

**POLS4985.02W**  
**American Foreign Policy**  
**Summer 2009**

**Course Pack**

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# Course Calendar with Subject matter and Dates

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
<b>8</b> <i>All Politics is Global</i>	<b>9</b> <i>All Politics is Local</i>	<b>10</b> <i>Historical Context of American Foreign Policy</i>	<b>11</b> <i>The Cold War</i>	<b>12</b> <b>Qset 1 Due</b> <i>Post-Cold War I</i>
<b>15</b> <i>Post-Cold War II</i>	<b>16</b> <i>9/11 and After</i>	<b>17</b> <b>Qset 2 Due</b> <i>Today's Problems I</i>	<b>18</b> <i>Today's Problems II</i>	<b>19</b> <i>21<sup>st</sup> Century</i>
<b>22</b> <b>Qset 3 Due</b> <i>The Iraq War</i>	<b>23</b> <i>Who Owns a War?</i>	<b>24</b> <i>Who Owns Post-Conflict Nation Building?</i>	<b>25</b> <i>Implementation and Follow-Through</i>	<b>26</b> <b>Qset 4 Due</b> <i>Learning from the Iraq War</i>
<b>29</b> <i>The Future of Foreign Policy</i>	<b>30</b> <b>Qset 5 Due</b> <i>Conclusion and Evaluations</i>	<b>1</b> Reading Day (no class)	<b>2</b> <b>QSet 6 (final) due by 1pm</b>	

# Discussion Questions for Commentary Papers

## Commentary Paper Guidelines:

A discussion question set appears below for each section of the course. These questions relate to the larger topics of the course, and require you to integrate the reading assignments with the course discussions as well as the information provided in the PowerPoint presentations and the notes. Each commentary paper assignment must answer **two (2)** questions from each question set. The answers to these questions should be thoughtful, analytical, and demonstrate a clear understanding of the course material from the readings and the classroom discussions. These papers are to be written as formal essays that meet the standards of advanced university undergraduates. These papers should reflect a clear ability to engage in a critical analysis of the relevant issues. Further these papers should demonstrate a clear ability to synthesize the information in the course into a coherent argument backed up by evidence.

The answer to each *question* should be two (2) to three (3) *single spaced* pages in length. This means that each question set will comprise a total length of between four (4) and six (6) pages. All papers must include the student's name at the top of the first page and clearly identify which questions the student is answering. Failure to include your name may result in a grade of zero for the assignment.

Commentary papers are due on the dates provided in the course calendar above.

## Classroom Discussion

The discussion questions serve as the foundation of classroom discussion. Students are expected to have done all of the required reading for each class day. Students are also expected to be prepared to answer ALL of the discussion questions each day in class.

## Discussion Questions

### Question Set 1

1. Briefly compare and contrast two of the theoretical models that influence American Foreign Policy described in Holsti (pdf 2002). How useful are these models in making actual policy decisions?
2. Morgenthau argues that to fail to place the national interest first and foremost is to commit "intellectual error and moral perversion." What does he mean when he describes the national interest? Does a national interest such as that described by Morgenthau really exist for the USA? Defend your answer with material from the course.
3. Allison argues that the bureaucracy drives all foreign policy making. Krasner argues that Allison is essentially wrong. Compare and contrast their arguments about the role of the bureaucracy. Which author is correct?
4. What is the role of public opinion in foreign policy-making outlined by Holsti (Jentleson 2.3)? How does this relate to the argument about political survival made by Dr. Dixon?
5. FDR circumvented the will of the people to embroil the US in WWII. Given that the ends (defeating the Nazis) were good, were FDR's means justified? Defend your answer.
6. Briefly outline Nelson's argument about the dual nature of the Presidency and its impact on foreign policy. Given what you have read in this course, how much does the person of the President matter in foreign policy? Is this a good thing or a bad thing?

