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Strategic Logic of Unilateral Climate Intervention

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27 All authors devised the research plan. C.M.B. undertook the development of the formal model.
28 All authors contributed to the writing of the manuscript.

29

30 **Conflict of Interest**

31 None.

32

33 **Data Availability and Code Availability**

34 The formal model is completely described in the text and supplementary material.

35

36 **Abstract**

37 Climate change and unabated greenhouse gas emissions are increasing the possibility that the world will
38 turn to climate intervention to curb ever-increasing global temperatures. To date, most work on this topic
39 has imagined that an international organization like the United Nations or an international coalition of
40 states will synchronize their efforts to deploy climate intervention at ideal latitudes to maximize global
41 effect. Nearly all climate model simulations run-to-date have assumed this. Thus, our understanding of
42 the science of climate intervention is largely based on an ideal of perfect geopolitical coordination.
43 However, geopolitical uncertainties make this scenario unlikely and the costs of climate intervention are
44 sufficiently low that many states could comfortably finance a climate intervention program that could
45 have global consequences. This paper uses game theory to elucidate the conditions that might make a
46 state more or less likely to begin unilateral climate intervention (UCI). We solve this game for several
47 specific scientific, economic, and climatological conditions that change the likelihood of a government
48 starting its own climate intervention program without the participation of the broader international
49 community. Specifically, we demonstrate that the plausibility of UCI is linked to our scientific
50 understanding of three key elements: (1) the effectiveness of climate intervention strategies, (2) the
51 sensitivity of specific governments to punishment by other states, and (3) satisfaction with climate and
52 weather in the present. We conclude by discussing how this formal game theory model informs the
53 design of future earth system model simulations of UCI, international agreements related to climate
54 intervention, and the development of solar climate intervention technologies.

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56

57 **Introduction**

58 Climate change is unfolding in the present as humanity continues unabated greenhouse gas emissions
59 globally (Masson-Delmotte *et al* 2021). Extreme heat and precipitation events, disastrous flooding, and
60 sea level rise are realities in the present and increasingly provide a window into the future of
61 environmental disasters (Davenport *et al* 2021). Despite this, policy commitments are consistent with a
62 world that will likely warm by a global mean of at least 2 degrees Celsius globally (Diffenbaugh and
63 Barnes 2023, SEI *et al* 2021). Moreover, those policy commitments are falling far short of what is
64 needed to minimize temperature increases and avoid potentially dangerous earth system change
65 (Armstrong McKay *et al* 2022).

66

67 If temperatures become intolerable, there may be interest in other methods for avoiding the most
68 dangerous impacts of climate change. One such method could be solar climate intervention (SCI) (Burns
69 *et al* 2016). Broadly speaking, solar climate intervention refers to the process of deliberately reflecting
70 more of the sun’s energy back to space (Keith 2020). The most widely researched approach to global
71 SCI is stratospheric aerosol injection (SAI), which involves the dispersal of aerosols in the earth’s
72 stratosphere (NASEM 2021). While there is currently no widespread, active program of SAI, increased
73 attention on SAI suggests a need for wide-ranging scenarios that explore numerous possibilities of both
74 the rationale of how SAI may be pursued, and the associated details of how this may unfold.

75

76 Climate model scenarios simulated-to-date have largely focused on the scientific plausibility of SAI.
77 These scenarios of SAI include both detailed sensitivity analyses of various levels of deployment
78 (MacMartin *et al* 2022) and archetypical scenarios for various types of SAI (Lockley *et al* 2022). The
79 goal of scientific plausibility has incentivized running scenarios where SAI can be deployed at ideal
80 locations on the Earth to maximize its effects on climate, with little attention to geopolitical plausibility
81 of coordinated deployment across the world's surface. As a result, the community has gained an
82 improved understanding of the physical science and impacts of SAI, but this knowledge rests on
83 assumptions about international relations that are inconsistent with contemporary geopolitical realities.
84 Specifically, geopolitical uncertainties make a coordinated strategy unlikely and the costs of climate
85 intervention are such that an individual state could act alone (Eliason 2021). This is the so-called “free-
86 driver” problem, whereby a single actor (or limited set of actors) could affect the entire earth system
87 (Heyen *et al* 2019). Likewise, detailed, technical analysis of the costs and logistics associated with a
88 continuous program of SAI deployment are now available (Smith and Wagner 2018). A primary
89 conclusion of this work is that, relative to global costs of decarbonization, maintaining a globally-
90 effective SAI program is notably inexpensive So, while climate simulations have favored coordinated,

91 global deployment of SAI, it is plausible that SAI could be pursued unilaterally, without any
92 international coalition (Rabitz 2016). As such, there is an urgent need to develop tools with which we
93 can rigorously explore the potential for unilateral climate intervention (UCI).

