 2 matrix incorporating the type of conflict and the specific intervention strategy. What is critical at this juncture is to outline the goals of the intervener and a theoretical framework from which we can understand any particular choice of strategy.

**Defining Success and Articulating a Theoretical Framework**
Leaving aside issues of the events that precipitate intra-state conflict\(^3\), I make the assumption that third parties intervene in intra-state conflicts in order to bring an end to the violence associated with the underlying dispute. One way to view this is to consider that the intervener tries to sufficiently bolster one side in order to compel the opposing side to quit fighting. Continued fighting is rarely, if ever, the goal of a contending group. The interests of the intervener, furthermore, revolve largely around ensuring political stability in a specific region of the globe; one way to facilitate this is to help contain overt military violence -- be it by orchestrating a ceasefire or facilitating the defeat of the opposing group\(^4\). It is assumed that third parties do not intervene in order to exacerbate or prolong the fighting. This consciously excludes the role of trying to resolve the underlying issues involved in the dispute from the motivations behind the decision to intervene. Solving the often deep-seated issues associated with ethnic, religious, or ideological conflicts will require a much more concerted effort than the type of interventions addressed here (see Horowitz, 1985; Gurr, 1993; Carment, 1993), however, stopping the carnage associated with these conflicts is quite often the necessary first step before diplomatic initiatives can begin.

Others have articulated a broader range of motivations behind interventions in intra-state conflicts. For example, territorial acquisition, regional stability, protection of the intervener's diplomatic, economic, or military interests, ideology, and the upholding of human rights have all been identified as goals of intervention (Pearson, 1974; Cooper and Berdal, 1993). While that list of goals can be expanded somewhat (Tanca, 1993), one can do so without much loss of coherence. One might argue further that the goal of intervention is to destabilize, not stabilize the local environment. If that is a goal then, 1) there can only be a few such cases, and 2) the effect would be to continually bleed everybody involved, even the intervening countries. The goal in these types of instances, I posit, is to stop the fighting on terms favorable to the intervener, and in doing so bring stability to the region. I do not deny that there are multiple goals behind any intervention, but argue that the first step in achieving these other goals is the cessation of hostilities. For example, the UN "peacemaking" intervention in Somalia was designed initially to stop the fighting between rival clans so that humanitarian assistance could address the severe problems of starvation. While in El Salvador, US military and economic interventions were directed toward ensuring domestic economic stability while assisting the government forces in putting down the rebel insurgency.
If the goals of the intervener are somewhat straightforward, the logic behind the choice of method is much less so. Singer (1963) models the conditions under which certain types of influence strategies would be most appropriate for either reinforcing or modifying the behavior of the target. According to Singer, the preferred choice of strategy -- whether to reward, punish, threaten, or promise -- should depend on current and expected behavior of the target. Given this theoretical orientation he constructs an 8 X 8 matrix outlining the optimal strategy for a given preferred outcome. The strategy of choice should be a function of both current and desired behavior, as well as expectations about future behavior from the perspective of the influencer. For example, if country A were trying to reinforce the current behavior of country B, economic rewards might be the strategy of choice. But if behavior modification is desired, a more punitive approach may be necessary.

The key to any intervention strategy is to alter the calculations by which the antagonists arrive at particular outcomes. In other words, the goal of designing an intervention strategy is to make it too costly for the combatants to continue fighting. This can be achieved by either making the actual costs of fighting prohibitively high, or by making the benefits of not fighting particularly attractive. A successful intervention strategy, then, will result in a cost-benefit calculation by the antagonists that results in not fighting providing the highest expected outcome. However, this calculation is obviously a strategic decision that is affected by each of the antagonists' expectations about the effect of the intervention on the opposing side in the conflict. In other words, A's decision of whether and how to intervene in a conflict between B and C will reflect, in part, A's expected ability to influence the cost-benefit calculations of B and C regarding the status quo. But B's calculations will also in part reflect B's expectations about the effect of intervention on C, and visa versa.5

The current focus, however, is on the strategies of the intervener, not the targets. The objective is to develop a framework by which decisionmakers in potential intervening states can arrive at an optimal strategy. The choice of the decisionmaker in the intervening state is to determine this optimal strategy given the context of the conflict, the decision rules of the antagonists, and the expected probability of any one strategy securing the cessation of hostilities. An inherent difficulty in these types of analyses is that the decision to intervene imposes a selection bias, where states choose not to intervene when they do not expect to succeed. In other words, we may only have data on the determinants of successful intervention in cases where the intervener expected to succeed. In those instances where this
expectation was low, states chose not to intervene (see Fearon, 1994). Determining when and under what conditions third parties choose to intervene is beyond the scope of this analysis, but at minimum -- and assuming a large selection bias -- the results presented below are suggestive of the characteristics of successful interventions when the intervening state held a reasonable expectation of success.