### Question Set 2

1. Given what you know about the end of the Cold War from your readings and the class, did the US really “win” the Cold War, or did we just survive it?
2. Mandelbaum argues that the US can act as the world’s de facto government. Is his assessment accurate? Given what you know about the role of the US in the world, could the US perform this function?
3. Kofi Annan articulates a vision of a world community in “We The Peoples”. To what degree is the vision of the world outlined here compatible with the goals of American Foreign Policy? Would the fulfillment of Annan’s vision be bad for America?
4. Several authors argue that the world of today is a “unipolar world” with the US as the single dominant power far and above all the others. Is this an accurate vision of the world? If it is, should the US exploit that power to promote its interests? If not, is it a matter of concern that so many people think it is true?
5. Ikenberry (2002) argues that there was no chaos after the Cold War ended. Is Ikenberry’s assessment of the post-Cold War World correct? Support your answer with material from the course.

### Question Set 3

1. To what degree does George W. Bush’s doctrine of preemption represent a break with traditional US foreign policy? Support your answer with material from the course.
2. Compare and contrast the decisions over humanitarian intervention in Somalia and Bosnia as outlined in Western. What does this tell us about the likelihood of future US humanitarian interventions? Support your answer with material from the course.
3. Given the domestic political constraints, how likely are US political leaders to implement the “responsibility to protect” doctrine as outlined in the International Commission report in Jentleson 9.1. Support your answer with material from the course.
4. Global climate change has become an accepted fact for the international community. What should be done and who should pay for it remains a matter of much greater debate. Given the political reality discussed in this course, how likely is it that the US will make firm and binding commitments in Copenhagen this year? If we make those commitments, will the Senate ratify the Copenhagen treaty? Support your answer with material from the course.
5. Fukuyama and Huntington both provide visions of the post Cold War world. In the post 9/11 world, which of these ideas provides a more useful framework for the design of American Foreign Policy? Support your answer with material from the course.

### Question Set 4

1. What are the core problems with the relationship between policy-making and intelligence as described by Pillar? Evaluate his argument in the light of the other material in the course.
2. In the excerpt from Woodward, there is a snapshot of part of the policy process in the pre-war planning for the Iraq war. How does this reflect the arguments about bureaucratic politics by Allison and Krasner?
3. From reading Bensahel, who owned the overall responsibility for the success of post-conflict nation-building? To what degree did this contribute to the problems that arose in the implementation phase?
4. Dobbins lists the personnel requirements for success in post-conflict nation-building. Would it have been politically possible for the US to have fielded forces of sufficient size in both Afghanistan and Iraq? Support your answer with material from the course.

### Question Set 5

1. Having read Bensahel, what is the likelihood that the current US efforts in Iraq will achieve the original goals of the intervention? Support your answer with material from the course.
2. Given the political realities of the Iraq War and its aftermath, what is the prospect of the US using force to support humanitarian intervention effectively in the next 5-10 years? Support your answer with material from the course.
3. Based on the material from the course, is the US doomed to ultimately fail in its nation-building efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan? Support your answer with material from the course.
4. Mueller discusses the impact of American casualties on US public opinion. Given the casualty averse nature of contemporary politics, can the US make the sort of commitment made in past conflicts such as WWI or WWII?

### Question Set 6

1. Morgenthau argued that the national interest should drive all political decisions. In the post 9/11 world, does such a view still have utility? Can it guide foreign policy?
2. Given what you have read and discussed from the course, is the foreign policy of today's American any different from the policy of the USA prior to WWI? At its core, has foreign policy changed? Support your answer with material from the course.
3. Given what we have learned and discussed in the course, and looking at American Foreign Policy as a whole, how different is the Obama Administration's foreign policy likely to be in the long-term compared to the Bush Administration's?
4. Would American Foreign Policy be better if the people of the US cared more about it? Would it matter if they also knew more about it? Support your answer with material from the course.