94

95 Game theory is a useful tool for formally describing and modeling how a certain set of assumptions
96 about state actions, beliefs, and available strategies could lead to a decision like unilateral climate
97 intervention (Urpelainen 2012, Heyen *et al* 2019). Unlike individual narrative explanations for UCI,
98 creating and solving a simplified UCI game allows us to identify conditions that might make different
99 UCI outcomes—including, for example, sanctions, continued UCI, or a decision to start and stop UCI—
100 more or less likely. Such an analysis would provide new theoretical insight, both into the types of actors
101 that might pursue UCI, as well as the types of strategic interactions that could unfold following the
102 initiation of UCI. Importantly, it could also point to specific international actions that could make lone
103 states much less likely to experiment with UCI in the future.

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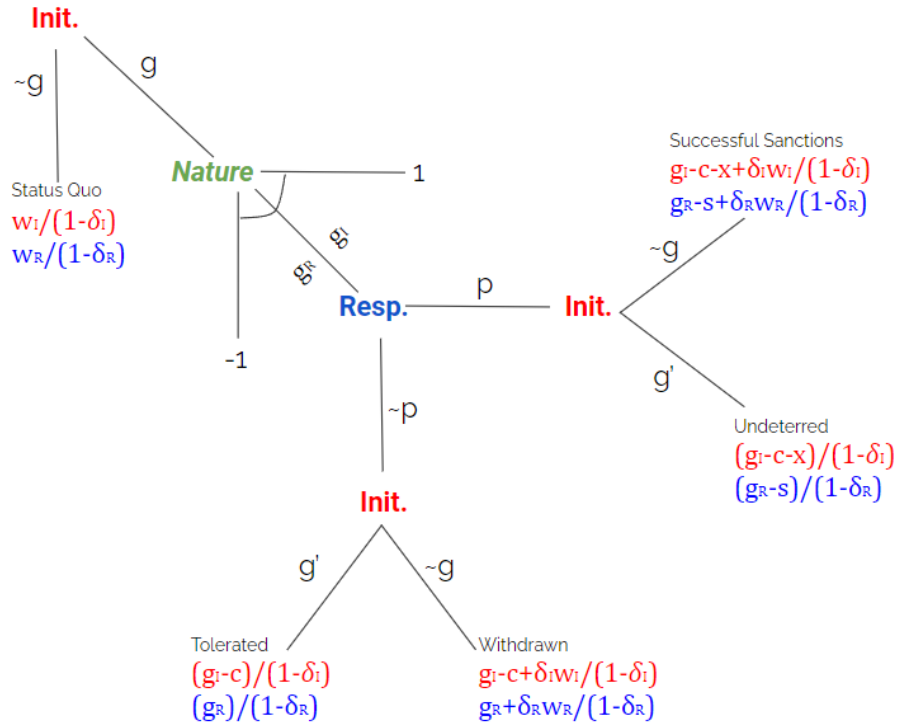
105 Formal models are not predictions of the future and they cannot represent the complexity of
106 climatological and political systems. They can, however, reduce strategic decisions to their base
107 elements and then leverage logical implications to understand what might affect the decision to pursue
108 UCI, including beliefs about the future, vulnerability to punishment from other states, and satisfaction
109 with weather in the status quo, might affect climate intervention decisions in some counterintuitive ways.
110 The next section introduces a novel two-player UCI game and is followed by solutions to the game. The
111 paper concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the analysis and specific implications for climate
112 intervention and international environmental governance.

113

114 **Formal Model**

115 This section sets-up the game, and the solution is provided in the following section. Imagine a simplified
116 model of the world in which one state, an *Initiator*, possesses the ability to begin unilateral climate
117 intervention (UCI) and another state, the *Respondent*, must then choose to either stand by or punish the
118 *Initiator*, perhaps through economic or military sanctions. We can model the conditions that might
119 compel the *Initiator* to use UCI with a three-move game, which is depicted in the extensive form in
120 Figure 1.

