

**Russian Security State**  
GOVT-5519 / IPOL-3519 / REES-5519  
Lecture 02. Backgrounder.  
National Security Policy Analysis

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## Today's objectives

1. *Distinguish*: policy analysis vs. basic research, with example
2. *Introduce*: basic strategy evaluation framework
3. *Apply*: use this framework to analyze U.S. decision to provide multiple launch rocket systems to Ukraine

# Policy Analysis vs. Academic Research



## Lessons from Russia's Operations in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine

- Michael Kolman, Katya Migacheva, Brian Nichiporuk,  
Andrew Radin, Olesya Tkacheva, Jenny Oberholtzer

### Figure 1: Policy analysis

- e.g. journal articles by economists and political scientists

These two types of research products are complementary and mutually reinforcing.

But they are written for very different audiences, with different goals in mind.

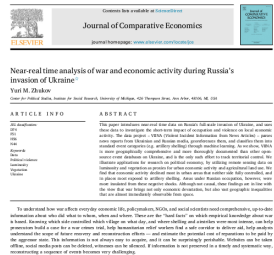


Figure 2: Basic research

	<b>Policy Analysis</b>	<b>Basic Research</b>
<i>Primary audience</i>	Practitioners	Scientists
<i>Secondary audience</i>	General public	General public
<i>Main purpose</i>	Inform decision-makers	Advance knowledge
<i>Originating institutions</i>	Government agencies	Universities
	Think tanks	Research labs
<i>Common methods</i>	Program evaluation	Experiments
	Systems analysis	Formal theory
	Operations research	Regression analysis
<i>Dissemination</i>	Memoranda	Journal articles
	White papers	Books
	Op-Eds	Patents
	Roundtables	Data and software
<i>Metrics of impact</i>	Implementation as policy	Scholarly citations
	Grants	Grants

These two worlds are *not* hermetically sealed, and there is cross-over.

## Example: Counterinsurgency in North Caucasus, 2000-2012

## Background: Second Chechen War

- Chechnya becomes de facto independent after 1996
- Chechen leadership split between moderates, Salafi-Jihadis
- Salafi faction raids Dagestan in 1999, captures several villages
- Russia invades Chechnya, captures Grozny and other large towns
- insurgency begins, spreads to neighboring republics
- Russia has great difficulty suppressing insurgency, violence lasts 10+ years

## Question:

- which government strategies were most (or least) effective in reducing violence?



Figure 3: Insurgents



Figure 4: Security Forces

## **Strategic Options:** how Russians respond to insurgent attacks

1. *Punishment*: offensive operations to increase costs of fighting
  - detain or kill suspected insurgents in towns experiencing violence
  - tactics: artillery shelling, air strikes, sweeps, raids
2. *Denial*: cordon operations to reduce insurgent mobility
  - physically isolate insurgents to restrict movement between towns
  - tactics: seal points of entry/exit, checkpoints, roadblocks, sieges
3. *Punishment + Denial*: do both (e.g. cordon and search)
4. *No action*: do neither

Russians relied on Option 1 in 78% of cases.

In one piece of basic research, Monica Toft and I asked “what if” the Russians had tried another approach (Journal of Peace Research, 2012).



**Data:** we parsed, geocoded incident reports from Memorial NGO

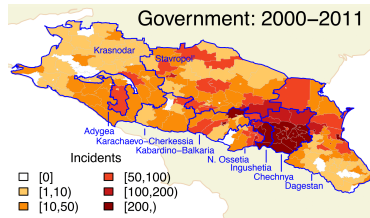
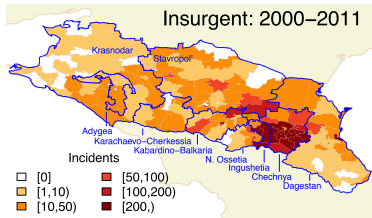


Figure 5: Insurgent Violence

Figure 6: Government Violence

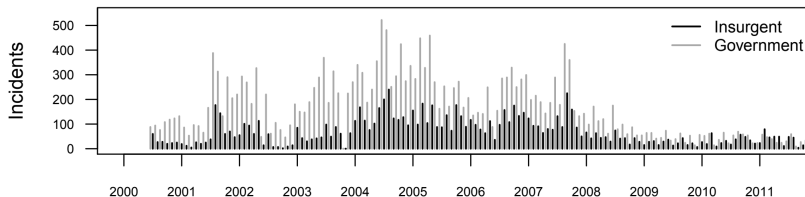


Figure 7: Violence over Time

## Research Design

- we analyzed dynamics of violence using models from epidemiology
- using village-level data, we modeled probability that rebel violence:
  - (a) spreads between neighboring towns (transmission)
  - (b) persists vs. subsides within each town (recovery)conditional on road network, government tactics, population density, unemployment, terrain, distance to military bases and admin centers
- **measure of effectiveness:** basic reproduction number  $R_0$

$$R_0 = \frac{\text{transmission rate}}{\text{recovery rate}}$$

if  $R_0 < 1$ , insurgency will stop, not spread to new locations

if  $R_0 > 1$ , insurgency will persist and spread to new locations

- we used simulations to see how  $R_0$  might change under different hypothetical government strategies (punishment, denial, etc.)