Files listed as Author (pdf) can be found in CourseDen

<b>Week 1</b>
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### **June 8**

*All Politics is Global – International Sources of Foreign Policy*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch1,1.1 – 1.4
- Holsti 1 (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- Reisman (pdf)
- Hoffman (pdf)

### **June 9**

*All Politics is Local – Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch2,2.1 – 2.3
- Krasner (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- Huntington (pdf)
- Smith (pdf)
- Nincic(pdf)

### **June 10**

*Historical Context of American Foreign Policy – Washington’s Legacy (1789 – 1945)*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch3, 3.1,3.2
- Nelson(pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- Lindsay (pdf)

### **June 11**

*The Cold War – Wilson’s Legacy*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch4,5, 4.1 – 5.4

Recommended Reading:

- Holsti 2 (pdf)
- Leffler (pdf)

### **June 12 -Qset1 Due**

*Post-Cold War I – Washington vs. Wilson when there is no enemy*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch6, 6.1, 6.2
- Ikenberry (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- none

## Week 2

### June 15

*Post-Cold War II – Hard Realities*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch7, 7.1, 7.2

Recommended Reading:

- none

### June 16

*9/11 and After – War Without End?*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch8, 8.1,8.3

Recommended Reading:

- none

### June 17 - Qset2 Due

*Today's Problems – Nuclear Proliferation and Non-traditional Security*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch9, 9.1, 9.2

Recommended Reading:

- none

### June 18

*Today's Problems – Turbulence and Humanitarian Intervention*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch10, 10.1 – 10.3
- Western (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- none

### June 19

*21<sup>st</sup> Century – What's next?*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch11, 11.1 – 11.3

Recommended Reading:

- none

## Week 3

### June 22 - Qset3 Due

*The Iraq War – Context and Framing*

Required Reading:

- Bensahel, et al. Ch 1 - 3
- Pillar (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- Jervis (pdf)

### **June 23**

*Who Owns a War?*

Required Reading:

- Bensahel, et al Ch 4 - 7

Recommended Reading:

- Woodward (pdf)

### **June 24**

*Who Owns Post-Conflict Nation Building?*

Required Reading:

- Bensahel et al. Ch 8 - 9

Recommended Reading:

- Dobbins (pdf)

### **June 25**

*Implementation and Follow-Through*

Required Reading:

- Bensahel et al. Ch 10-12

Recommended Reading:

- none

### **June 26 - Qset4 Due**

*Learning from the Iraq War*

Required Reading:

- Bensahel et al. Ch 13
- Mueller (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- none

<b>Week 4</b>
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### **June 29**

*The Future of Foreign Policy*

Required Reading:

- none

Recommended Reading:

- none

### **June 30 - Qset5 Due**

*Conclusion and Evaluations*

Required Reading:

- none

Recommended Reading:

- none

### **July 1**

Reading Day  
(no class)

**July 2 - Final Exam/Qset6 Due by 1pm**

# Course Content

## Week 1

### June 8

*All Politics is Global – International Sources of Foreign Policy*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch1,1.1 – 1.4
- Holsti 1 (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- Reisman (pdf)
- Hoffman (pdf)

### What is foreign policy?

- Foreign policy is a category of policy
- The collection of policies that a state undertakes in its relations with other states
- There are a great many “foreign policies”

### Foreign policy in international relations

- International relations describes the big picture
- Foreign policy describes the responses of a particular state
  
- In America there is a tension between IR and FP
  - IR scholars tend to be theoretically oriented
  - FP scholars focus more on practical policy
  - In practice this is an artificial division: each informs the other

### Context

- Assumptions about the world
  - Anarchy, sort of
    - No world government
    - The strong do as they will, the weak suffer what they must
    - States recognize limits on their power
  - An international system structure, sort of
    - Global governance architecture
    - Dense interdependence networks
  - A community of nation states, sort of
    - Nation states dominate the system
    - Other actors matter

### International pressures

- Globalization
  - We need it to improve our standards of living
  - It leaves us open to shocks from far away
- Turbulence
  - Complex interactions create ripple effects on all states
  - Change is a constant
- Complex interdependence

- Many factors influence our lives every day

### **The “national interest”**

- The concept that there is a clear desired outcome for the nation as a whole
  - Some areas it's easy
  - Some areas it doesn't exist
  - Most areas it's a matter for debate
- The concept of a national interest is at the core of policy-making
  - Deciding what the national interest is can be a problem
  - Domestic institutions are how we make the decision