121



122

123 **Figure 1: The Unilateral Climate Intervention (UCI) Game in the extensive form. Red colors correspond to**
 124 **the Initiator, and Blue colors correspond to the Respondent.**

125

126 The game begins when the *Initiator* decides to start UCI (g) or not ($\sim g$). If the *Initiator* does not use
 127 UCI, the game is over and both states receive the climate in the status quo path indefinitely. The payoffs
 128 for this outcome are represented mathematically by the terms $\frac{w_I}{(1-\delta_I)}$ and $\frac{w_R}{(1-\delta_R)}$, with the desirability of
 129 each state's climate unaltered by UCI (w_I and w_R) ranging from 0 to 1. Future payoffs are calculated by
 130 dividing by the term $1 - \delta$, where δ ranges from 0 to 1 and represents the extent to which each state
 131 discounts payoffs in the future vis-à-vis the present. States with a higher δ place more value in the future,
 132 while states with a lower δ are primarily concerned with the present and care relatively less about long-
 133 term costs or benefits. This is the standard notation for representing future payoffs in game theoretic
 134 modeling (Gibbons 1992).

135

136 Should the *Initiator* begin UCI, it suffers the cost of c . This cost can represent any combination of
 137 financial and non-pecuniary penalties that the *Initiator* must endure should it choose UCI (g). UCI also
 138 creates altered climate conditions for the *Initiator* and the *Respondent*, represented by g_I and g_R . These
 139 outcomes could be better or worse than climate in the status quo (w_I and w_R), so let each of these terms
 140 range independently from each other between -1 and 1. The *Initiator's* payoff for UCI in a single period,

141 independent from the reactions of other states, is therefore $g_I - c$. The *Respondent* does not pay the costs
142 of UCI, so it receives g_R . Due to the complexity of the global climate, the exact values of g_I and g_R are
143 unknown until UCI is attempted at scale. To model this revelation of new information, we follow the
144 game theoretic literature (Gibbons 1992) by allowing an entity called *Nature* to randomly define and
145 reveal the heretofore unknown values of g_I and g_R after and only if the *Initiator* decides to use UCI. This
146 reveal effectively divides the game into two parts. After *Nature* reveals the true effects of UCI, the
147 *Initiator* and *Respondent* act with complete information about UCI. Before *Nature's* reveal, the *Initiator*
148 must decide whether it will initiate with beliefs about UCI, but crucially, no concrete knowledge of the
149 outcomes of its decision to initiate UCI.

150
151 After *Nature* reveals g_I and g_R , each state has one decision left to make. First, allow the *Respondent* to
152 experience the effects of UCI and then decide whether to punish (p) or not punish ($\sim p$) the *Initiator*.
153 Punishment—used interchangeably with “sanctions” below—imposes costs equal to x on the *Initiator*, but
154 the act is not costless for the punisher. The *Respondent* suffers costs equal to s when it applies sanctions.
155 Afterall, the implementation of sanctions entails costs on countries that must now mobilize their militaries
156 or suffer from decreased or less efficient international trade (Martin 1993). If the *Respondent* applies
157 sanctions, the *Initiator's* payoff for using UCI at a given time decreases to $g_I - c - x$. Meanwhile, the
158 *Respondent* receives a payoff of g_R for that time period if it does not apply sanctions or $g_R - s$ for that
159 time period if it does. Whether these payoffs are indefinite into the future, and thus divided by $1 - \delta$,
160 depends on what the *Initiator* chooses to do in the game's final move.

161
162 The game ends when the *Initiator* decides what it will do after observing the true outcome of UCI and the
163 *Respondent's* willingness to punish. Having made these observations, the *Initiator* can decide to cease
164 UCI ($\sim g$) or continue it indefinitely into the future (g'). When UCI is continued into the future, the
165 payoffs described above are divided by $1 - \delta_I$ for the *Initiator* and $1 - \delta_R$ for the *Respondent*. However,
166 when UCI is stopped, states receive the payoffs for UCI only once and then return to the status quo
167 payoffs of $\frac{w_I}{(1-\delta_I)}$ and $\frac{w_R}{(1-\delta_R)}$.