**Data, Sources, and Patterns**

The data generated for this analysis consists of all intra-state conflicts initiated between 1944 and 1994, excluding any involving pre-independence or colonial disputes. The operational definition outlined earlier casts a net somewhat more inclusive than Small and Singer's operational definition, yet it is still sensitive enough to avoid smaller events such as coups. Sources included the Correlates of War Civil War database (Small and Singer, 1982), the annual *Yearbook* of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, *The New York Times*, Ted Gurr's *Minorities at Risk Project*, and the Military Intervention data generated by Herbert Tillema (1991). The type of conflict was identified and classified based on the orientation of the primary groups involved in the fighting. The identification of groups was determined through the use of the Minorities at Risk classification scheme and the Correlates of War Cultural Data Set. Intervention was coded as either military, economic, or mixed, while the target of the intervention was coded as being the government or the opposition. Interventions were broadly conceived and operationally defined as the granting or the withdrawal of economic or military assistance with the apparent purpose of influencing the course of an ongoing civil conflict. I conceive of military intervention to include the supply or transfer of troops, hardware, or intelligence and logistical support to the parties in conflict, or as may be the case, the cutoff of any such aid currently in place. Economic intervention, likewise, encompasses economic aid or trade, and economic sanctions or embargoes. Sources for data on interventions include those previously mentioned, but also included country specific case histories when necessary.

Operationalizing success is a particularly thorny topic. First, what is meant by success is crucial to evaluating the alternative strategies available to decisionmakers. Singer's (1963) concept of a preferred future behavior is useful, as is Licklider's (1993) definition of the end of civil wars. He considers a civil war to end when either multiple sovereignty ends or the violence is terminated for five years. This definition, however, is overly restrictive given the political expediencies associated with intervening in
ongoing civil strifes. Political leaders generally cannot make policies regarding interventions with a five year time horizon. Political forces dictate otherwise. When we talk about third party interventions into military contests, success must be conceived of in terms of either stopping the fighting or resolving the underlying dispute. The latter would make the barriers to success impossibly high relative to the tools employed, while political imperatives dictate that policies have a short-term horizon. Success in this analysis will be operationalized as the cessation of military hostilities for a period lasting at least six months. While stopping the fighting for this relatively short time would rarely even approach a resolution of the underlying issues at stake, six months without conflict can a) give policymakers cause to claim success with their policy, and b) give a sufficient break in the fighting to initiate meaningful dialog in an effort to resolve the underlying causes of the conflict. This narrow definition also makes for a particularly stringent test of the factors that predict to successful interventions.

Determining when an intervention has been attempted and whether it was successful can present difficult coding problems; two particular difficulties stand out. The first, and generally the most tractable, is determining when a particular intervention is directly linked to the conflict at hand. Often this is a straightforward determination; at times it imposes quite difficult decisions. For example, arms transfers (to either the government or opposition) in the midst of armed conflict poses few difficulties. US aid to UNITA is a case in point. However, economic aid to a government fighting a guerrilla war presents a more difficult coding problem. El Salvador is a useful example. Would the US have given economic aid in the absence of a serious challenge to the government? Maybe, but possibly in different amounts or combinations. My coding procedure looked for 1) any explicit linkages between aid decisions and the progression of the conflict, and 2) any dramatic fluctuations in support that coincided with the initiation of or changes in the conflict.