### **Domestic diversity**

- The US is a large, diverse country
- There are many, competing interests
  - Regional
  - Sectoral
  - Identity-based
- The national interest is hard to find
  - Competing interests
- Complex interdependence makes this harder

### **Intermestic effects**

- Most policy is now “intermestic”
  - Part domestic policy, part international
- The foreign / domestic policy line is blurred by complex interdependence
  - Example: Nationalization of Chrysler and GM
    - US government seeks to preserve US jobs
    - US government nationalizes Chrysler and GM
    - Both companies have large foreign operations, requiring inter-governmental negotiations

### **American national interest**

- It is hard to see a universal “American” national interest in most areas of foreign policy
- Foreign policy creation is a political process
- We resolve the debates over foreign policy our domestic political process
- The American national interest is what the political process decides it is

### **Understanding foreign policy**

- Theoretical foundations matter
  - What you bring to the table matters
  - Theory matters most often as an unstated starting point
- America has its own traditions
  - Washingtonian
    - Commerce with all, but alliance with none
  - Wilsonian
    - Global cooperation and integration to make the world better
  - Populist
    - Protection through isolation

## **USA in the world today**

- The USA is the largest economy in the world
- The USA is the most powerful military power in the world
- The USA sits atop a complex set of international institutions as the dominant diplomatic actor
- But all this is fading

## **International relations and US FP**

- The US can set the agenda in some areas
- The world sets the agenda in most areas
- Foreign policy is most often reactive
- Policy actions have consequences
  - Often these are unintended
- Complexity happens

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## **June 9**

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Required Reading:

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Recommended Reading:

- Huntington (pdf)
- Smith (pdf)
- Nincic(pdf)

## **Political institutions**

- The US domestic institutions determine policy
  - Domestic policy
    - The primary concern when the institutions were designed
  - Foreign policy
    - Not a priority at the Constitutional Convention
    - Only a tiny handful of the most significant things were included

## **Constitutional vagueness**

- Most foreign policy powers draw from tradition, not the Constitution
- The Constitution gives only a handful of specific powers to the various branches of government
- This means that there is a constant struggle over foreign policy powers
  - The President wins more often than not

## **Congress**

- Power to declare war
- Grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal
- Senate must ratify treaties (2/3 vote)
- Approve appointment of ambassadors and officials nominated by president
- Power of the purse

## **President**

- Commander in Chief of armed forces
- Chief Executive
- Negotiate treaties pending Senate ratification
- Appoint ambassadors and officials pending Senate approval

## **Supreme Court**

- nothing

## **Vagueness in practice**

- Tradition dominates policy
- Tradition has contrary effects
  - “Politics stops at the water’s edge”
  - Congress as break on Presidential action
  - Supreme Court as final arbiter of all laws

## **So where does the power fall?**

- This changes over time
- President wins most often
- When Presidents fail, Congress responds
  - Presidential “overreach”
    - Vietnam
    - Treaty of Versailles
  - Presidential inaction
    - Spanish American War
    - Cold War arguments over support for repressive anti-communist regimes

## **Electoral calculus**

- All domestic politics is based on the need to win reelection
- The campaign for Congress and the White House never ceases
- This means ALL policy is determined by the need for political survival
- Policy priorities are set based on a calculation of how they fit into this calculus

## **Americans don’t care about foreign policy**

- Foreign policy is rarely a major electoral issue
- People don’t vote on foreign policy
  - Domestic policy dominates most elections
- Most Americans are ignorant of foreign policy issues
- Most Americans are so by choice

## **Types of foreign policy**

- Symbolic policies
  - High symbolic power
  - Varying degrees of substantive impact
  - Example: Gitmo prisoners, US relations with “Muslim World”
- Geostrategic policies
  - War and peace

- Traditional great power politics
- Major policy impact
- Example: NATO Expansion, Afghan and Iraq Wars
- “Nuts and bolts” policies
  - The day to day activities of foreign policy
  - Example: qualifications requirements for student visa applications
- Idiosyncratic policies
  - High value to important groups needed for political survival
  - Wide range of impacts on average Americans
  - Examples: US-Israel policy, Cuba Embargo, Armenian Genocide Resolutions, Sugar Tariffs, ad infinitum, ad nauseum