168

169 **Solutions**

170

171 We solve the game for subgame perfect Nash equilibria through backwards induction by starting with the
172 final decision and determining what each player would do, assuming earlier decisions were to deliver a
173 player to that decision node. By doing so, we can identify the sets of conditions that allow each of the

174 outcomes listed above to occur, given each state's payoffs and beliefs at each stage of the game (Gibbons
175 1992). A complete technical solution is provided in the supplementary appendix, while the main text
176 outlines the basic logic of the game and summarizes the principal implications. Most importantly, we
177 identify important thresholds linked to the efficacy of UCI both for the *Initiator* (g_I) and the *Respondent*
178 (g_R).

179 Beginning first with the *Initiator*, we identify two thresholds, which we shall label g_I^L and g_I^H and define
180 as follows:

181

182 **Definition 1:** Let $g_I^H \geq w_I + c + x$ represent the range of g_I at which I strictly prefers g' to $\sim g$,
183 regardless of R 's decision in the previous move.

184

185 **Definition 2:** Let $g_I^L \leq w_I + c$ represent the range of g_I at which I strictly prefers $\sim g$ to g' ,
186 regardless of R 's decision in the previous move.

187

188 When *Nature* reveals that g_I is low enough to satisfy g_I^L , then the *Initiator* will stop UCI in the second
189 period regardless of whether it is punished. Knowing that this is a strict preference and also wanting to
190 avoid the unnecessary costs of implementing sanctions, the *Respondent* would never apply costly
191 sanctions needlessly. Therefore, *UCI Withdrawn* ($g, \sim p, \sim g$) is the only outcome that is in equilibrium
192 once *Nature* has revealed a poor UCI outcome in the range of g_I^L . A similar threshold exists if g_I is
193 sufficiently high. If g_I is so favorable as to satisfy g_I^H , then the *Initiator* would continue to use UCI even
194 if that meant it would surely suffer punishment from the *Respondent*. But once again, punishment is
195 costly to the punisher and the *Respondent* would never suffer costs with no hope of the punishment being
196 effective. Thus, the only outcome that can occur in equilibrium when g_I falls above the threshold g_I^H is
197 *UCI Tolerated* ($g, \sim p, g'$).

198

199 **Lemma 1:** R will never punish if *Nature* reveals that g_I is in the ranges described by g_I^L or g_I^H .
200

201 Between these thresholds ($g_I^L \leq g_I \leq g_I^H$), the *Initiator* is satisfied with UCI outcomes enough to
202 continue, but not so satisfied that it would continue UCI if that meant it would suffer punishment from the
203 *Respondent*. We define the outcomes of UCI between these thresholds as g_I^M .

204

205 **Definition 3:** Let $w_I + c \leq g_I^M \leq w_I + c + x$ represent the range of g_I at which I will choose $\sim g$ if
206 R punishes, but g' if R does not punish in the previous move.

207

208

209 Here, the *Respondent* controls the outcome of the game and this decision is dependent upon how it is
 210 being affected by UCI, which is labeled g_R . Call the threshold at which the *Respondent* would apply
 211 sanctions g_R^* :

212

213 **Definition 4:** Let $g_R^* = w_R - \frac{s(1-\delta_R)}{\delta_R}$ represent the threshold at which *R* is indifferent between
 214 punishing and not punishing *I*, given the condition g_I^M (see Definition 3). Let g_R^H represent the values
 215 of g_R in $g_R \geq g_R^*$ and let g_R^L represent the values of $g_R \leq g_R^*$.

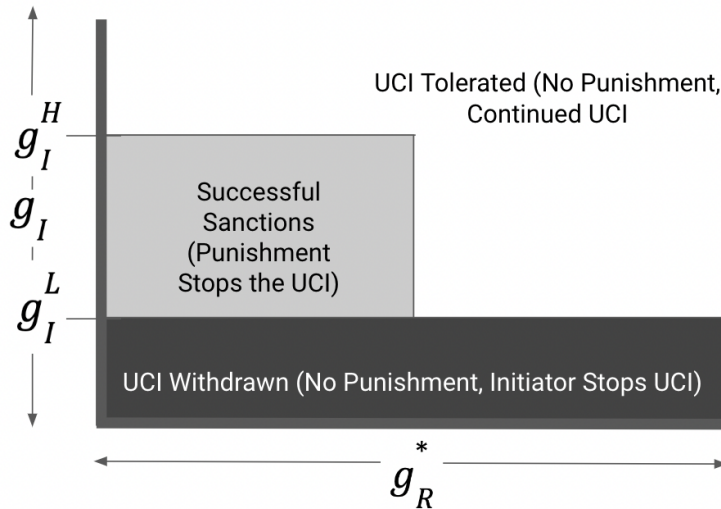
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218 Above this threshold, the effects of UCI on the *Respondent* are good enough that the *Respondent* would
 219 rather tolerate UCI than apply sanctions, meaning the only equilibrium is *UCI Tolerated* ($g, \sim p, g'$).