The second coding problem is less tractable than the first, and stems from an inherent difficulty in linking any particular intervention to the outcome of the fighting. Sometimes, again, this is relatively easy. In cases of military interventions it was often possible to make the necessary connection between the intervention and the outcome. The Dominican Revolt stands out. Other forms of intervention at other points in time tend to have a more obscure relationship between cause and effect. In the coding process I tried to err on the side of caution, making it particularly difficult to achieve a successful intervention. The US support for the Nicaraguan Contra serves as a useful example. Although large amounts of
military and economic support was poured into the Contra effort, it was difficult to directly link this support to the end of hostilities. The fighting eventually did end, but only after a Sandinista defeat at the ballot box. US aid may have contributed to that electoral defeat, but it takes a considerable leap to make that determination from the data at hand.

Based on the above criteria and sources 138 intra-state conflicts were identified of which 85 had at least one third party intervention. Within these 85 conflicts there were a total of 196 individual interventions -- with each intervention in a conflict coded separately on each dimension of the intervention itself. The individual coding of each intervention allows for the examination of the affect of multiple interventions into the same conflict, including those conflicts with interventions supporting competing groups in contention. These data differ significantly from those data generated by either Tillema (1991) or Pearson and Baumann (1993) in two general ways: 1) they broaden the scope to include economic as well as military interventions, and 2) they focus exclusively on intra-state conflicts and any associated outside interventions. For example, Pearson and Baumann code only the direct use of military force (troops, shelling, etc) while this new data incorporates more subtle forms of interventions such as the transfer of equipment, technology or intelligence, as well as economic interventions such as the use of sanctions.

Of the 138 intra-state conflicts identified in the post war period, thirty four of them are still ongoing as of 1994, ten of which had only begun as of 1992. When broken down into the year that the conflict started we see that the 1960s ushered in an era more prone to the initiation of intra-state strife (see table 1); this is consistent with Gurr's findings (1994). Furthermore, the apparent upsurge in intra-state conflict in the 1990s does not yet constitute a clear change in the trend -- at least as determined by comparing the difference in means between the 1980s and 1990s. However, events in the early part of the 1990s suggests that the Cold War may have acted as a constraint on ethno-political strife, though it remains to be seen whether this trend will continue. Africa and Asia are clearly the most conflict prone, accounting for approximately 34% and 25% of the conflicts, respectively; Europe accounted for only 9% of the conflicts, while figures for the Middle East and the Americas, respectively, are 18% and 14%.

In terms of interveners, nearly 40% (76 cases) of all interventions were carried out by major powers, 5% (10 cases) of the interventions were under United Nations auspices, and the remainder
attributed to minor powers. The United States accounts for by far the most instances of interventions with 35, while the Soviet Union intervened 16 times. France and Britain were involved in ten and nine interventions, respectively (see table 2). Of the 196 cases of intervention only about 30% were considered successful.

When breaking down the success or failure of different intervention strategies by the type of conflict and the target of the intervention attempt, these data suggest that interventions are about equally likely to be on behalf of the government as they are on the side of opposition forces (95 supporting opposition; 96 supporting government; 5 neutral). The data also demonstrate that a purely economic intervention strategy is rarely undertaken, and that a strictly military strategy is the most common form of intervention (military, 70%; economic, 7%; mixed, 23%). The success rates of each type of intervention, regardless of the target, are a mixed strategy being the most successful (35% of the time), a strictly military intervention succeeding about 30% of the time, and economic 23%. The most successful intervention strategies have been to either support the government through military interventions (a success rate of just under 50%), or to intervene economically on behalf of the opposition, though only when the parties to the conflict are organized along ethnic lines (43% successful). Interventions supporting the government were twice as likely to succeed as those supporting the opposition (41% vs 19%).

Although it has been assumed that interventions are undertaken in order to bring an end to the hostilities, it is entirely possible that the interventions themselves prolong the conflict. The evidence, furthermore, seems to confirm this interpretation. For example, the mean duration of all ongoing conflicts is just over 16 years, regardless of whether or not there have been outside interventions. At the same time the mean duration of all previously resolved conflicts with outside interventions is seven years. Thirty nine of these conflicts, however, lasted less than one year, possibly skewing the average duration. Excluding those conflicts of both short duration and with outside interventions brings the mean duration up to nine years. In conflicts in which there were no interventions the mean duration was only 1.5 years, with the longest conflict lasting only a decade.