### **Why does this matter?**

- Foreign policy is a low priority most of the time
- The type of policy determines who cares about it most – and who makes most of the decisions
- Foreign policy is most often made outside of the public attention

### **Who makes policy?**

- Symbolic policy
  - Most often the President, Congress has influence
- Geostrategic policy
  - President influences direction
  - Most policy is made by professional bureaucrats
- Nuts and Bolts policy
  - Bureaucracy
- Idiosyncratic policy
  - Congress and the President
  - Bureaucracy

### **How to understand this system**

- Lots of “short-hand” ways of understanding the process
- Three sample frameworks for understanding:
  - Pluralist
  - Elitist
  - Military Industrial Complex

### **Pluralism**

- American foreign policy results from the interaction of competing interests
- Lobbying groups, NGO's, bureaucratic agencies, elected officials, etc. all push their own positions
- Interest groups run policy
- Elected officials don't care about the average citizen, only those who contribute
- Interest groups dominate by holding the ear of those in power
- The result of this mix is foreign policy

### **Elitist**

- A tiny elite runs foreign policy

- Those with the money and connections determine foreign policy
- Ivy League intellectuals and narrow group of lawyers dominate
- Policy is framed within the narrow window of the elite world view

### **Military Industrial Complex**

- Stems from a warning by Eisenhower not to let the military industrial lobby gain too much influence
- The military and the industries that support it run foreign policy
- War is good for business
- War expands government power, giving those with access opportunity for profits

### **What does this all mean?**

- Foreign policy is political
- This means there is no ideal policy that all can agree upon
- The political institutions determine what policy will be selected
- Major changes are rare
- Usually follow shock events
- Examples: end of Cold War, 9/11, WWII, etc.

## **June 10**

*Historical Context of American Foreign Policy – Washington’s Legacy (1789 – 1945)*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch3, 3.1,3.2
- Nelson(pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- Lindsay (pdf)

### **Splendid isolation**

- America was geographically isolated from the great power game in Europe
- North American concerns dominated in the US
- In the early years, the continent was still poorly understood: we didn't really know its details or extent
- In spite of this, there is a drive to expand the size of the US

### **The Louisiana Purchase (1803)**

Strategic factors:

- Secure New Orleans and its access to the sea for Mississippi River Valley trade
- Secure land and market access for the expansion of “yeoman farmers”

Doubles the size of the USA

We wanted to buy New Orleans, but we got the whole territory for about \$23 million

The key turning point in US history:

### **The Mexican American War (1846-48)**

This is a key moment in many ways:

- It ends the debate over US “exceptionalism” in great power politics
- It eliminates the only continental competitor state in North America
- It gives the US control over key natural resources that will fuel growth and industrialization

The end of US exceptionalism:

- There was a serious debate over whether the US should act differently from other powers
- The idea was that the US had a higher moral purpose and should not act like a traditional great power
- It was one thing to buy unwanted territory from a state looking to unload it (Louisiana Purchase) but should the US engage in wars of conquest?
- The Mexican-American War answers this question – the US will fight wars of conquest, but we will feel guilty about it and try to couch our conquests in a cloak of false voluntarism
- The US provokes the war by sending soldiers into disputed territory
- The US seizes half of Mexico, but pays \$15 million for it

### **The Frontier**

After the Mexican American War the focus of the US is on consolidation of the frontier

Civil War

- Ends debate over slavery
- Ends debate over industrialization and government role in promotion of industry
- Consolidates power in hands of federal government

Indian Wars

- Basically wars to crush any Native American resistance to white expansion into their lands
- Included a major effort to destroy Native American culture and ways of life (seen as backward)
- Varied in intensity and cruelty (by both sides) over time, but basically turns into a war of extermination by the US government against the Native American peoples by the end of the 1800's

Once the frontier is integrated into the country, the US begins to look abroad for places to expand

### **The Spanish-American War (1898)**

- Brings the US into the colonial game
- US crushes Spain in war of colonial conquest
- Most of the world is already taken by other great powers
- Is the moment when the US enters great power game in earnest