220 Below this threshold, continued UCI would trigger sanctions and the only equilibrium is *Successful*
 221 *Sanctions* ($g, p, \sim g$).

222



223

224 **Figure 2: Possible Outcomes Following Nature's Reveal of g_I and g_R .**

225

226 At this point we understand what will happen once *Nature* reveals the results of UCI and this is illustrated
 227 in Figure 2. However, the players can only arrive at this point in the game if the *Initiator's* beliefs are
 228 such that it will give *Nature* an opportunity to reveal g_I and g_R in the first place. This decision depends
 229 upon the *Initiator's ex ante* beliefs about how UCI might unfold. Let these beliefs about g_I and g_R be
 230 represented by θ_I and θ_R , respectively.

231

232 If the *Initiator* believes UCI will be worth the costs regardless of any punishment, ($\theta_I \geq g_I^H$), then *I* will
233 always choose to initiate UCI and the outcome of the game will depend on the revealed values of g_I and
234 g_R . Even if *I* is cautiously optimistic about how UCI will affect its own climate $g_I^L \leq \theta_I \leq g_I^H$, it may
235 still use UCI if it believes that g_R will be good enough for the *Initiator* to escape any punishment ($\theta_R \geq$
236 g_R^*). Here again, these beliefs will cause the *Initiator* to test UCI and the ultimate outcome of the game
237 will depend on Nature's determination of g_I and g_R .

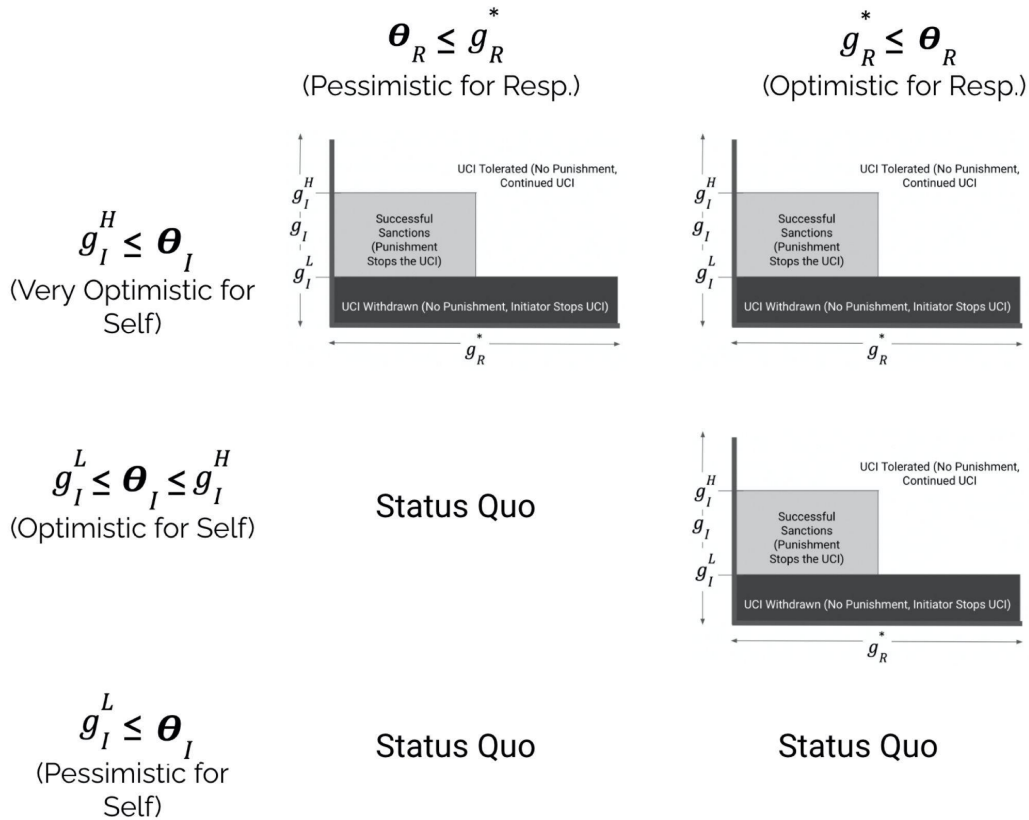
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239 Likewise, if the *Initiator* is pessimistic about the outcome of UCI ($\theta_I \leq g_I^L$), then it will never initiate.
240 Even cautious optimism about its own outcome will not incentivize UCI if this cautious optimism ($g_I^L \leq$
241 $\theta_I \leq g_I^H$) is paired with pessimism for the *Respondent* ($\theta_R \leq g_R^*$). This is because this combination of
242 beliefs will cause the *Initiator* to anticipate punishment that it is not willing to tolerate. With beliefs in
243 these ranges, the only outcome in equilibrium is the *Status Quo* ($\sim g$).