These data do suggest that interventions are associated with longer running conflicts, though two points need to be raised: 1) do multiple interventions make resolution more intractable, and 2) do
third parties generally intervene in conflicts of long duration rather than contributing to the length of the conflict. An answer to the first question is fairly straightforward, and although somewhat tempered by the response to the second question, it also helps to answer it. For all resolved conflicts that had outside interventions, if there were multiple interveners, the mean duration was just under nine years. For those conflicts with only one intervention, the mean duration was just over three years. Not only are interventions associated with longer running conflicts, but it seems that the more interveners the more likely that the conflict will drag on. In fact, 92% of conflicts with only two interventions were less than the nine year mean duration, and 83% of those with three interventions run for less than nine years. However, when there are four interveners 62% of the conflicts are of greater than the mean duration, while with five or six interveners 50% are of greater than average duration.

The question of whether states tend to intervene in conflicts of long duration, rather than the interventions themselves prolonging the hostilities cannot be answered definitively with the data at hand. However, of the thirty nine conflicts lasting less than one year, 62% had at least one outside intervention. Viewed in conjunction with the above data on single and multiple interventions, this suggests that the interventions themselves may contribute to the duration of the conflict. Furthermore, there appears to be no systematic relationship between the number of interveners and the number of casualties (table 5), contributing to the inference that in general interventions take place across of broad spectrum of intrastate conflicts, and they can have the affect of prolonging the hostilities.

(Table 3 About Here)

Towards A Model of Successful Intervention

The decision to intervene in an ongoing civil conflict involves a complex decision process, with decisionmakers weighing numerous options and varying contexts in which the conflict unfolds. If the decision to intervene is predicated on trying to affect the cost of continued fighting, or the benefits from a cessation in the hostilities, then one must examine those factors that contribute to decisionmakers' perceptions of the probability that each particular strategy will alter the contestants' calculations.

For example, in a conflict with relatively low casualties, the incremental costs from continued fighting might be considerably higher than in a high casualty conflict. In an extremely bloody conflict it is less likely that a third party would be able to successfully intervene without the commitment of a
massive amount of resources. The costs already incurred by each of the combatants would generally make positive inducements -- such as economic aid -- an insufficient strategy to change the cost-benefit calculations of the antagonists. Furthermore, in a high casualty conflict the role of affective motivations will take on a higher salience to the combatants, making outside participants either largely irrelevant or a target and a cause to continue the struggle. We would expect, therefore, that the greater the level of casualties the lower the probability that third party intervention would be successful.

In a similar vein, as a conflict takes on a more ideological character the issues at stake will become more entrenched, and the opposing sides less likely to retreat in the face of outside pressure. When a conflict is over grievances related to the desires for ethnic or religious autonomy -- or discriminations based on ethnicity or religious orientation -- then temporary solutions to the conflict are more readily evident, and outside intervention may contribute to the resolution process. This notion is supported by evidence suggesting that the more tangible the issues, the less difficult are efforts to diplomatically resolve a dispute (Bercovitch, 1989; Vasquez, 1995). The Miskitos Indians in Nicaragua, for example, could be granted limited autonomy within a given geographical region while still falling under the umbrella of the Nicaraguan state. But when the issues at stake revolve around changing the operative ideology of the ruling coalition, the most salient outcomes require one side to relinquish claims to sovereignty. These intangible issues prove to be particularly resistant to efforts at resolution, making a third party intervention less likely to succeed. The nature of the conflict, therefore, should contribute to the success of intervention attempts, with ideological conflicts being more intractable than either religious or ethnic varieties.

The strategy for intervening will also affect the likely success of any intervention attempt. This involves both the type and the target of the intervention. In an effort to alter the calculations of the antagonists, military intervention will effect the cost of continued fighting, while economic interventions will generally alter the expected benefits from not fighting. When the decision to intervene is predicated on trying to affect this cost-benefit ratio, a mixed strategy should result in the greatest "swing" in the expected utility of the combatants. From the perspective of the combatants, the ability to sustain a united front against an opponent will involve both the degree of support within the constituent base and the relative alignment of military forces; this would be most easily facilitated by a combination of both military and economic forces brought to bear.
From a political vantage point economic constraints or inducements can partially contribute to the allegiances of the constituents behind either of the centers of sovereignty. Using sanctions or rewards to move this center of support toward a more compromising approach to the conflict should be effective in altering the calculus of the opposing leaderships. But economic intervention probably is not sufficient, under normal circumstances, to bring an end to the fighting. The balance of military forces will also contribute to the expected outcome of the combatants. Equally matched forces, for example, may feel reasonably confident that victory is around the corner, while a preponderance of military capabilities may give reason to push for further gains. But neither would military force by itself be sufficient, in the norm, to move the parties far enough toward a compromise that a ceasefire would be a likely outcome.