### **The eve of WWI**

- US is most powerful country in the world
- This is not clear at the time
- The US appears to be one of the weaker great powers
- The major powers are looking for a fight
- The US wants no part of a great power war in 1913

### **WWI**

- WWI destroys the pre-war world order
  - Economically
  - Militarily
  - Socially
  - Culturally

- The US joins the war late and suffers relatively little
  - US casualties 247,000
  - French casualties 5,600,000

### **The Treaty of Versailles**

- The Treaty of Versailles is the formal end of WWI
  - It is negotiated by the victorious powers and then handed to Germany to sign
- The negotiations show a stark division between views of politics
  - France: revenge against Germany
  - UK: preserve the Empire
  - US: make the world safe for democracy
- It is one of the great tragedies of diplomatic history

### **Wilsonianism**

- Woodrow Wilson is US President
- His vision: The 14 Points
- A vision of cooperation in global politics
- The idea was to create a world in which major power war would never happen again
- He wanted to create a liberal world order based on democracy and cooperation
- This will become a major theme in US politics

### **Wilson's Tragedy**

- Wilson fails miserably
- He is outmaneuvered by the other victors in the negotiations
- He ignores US domestic politics and snubs the Senate
- In the end, Wilson got only the League of Nations in the Treaty
- The US Senate refused to ratify the Treaty because of the League

### **The Great Depression**

- Economic shock led states to look inward
- US kicks off protectionism with Smooth Hawley Tariff Act
- Begins trade war that crushed the global economy
- Lack of coordination in time of crisis made a bad moment worse

### **The road to WWII**

- War begins in Asia in 1937
- War begins in Europe in 1939
- FDR wants to go to war, but cannot
  - US population remains isolationist
- FDR begins preparations for the US to join the war
  - Re-armament
  - Massive expansion of war materials production

### **The Quasi-War**

- The US and Germany are fighting in 1941 in the Atlantic
- FDR orders US Navy to attack German U-Boats under limited conditions

- FDR and Churchill sign the Atlantic Charter – a statement of joint war aims in August 1941
- This is a controversial period in US policy

## WWII

- We enter the war in December 1941
- Total War comes to the US in its full form
- By the end of 1943 it is clear that victory is just a matter of time
- The US begins planning for “after the war”

## Aftermath of WWII

- The US is dominant as no other nation has ever been in 1945
- This creates a window of opportunity to reorder the world
- FDR is determined to do exactly this
  - FDR will fulfill Wilson’s vision
  - FDR will add his own innovations

## Postwar Order

- Writes the Wilsonian vision onto the world
  - Collective Security: United Nations
  - Global economic cooperation: Bretton Woods
    - World Bank
    - International Monetary Fund
  - Global Trade Cooperation
    - International Trade Organization (never comes into effect)
    - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (replaces ITO)

The world should have been very peaceful. And it was, for about two years.

## June 11

*The Cold War – Wilson’s Legacy*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch4,5, 4.1 – 5.4

Recommended Reading:

- Holsti 2 (pdf)
- Leffler (pdf)

## Why did the Cold War happen?

This is a widely argued question

In a sense, we don’t really know

Lots of interpretations work

The people who started it are mostly dead

In a sense, it is really simple

The two sides wanted different things

The two sides misunderstood each other

## **Power politics**

- The USSR wanted a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe
- The USSR saw the world through the lens of power politics
  - Zero sum game
  - What you say doesn't matter: what you do does

## **Parallax**

- The same thing can appear different depending on your point of view
- The US saw the creation of its global governance architecture as a universal good
- The USSR saw it as the creation of a global sphere of influence
- Each side saw their own actions as defensive
- Each side saw the others' actions as offensive

## **Idiosyncracies**

- FDR hated Truman – so he kept him in the dark
- Truman thought that the deals with Stalin were just that: deals to be kept
- FDR had privately assured Stalin that they could “do business”
- This meant that Truman and Stalin both, rightly, saw the other as being untrustworthy