244

245 When we layer the beliefs that entice the *Initiator* to intervene in the climate alongside the effects of
246 intervention as revealed by *Nature*, many equilibria emerge. These are illustrated in Figure 3. We see that
247 the *Initiator* will experiment with UCI only when its beliefs about the outcome are very optimistic ($\theta_I \geq$
248 g_I^H) or when it is only cautiously optimistic for itself, but also optimistic for the *Respondent* ($\theta_R \geq g_R^*$
249 and $g_I^L \leq \theta_I \leq g_I^H$). Next, we turn to the factors that determine these thresholds, and therefore, the
250 likelihood of unilateral climate intervention,

251



252

253 **Figure 3: The Initiator's Beliefs (θ_I , θ_R) and UCI Outcomes (g_I , g_R).**

254

255 **Formal model implications**

256 This formal model elucidates several conditions under which unilateral climate intervention may become
 257 more plausible, even when accounting for the possibility of punishment from another state. This section
 258 discusses further implications of the model and points to predictors of future unilateral climate
 259 intervention and several avenues for future research. Specifically, several conditions might increase the
 260 likelihood that a state pursues a strategy of unilateral climate intervention:

261

262 *Worse conditions in the present (low w_I):* When states are less satisfied with their climates in the status
 263 quo, our game theory solution suggests that UCI is more likely to be seen as worth any costs,
 264 punishments, and risks of failure. This is because deep dissatisfaction with the status quo causes potential
 265 initiators to become more acceptant of even mildly successful interventions. Worse conditions in the
 266 present “lower the bar” for what constitutes a worthwhile climate intervention, meaning that governments
 267 facing graver conditions in the present should be much more likely to turn to UCI in the near-term, all
 268 else being equal.

269

270 *More confidence in UCI outcomes (high θ_I, θ_R):* Even if we assume that all states will have similar
271 access to scientific information about the global effects of UCI, climatological factors will cause some
272 states to be more confident of their own local outcomes than others. For example, some forms of UCI,
273 such as stratospheric aerosol injection, may be associated with more predictable consequences at certain
274 latitudes (Labe *et al* 2023, Hueholt *et al* 2023). Thus, a country's location on the surface of the Earth may
275 be a key determinant of beliefs in climate intervention effects.

276

277 *Lower—or less sensitivity to—UCI costs (low c):* Some states are going to be more sensitive to the
278 financial and political costs of initiating UCI than others. Recent research on stratospheric aerosol
279 injection (SAI) suggests a globally effective program could be financed for less than \$5 billion per year
280 (Smith and Wagner 2018), and this is well within reach of many of the world's largest economies. These
281 costs will vary by region. Recent scientific research also suggests that the efficiency of UCI methods like
282 SAI vary greatly based on where on the planet these methods are used. Dai *et al.* 2018, for example,
283 found that SAI at mid-latitudes may have greater effect than SAI deployed in the southern hemisphere or
284 near the equator. Non-financial costs, including political “audience costs” imposed by unsupportive
285 voters, could also deter governments from taking action (De Mesquita *et al* 2005). Countries experiencing
286 more political stability and greater insulation from political opinion (non-democratic states and illiberal
287 democracies) could therefore be more accepting of the risks inherent in experimental UCI, relative to
288 budget-constrained governments that must soon face voters (Allen 2008). Together, this suggests the
289 states facing the lowest costs for experimenting with UCI could be wealthy, northern, mid-latitude states
290 that face limited political competition.