As we recently saw in Somalia, a vastly superior military force simply became a target for the antagonists previously pitted against each other. This need to dramatically sway the cost-benefit calculations of the antagonists would suggest that a mixed strategy would be more likely to succeed than either a military or economic intervention alone. Furthermore, given the logic of how the intervention purports to influence decision making, there is little reason to expect, inter alia, that a military or economic intervention independently will be more successful than the other. The context under which a non-mixed strategy will give the upper hand to a military or economic initiative is critically important, though those specific conditions are beyond the scope of this analysis.

For reasons associated with the disparity in resources between the central government and the opposition forces, in general we would expect the balance of power to side with the ruling coalition. At the same time the efficiency of any third party intervention should be increased when the intervention attempt supports the sitting government. But simply because the government is the conduit for third party interventions does not imply that governments are usually the recipients of third party support. For instance, support for one side in the conflict can result from positive inducements to the supported side or negative sanctions to the opposing side. If we think about Singer's (1963) model, threatening or punishing the opposition can be interpreted as intervening on behalf of the government, as can be rewards or promises made directly to the government. However, for reasons of efficiency, legitimacy, and stability, support for the government should lead to more successful outcomes. I would hypothesize, therefore, that intervening with a mix of economics and military would increase the probability of success over either approach individually, as would intervening on behalf of the government.
And finally the role of the status of the intervener should be critical to the likely outcome of any intervention attempt. Larger countries have a greater degree of latitude when it comes to organizing an intervention strategy. Major powers not only have larger and more projectable military forces, but also a wider range of economic resources that can be brought to bear in a foreign policy role. Regardless of the side on which a major power intervenes, the effectiveness of that intervention should be greater than that of a non-major power. The ability to affect the cost-benefit calculations of combatants in an intra-state conflict must be a function, inter alia, of the resources that any potential intervener can bring to bear. We should expect major power involvement in the intervention attempt to increase the probability of successful intervention.

Findings and Discussion

The hypothesized relationships outlined earlier were tested using a multivariate logit model. A logit analysis is much like a regression model except that the outcome variable is dichotomous and the coefficients associated with the logit require further manipulation before they are readily interpretable. Table 6 displays the results of that analysis. The outcome variable in the model is the success or failure of specific intervention attempt. It can be seen that all the variables associated with the intervention are statistically significant at or above conventional levels of confidence, while those associated with characteristics of the dispute are not very robust. Furthermore, the model correctly predicts 71% of the outcomes of the interventions, though it appears to over predict the actual rate of success.

(Table 4 About Here)

The signs of the coefficients associated with the variables in the model allow us to evaluate the hypotheses outlined earlier. In general, as the intervention moves from either a purely military or economic strategy to a mixed strategy, the probability of success increases, in line with earlier arguments. Furthermore, supporting the government over the opposition increases the chances of success. Interventions in ethnic or religious conflicts have a higher probability of success than ideological conflicts; likewise, the higher the level of casualties the lower the probability of successful intervention. In each case, however the level of statistical confidence is rather low. When isolating the
effect of major powers on the success of interventions there appears to be a difference in the probability of success, at least when judged relative to a minor power adopting a similar intervention strategy.\textsuperscript{10}

To interpret the logit results in terms useful for policymakers struggling with the issues of the day we need to calculate the probability of a successful outcome associated with each explanatory variable. Tables 7 thru 9 try to move us in that direction. What they will show is that the intervention strategy is the critical element in successfully bringing civil conflicts to a halt -- even if it is a temporary one. Although the orientation of the conflict -- whether ethnic, religious, or ideological -- has implications for the likely success of an intervention, policymakers should best focus on how they intervene rather than where they do so.