## **Fighting the Cold War**

### **NSC-68 and Containment**

- NSC-68 outlines US strategy for the Cold War
  - The Cold War is a Manichean struggle
  - The USSR is pure evil and must be destroyed
- Containment becomes the core of US strategy
  - Bottle up the USSR and wait for it to rot
  - Originally this referred to the core strategic areas of the world
  - It will be expanded to cover everyplace on earth by 1960

### **MAD and the Balance of Terror**

- MAD = Mutually Assured Destruction
  - Both sides have so many weapons that a first strike cannot destroy them all
  - Enough will survive to destroy the world even after a first strike
  - Basically, if we fight, everybody loses
- Balance of terror refers to this state of affairs

### **War by proxy**

- Both sides fight “brushfire” wars across the world
- Small conflicts paid for by superpower cash
- These conflicts simmer in many parts of the former colonial world
- These often include support for repressive regimes in the name of democracy by the US

## **The Cuban Missile Crisis**

- Closest the world ever came to ending
- Khrushchev thought JFK was weak
  - Gambled that US would not find the missiles in Cuba before they were operational
  - Thought JFK would not fight to remove them
- The US finds the missiles early
- A massive confrontation ensues
- The US and USSR nearly go to war

## Détente

- Cuban Missile Crisis scares people
- An effort begins to reduce tensions
- Détente is the result
  - A reduction in tensions through diplomacy
  - Arms control agreements
  - A cooling of superpower conflict
- This is a lull in the Cold War from the late 1960's until the late 1970's

## Renewed tensions

- The USSR thought the US was weak under Carter
  - The USSR invaded Afghanistan and upped its rhetoric
- This re-heated the Cold War
  - Carter begins a defense buildup in 1979 in response to this renewed aggression
  - Reagan will continue the buildup and increases US rhetoric to match
  - Reagan increases pressure on USSR

## Glasnost and Perestroika

- The USSR is buckling under the pressure of superpower conflict
- The mid 1980's saw reduced superpower conflict as the USSR sought internal reform
- This ends with the eventually dissolution of the Soviet Empire and the end of the Cold War
- The Cold War ends with a whimper – and no one knows what to do about it

During the Cold War, security concerns were paramount  
Even economic necessity was subsumed within the security contest

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## June 12 - Qset1 Due

*Post-Cold War I – Washington vs. Wilson when there is no enemy*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch6, 6.1, 6.2
- Ikenberry (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- none

## Cold War ends

- The Cold War is generally described as ending in 1989
- The collapse of the Berlin wall and the end of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe - Fall 1989

## What do we do now?

- The end of the Cold War creates the need for a rethinking of American Foreign Policy
- Containment had been the primary model of foreign policy since the late 1940's
- The Cold War had provided a unifying theme for American Foreign Policy
- The end of the Cold War leaves a vacuum in American Foreign Policy ideas

### **Three basic responses emerge**

- The End of History – Francis Fukuyama
- The Clash of Civilizations – Samuel Huntington
- Nothing has changed – John Mearsheimer

### **End of History**

- Francis Fukuyama - borrows the Hegelian idea of the dialectical process moving towards a "telos" or endpoint for history
- The end of the Cold War is the final victory of capitalist democracy as the final form of human governance
- Fukuyama originally published his work in the summer of 1989 - nice timing
- The idea is that the fundamental argument over human organization is over

### **Clash of Civilizations**

- International relations will be dominated by competing models of "civilization"
- Samuel Huntington argues that the world is potentially in for an enormous conflict
- The western democratic capitalist model will compete with other models (especially the model of radical Islam)
- At its heart, this is a clash of incompatible cultures

### **Nothing Has Changed**

- All that happened is that one superpower declined into a great power
- We live in a multi-polar world now instead of a bipolar world, but the rules have not changed
- Kenneth Waltz argues that the basic rules of the international system are the same
- Self-help, anarchy, and competition still structure international relations

### **Who's right**

- None of them
- All of them
- The security system has changed completely
- The economic system has changed little
- The global governance architecture of the West now dominates the whole world

### **No chance for a new order**

- The US is much weaker than in 1945
- No state is strong enough to create a new order for after the Cold War
- With no new initiatives, the old institutions keep working
- The West wins, so the East joins the West's organizations