291

292 *Less sensitivity to punishment from other states (low x):* Countries with substantial exposure to
293 punishment from other states may be less likely to deploy UCI. This is because the more impactful a
294 punishment is expected to be, the greater the results of UCI must be for a government to consider it
295 worthwhile. Examples of countries that are more vulnerable to punishment, and therefore less likely to
296 pursue UCI, include those that are highly dependent upon foreign imports of critical goods (Tostensen
297 and Bull 2002), or, in the case of UCI methods like SAI, those that could be severely affected by
298 restrictions on their use of neighboring states' airspace. Many types of climate intervention rely upon
299 specific chemical compounds and/or advanced capabilities to build and launch high-altitude aircraft. Self-
300 sufficient or autarkic countries with domestic resources and capabilities are substantially less vulnerable
301 to targeted sanctions. These vulnerabilities give potential respondents incredible leverage, and they
302 therefore substantially influence an initiator's cost-benefit comparison (Bapat *et al* 2013). Countries that
303 are less vulnerable to international airspace closures, such as coastal countries, or countries that export

304 goods on which others are very dependent, such as energy products, are among the least sensitive to post-
305 UCI punishment from other states. This may make them the most likely initiators.

306

307 *Lower probability of punishment (high s and low δ_R):* From the perspective of a prospective respondent,
308 some potential initiators are more costly to effectively punish than others (Tostensen and Bull 2002, Pape
309 1997). Punishment is least costly to implement when the target of the punishment is relatively powerless
310 and unable to retaliate. Conversely, large and powerful states have significant leverage in the international
311 political economy and they can be both difficult and costly to coerce. The cost of effective punishment
312 against these states can become too expensive to bear, even if another state's implementation of UCI
313 degrades its climate. Some economists and international relations experts point to the high costs of
314 effective sanctions to claim that sanctions are often ineffective if used (Pape 1997). As our game theory
315 model shows, fears that sanctions will not be effective can dissuade potential respondents from punishing
316 other states in the first place (Smith 1995).

317

318 Our analysis also suggests that some states may be more willing to punish than others based on how much
319 they discount the future (δ_R). UCI should be more likely when countries with the greatest leverage to
320 punish a UCI initiator—major trading partners or geographic neighbors, perhaps—have significant
321 problems in the present and therefore lack the luxury of prioritizing longer-term goals like climate
322 actions. Governments facing pressing political problems are less likely to trade the short-term costs of
323 imposing punishment for the long-term gains that punishment might produce (McLean and Whang 2014).
324 In these cases, the short-term harm of sanctions enforcement may not be worth longer-term marginal
325 changes in climate conditions. On the other hand, countries with trading partners and neighbors with more
326 social stability and economic well-being may be more likely to place higher value on non-pressing
327 longer-term policy goals, making them much more likely to implement costly punishment in the present
328 so that they might realize longer-term benefits.

329

330 **Implications and Limitations**

331 Proponents of economic globalization and multilateral global governance typically assume that the
332 interdependence created by globalization and governance decreases the likelihood of one state pursuing
333 selfish interests at the cost of its political and economic partners (Keohane and Nye 2011). The model
334 presented above casts some doubt on this generalization. If interdependence increases a potential
335 initiator's exposure to punishment, but also makes punishment more costly for the respondent, then these
336 changes could offset each other or even make UCI more likely. As the costs of punishment increase for a
337 respondent, UCI must do more damage before the high cost of imposing punishment becomes worth the

338 high cost of deterring UCI. This could embolden the Initiator. Would a Respondent jeopardize its own
339 economy for a marginally negative change in the climate? Savvy initiators may bet that one would not.

340

341 Belief and knowledge about how the climate system may respond to UCI is an important component of
342 our game theory model. Because of this, scientific research into climate intervention could impact the
343 likelihood of UCI in multiple ways within our formal model. We discuss some of these pathways here.
344 First, further improvements in scientific understanding of the consequences of SAI could affect the cost
345 efficiency of UCI efforts. Second, research into the regional climate responses to UCI could affect the
346 beliefs, as well as ultimate accuracy, of UCI efficacy. However, we note that a recent, systematic
347 intercomparison of three earth system models simulating SAI deployment found that model differences
348 (e.g., representation of atmospheric circulation, aerosol microphysics) led to notable differences in the
349 earth system response to the same SAI forcing across climate models (Visioni *et al* 2022, Bednarz *et al*
350 2023). Thus, there is no guarantee that more scientific research will automatically lead to decreased
351 uncertainty of the earth system consequences of SAI. Third, if new research reveals that SAI benefits
352 some parts of the globe at the expense of others, then this increases the chances that states would likely
353 avoid altering the climate out of fear of punishment from an adversely affected respondent. This sort of
354 asymmetric consequence of SAI might also create incentives for states in regions likely to be adversely
355 affected by SAI to advocate for new international laws that strictly control UCI. This could then trigger
356 more widespread and expensive penalties for any states that would otherwise initiate UCI for their own
357 benefit. Multilateral sanctions of this kind simultaneously increase the costs to the initiator while sharing
358 the costs for the punisher.