(Table 5 About Here)

Table 7 displays the effect of each variable on the probability that an intervention will be successful, when holding all other variables at their mean values. For example, holding all else constant, the probability of successfully intervening into an ethnic or religious conflict is 17%, but that probability of success drops to 12% when ideological issues predominate. The greatest change in the probability of success is associated with changes in the method of intervening. An individual military or economic intervention has a quite low chance of success (11%), though that probability jumps to nearly 31% when a mixed strategy is employed. In general supporting the government over the opposition in the conflict increases the probability of success from 8% to 23%. Surprisingly, the change in the likelihood of success is not great as we move from a conflict with relatively few casualties (200) to a quite bloody conflict (900K).

(Table 6 About Here)

When major powers intervene in intrastate conflicts the effect on the probability of success can be quite significant, at least when compared to the effectiveness of interventions by non-major powers. The role of major powers, however, is somewhat divergent from the general trend. For example, a mixed strategy by a major power is only marginally more likely to be successful than a similar intervention by a minor power (2%), suggesting that a mixed strategy has a similar affect on the outcome regardless of the resources of the intervener. However, a purely military intervention by a major power is 23% more likely to succeed than a military intervention by a minor power. Likewise, the effect of a major power
intervening on behalf of either the government or the opposition shows a considerable increase in the probability of success over minor power interventions (29%). One inference is that under almost all strategies for intervening, major powers are considerably more likely to succeed than minor powers.

When isolating the effect of different methods of intervening within the various types of conflicts, two factors emerge (table 8). First, we can see quite clearly that a mixed strategy of intervention remains the most likely to achieve a cessation in hostilities, with a change in the probability of a successful outcome jumping up to nearly forty percent (32% and 39%, respectively). For example, a mixed intervention into an ethnic or religious conflict has a 49% probability of success, while a military or economic initiative alone has only a 10% probability of success. This pattern is consistent when isolating ideological conflicts from their ethnic or religious counterparts. Second, the analysis suggests that the type of conflict matters little in the likelihood of successful interventions. Regardless of who is fighting, the greater the sole reliance on either a military or economic interventions alone, the lower the chances for success of those policies.

The strategy for intervening, however, is more complex than simply calculations about who is fighting and the type of influence a third party brings to bear on the conflict. As outlined earlier, the intervener can generally weigh in on behalf of either the government or the opposition, and presumably the choice of the target for the intervention has some impact on the likelihood of success. Table 9 confirms the importance of both the type of intervention used and the target of that intervention attempt. Once again the data are fairly conclusive. In order to increase the probability that an intervention will succeed in bringing a halt to the fighting, potential interveners must move away from a sole reliance on either military or economic initiatives. Irrespective of the target of the intervention, an individual strategy is at best about 60% less likely to succeed than a mixed intervention. At the extreme, a singly focused intervention on behalf of the opposition has only a 5% probability of success, all else being equal, while a mixed strategy on behalf of the government has a 64% probability of success.

Conclusions

Based on a multivariate logit model a number of findings give ample reason to make cogent policy prescriptions to those foreign policymakers contemplating future interventions. The clearest result of this analysis is that the strategy for intervening is of paramount importance in terms of the likely
success of achieving the desired goals. While characteristics of the conflict affect the probability of success -- such as the type of conflict or the number of casualties -- policymakers seeking to maximize the probability of success would be better to focus on how they intervene and not when or where, even though political imperatives might dictate the centrality of those latter questions.

When focusing on the strategy for intervening the findings are equally clear that a sole emphasis on either a military or economic initiative is going to be less effective than a mixed strategy. In trying to influence the cost-benefit calculations of the antagonists, potential interveners should employ as many pressure points as possible. But the prescriptions do not end there. In designing a strategy to intervene in a civil conflict, policymakers would be well advised to weigh in on behalf of the government rather than the opposition. Even a singly focused strategy of either military or economic intervention is three times more likely to succeed if the intervention is on behalf of the government. Holding all else constant the difference between the worst strategy (type and target of intervention) and the best is nearly a 60% change in the probability of success.