## Simulation Design

1. insurgents attempt to stage a series of attacks across region
  - 7,584 municipalities, connected by local road network
  - an attack can occur in any location with some probability
2. where attacks occur, government responds
  - government consistently implements strategy  $k$   
( $k \in \{\text{punishment, denial, both, neither}\}$ )
  - road network structure updated if/where denial is used
3. insurgents strike again, government responds again
  - model predicts probability of new insurgent attack in each town, based on local conditions and historical patterns for strategy  $k$
  - where attacks occur, government implements strategy  $k$  again
4. repeat for 24 time periods (months)

We run simulation 100 times for each strategy, with different (random) starting locations for insurgent attacks.

Calculate average  $R_0$ .

## Which strategy is most (least) effective?

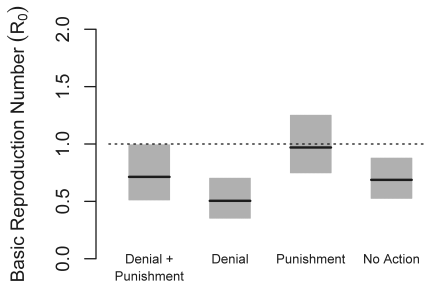


Figure 8: Simulation Results

Findings (lower values of  $R_0$  are better):

- Denial is most effective at containing insurgent violence
- Punishment is least effective, worse than doing nothing

## **What are some limitations with this type of analysis?**

- Assumptions about nature of Russian decision-making?
- Assumptions about range of strategic options?
- Assumptions about costs/resources/requirements?
- Assumptions about time horizons?
- Assumptions about how Russians evaluate success?
- Other issues?

How might we structure this analysis differently if it was intended for a policy, not academic audience?

# Comparing Multiple Policy Options

## Strategy Evaluation in 3 Easy Steps

1. *Develop an analytical framework*
2. *Perform the analysis*
3. *Disseminate the findings*

*Application:*

U.S. decision to send multiple launch rocket systems to Ukraine in 2022

## Background: MLRS to Ukraine

- Russia enters war with huge numerical advantage in tube artillery, MLRS
- high rate of expenditure ( $>5,000/\text{day}$ )
- no domestic production of shells, barrel replacements in Ukraine after invasion
- Ukraine struggles to keep artillery units supplied, deliver counter-battery fire
- by May 2022, Ukraine's stockpile of 152mm Soviet-std shells nearly spent
- U.S. considers sending 227mm M142 High Mobility Artillery Rocket System (HIMARS) to Ukraine
- HIMARS has greater range, precision than other MLRS in Ukraine's arsenal
- but expensive, requires training, risks escalation due to high potential range



Figure 9: Destroyed BM-21



Figure 10: HIMARS



## Step 1: Develop an Analytical Framework

- a) What is the **problem**?
  - define the trend/development/threat being addressed
  - state the level of urgency
  - estimate the degree of uncertainty
- b) What **interests** are affected by this problem?
  - define the stakes, whether they are vital/major/peripheral
- c) What **goals** will advance these interests?
  - state the desired “end state”
  - define intermediate objectives that need to be attained first
  - establish criteria for judging when each goal has been attained
- d) What policy **options** are available?

*Application:*

Let's consider these Q's in the case of whether to send MLRS to Ukraine

## Step 2: Perform the Analysis

- a) What is the **theory** of cause-and-effect?
  - how the policy, if implemented, might help advance key goals
  - summarize existing evidence on whether this theory is valid
- b) What are the **costs**, compared to available alternatives?
  - breakdown: procurement, R&D, O&M, personnel, logistics, etc.
  - opportunity costs and trade-offs
- c) What is the **implementation** strategy?
  - division of responsibilities across depts/agencies/units
  - type and level of authorization required
- d) What are the **time horizons**?
  - speed of implementation
  - distribution of costs/benefits in short-term and long-term
- e) What is the **feasibility** of the policy?
  - flexibility and robustness to unanticipated events
  - degree of consistency/synergy with existing policies
  - likely sources of opposition / barriers to success
- f) What **assumptions** are being made?

How many of these questions can you answer in case of MLRS to Ukraine?

### Step 3: Disseminate the Findings

- a) How wide should the **distribution list** be?
  - general public, including foreign
  - audience is within-government or within-agency
  - audience must have clearance, need-to-know
- b) What types of **written products** will be distributed?
  - memoranda (addressed to specific individuals)
  - white papers (in-house publications)
  - op-eds (accessible, for general public)
- c) What types of **oral products** will be prepared?
  - briefings (for specific officials, customers)
  - conferences/roundtables/talks (open to public)
  - interviews/media appearances
- d) How **senior** are the customers for these products?
  - different products needed for top officials, aides, staff
  - more senior → shorter attention span

What type of dissemination strategy is most appropriate in our case?

# NEXT MEETING

*Economic Foundations: Land, Labor and Serfdom* (Th, Sep. 12)

- the “origin story” of Russian autocracy, imperial expansion
- things to consider:
  - what incentives led Russia to adopt institution of serfdom
  - parallels and differences between forced labor practices in Russia vs. Western Europe vs. United States
  - why did the Russian state ultimately dismantle this institution?