359

360 Formal models simplify complicated natural and political dynamics in an attempt to uncover the core
361 drivers of strategic decision-making. They necessarily make simplifying assumptions about complex
362 processes to gain analytical leverage. A useful model identifies key drivers of decisions, even if the
363 mathematical representation of climatological outcomes and political decision-making neglect important
364 nuances.

365

366 Crucially, this model assumes that states will be sensitive to the punishments imposed by others. The
367 empirical evidence for this is mixed, though this deductive logic is a foundation for much of international
368 relations theory on topics like coercion and deterrence. Writing long before the recent rounds of sanctions
369 against Russia for its transgressions against its neighbors, Robert Pape argued, “nationalism often makes
370 states and societies willing to endure considerable punishment rather than abandon their national interests.
371 States involved in coercive disputes often accept high costs, including civilian suffering, to achieve their

372 objectives. Even in the weakest and most fractured states, external pressure is more likely to enhance the
373 nationalist legitimacy of rulers than to undermine it” (1997, pp. 106-107). Sanctions driven by rivals’ UCI
374 programs could be especially ineffective, given the difficulty that states will have drawing a direct line
375 between specific-weather phenomena and solar climate intervention occurring outside of one’s own
376 national airspace.

377
378 This model also assumes that states will both understand and agree about the outcomes of unilateral
379 climate intervention, when in fact any post-UCI outcomes are very likely to be politicized. Voters are
380 very likely to misperceive local effects of a major climate intervention, and anomalous events like major
381 storms are very likely to steer public opinion and political action, even if these events deviate from clear
382 general climate trends (Diffenbaugh *et al* 2023). This disconnect between the true and perceived effects of
383 climate intervention introduces substantial uncertainty around potential reactions (Keys *et al* 2022). This
384 means that initiators must consider that international punishment could occur, even if the scientific
385 consensus is that unilateral climate intervention caused no harm. In the archetypal formal models,
386 “*Nature*” reveals outcomes that are as clear to all players as a poker dealer’s draw. UCI outcomes are not
387 so easily observed, and this means that reactions to UCI are likely to be much noisier and uncertain than
388 they are represented to be in a model.

389
390 Finally, this is a model of UCI initiation, but it is not a model of indefinite continuation, suspension, or
391 international governance. In a multilateral world, reactions to UCI could include sanctions imposed by
392 communities of respondents that can share the cost of punishment (NASEM 2021). Coalitions of states
393 could join the initiator and effectively divide the world into blocks or climate intervention supporters and
394 opponents. Successful climate intervention could create incentives for unabated carbon emissions, which
395 could then transform the global economy and create insurmountable economic and political pressures to
396 maintain climate intervention efforts. The possibilities are endless, but they are also so speculative that
397 they are unlikely to affect a state’s initial decision to begin unilateral climate intervention in a predictable
398 way. This makes these topics critical for the future of climate intervention science and governance, but
399 unimportant for modeling the drivers of a state’s decision to initiate.

400

401 **Conclusions**

402 We explore how unilateral climate intervention (UCI) might unfold in the face of unrelenting climate
403 change. Ultimately, the fundamental solution to addressing ongoing and future climate change is to
404 reduce anthropogenic carbon emissions to net zero, or further (IPCC 2022). However, given the pace,
405 scale, and stakes of global climate change, it is incumbent on the research community to understand the

406 broader range of how society, united or otherwise, may respond. Using game theory, we show how a
407 decision to engage in UCI is conditional on a chain of reciprocal interactions and perceptions. We
408 anticipate future work could leverage our findings to shed light on how contemporary countries may play
409 the game with one another. This could provide needed insight into the potential countries most likely to
410 pursue UCI, and thus anticipatory capacity for international solar climate intervention governance.

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