The strength of these findings is quite remarkable given that the historical data used in this analysis spans 50 years and 85 civil conflicts involving a total of 196 separate interventions. The definitions of success and failure, furthermore, were designed specifically to frame the outcome in terms familiar to, and consistent with, the concerns and issues commonly addressed by foreign policy decisionmakers. In this light the prescriptive inferences should be of particular import to those struggling to marshal the tools of state in the international arena.
Notes
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<td>Totals</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
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Table 2
Most Frequent Intervening States, by Number of Interventions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>United States</th>
<th>35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Nations</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR/Russia</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3
Number of Interveners and Number of Casualties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Casualties</th>
<th>&lt; 4000</th>
<th>4K thru 27K</th>
<th>&gt;27000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I n t e r</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e r v e n e r s</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e r v e n e r s</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e r v e n e r s</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e r v e n e r s</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e r v e n e r s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 4  
Results of Logit Regression on the Success or Failure of Intervention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Estimated Coefficient</th>
<th>Std Error</th>
<th>T-Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Type</td>
<td>-.40</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>-1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casualties</td>
<td>-.70 x 10^{-6}</td>
<td>.13 x 10^{-5}</td>
<td>-.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Intervention</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target of Intervention</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-3.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Power X Type</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-2.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Power X Target</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Log Likelihood (0) = -117.71  
Log Likelihood Function = -107.95  
Likelihood Ratio Test = 19.50 with 6 d.f.

Predicted Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>Success</th>
<th>Failure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Success</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Failure</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of Correct Predictions = 135  
Percent Correct Predictions = 71%
### Table 5
**Effects of Individual Variables on Probability of Successful Intervention, Holding all Others Constant**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Prob. Success</th>
<th>Change in Prob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic/Religious</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td></td>
<td>-5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Casualties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>-4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Intervention</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military/Economic</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td></td>
<td>+20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target of Intervention</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td></td>
<td>-15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Intervention by Major Power, Relative to Minor Powers</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>.23</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td></td>
<td>-16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td>-5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target of Intervention by Major Power, Relative to Minor Powers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td></td>
<td>+29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6
Effect of Varying both Type of Conflict and Type of Intervention on the Probability of Success, Holding other Variables Constant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Conflict</th>
<th>Type of Intervention</th>
<th>Prob. Success</th>
<th>Change in Prob Success</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic/Religious</td>
<td>Military/ Economic</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>+39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological</td>
<td>Military/ Economic</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>+32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7
Effect of Varying both Type and Target of Intervention on the Probability of Success, Holding other Variables Constant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Intervention</th>
<th>Target of Intervention</th>
<th>Prob. Success</th>
<th>Change in Prob Success</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military/Economic</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opposition</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opposition</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>-23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Others broaden the scope of potential forms of intervention to include paramilitary and covert strategies (see Schraeder, 1992), though this analytical distinction, I would argue, is unnecessary for the present study.

2. There are a few cases in which the government is not involved in the conflict. In those instances the intervention has been coded as neutral with respect to the government.

3. Three good treatments of the demographics and causes of ethnopolitical conflicts can be found in Gurr (1993), Gurr and Harf (1994), and Horowitz (1985).

4. Ending hostilities can come in many forms, including but not limited to, a negotiated or unilaterally declared ceasefire, the acquiescence of one side in the conflict, or the defeat of one side. Each in its own way would have the effect of stopping the fighting between antagonists, though each may or may not resolve any issues at stake.

5. To some degree this analytic framework is similar to that of Pachen's (1988, particularly chapters 7-9), though he is concerned with when to use positive inducements or negative sanctions within a dyadic relationship. I posit that these same questions are central to decisions on when and how third parties should intervene in intra-state conflicts.

6. COW Cultural Data Set records ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups within countries, identifying each group's population and their percentage makeup of the total population of the country.

7. See appendix for a list of cases and interventions. Additional information on coding rules are available from the author.

8. The difference in means between the 1980s and 1990s is 2.1 +/- 2.2 at a 95% confidence interval.
The economic and military interventions were collapsed into one category for this part of the analysis; this was done for two reasons: 1) there was no logical reason to argue that either one alone would significantly affect the probability of success of an intervention, and 2) the description of the data suggest that there are very few purely economic interventions during the period under scrutiny. However, when controlling for the independent affect of major power interventions the three categories of interventions were maintained, allowing me to tease out additional information about the effect of different strategies of interventions. A similar collapsing was done on the "type of conflict" variable, where ethnic and religious conflicts were combined into one and contrasted with ideological conflicts. The reasons are similar to those involving economic and military interventions.

This is captured by creating a variable that is zero when minor powers intervene and reflects the value of the type or target variable when the intervener is a major power.