### **International security**

- The Cold War meant that almost any conflict, in any place, could involve the superpowers
- All major power security concerns were framed as US block vs. Soviet Block
- Even small wars could escalate to WWII
- The superpowers engaged in lots of proxy wars
- Without this pressure, small wars can rage uncontrollably

### **International economics**

- The former Soviet states and the former Soviet satellites join the western economic organizations
- The international economic bodies (IMF, IBRD, GATT/WTO) continue to exert control over the system
- The basic structure of the international economy is unchanged
- The liberal capitalist model with Keynesian management becomes the single organizational principle for the world economy
- In economic matters, there is no shift in patterns of relations
- The only change is that new states join the system

<b>Week 2</b>
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### **June 15**

#### *Post-Cold War II – Hard Realities*

##### Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch7, 7.1, 7.2

##### Recommended Reading:

- none

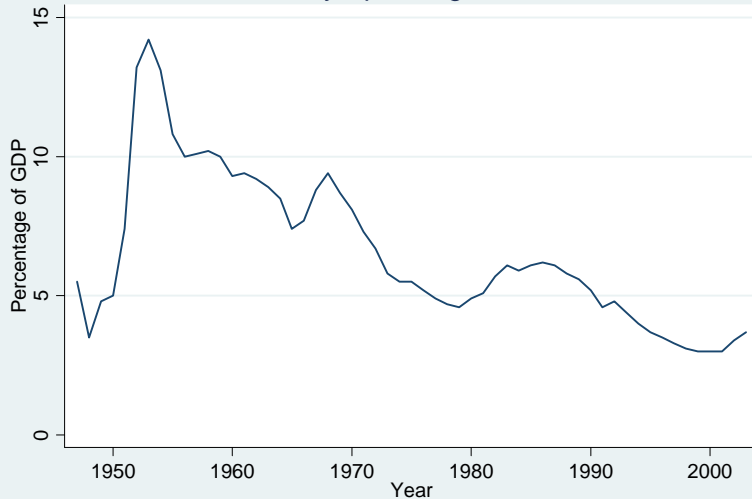
#### US Security Policy after the Cold War

- 1990's see a major debate over security
- 1991 Gulf War is a mixed signal
  - There are traditional security threats
  - Quick response in this case deterred similar action
- Most policy is reactive
  - Former Yugoslavia
  - Somalia
  - Rwanda
- Terrorism is in the mix, but seen as an annoyance

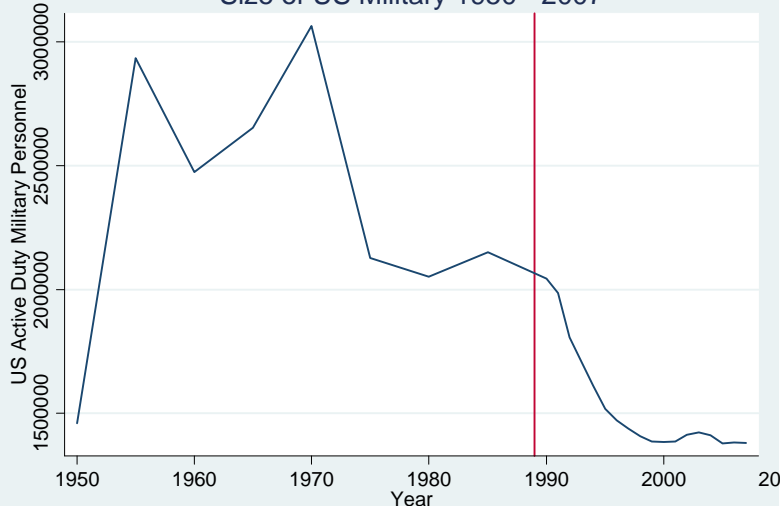
#### Geostrategic Changes

- US is preeminent military power
- But the margin is smallest in postwar period
- Perception of US power outweighs its reality
  - “Peace Dividend” shrinks military significantly
- Major power war is on the back burner
  - No one is sure for how long
- US power is large relative to others, but weak by historical standards

US Military Spending 1946 - 2003



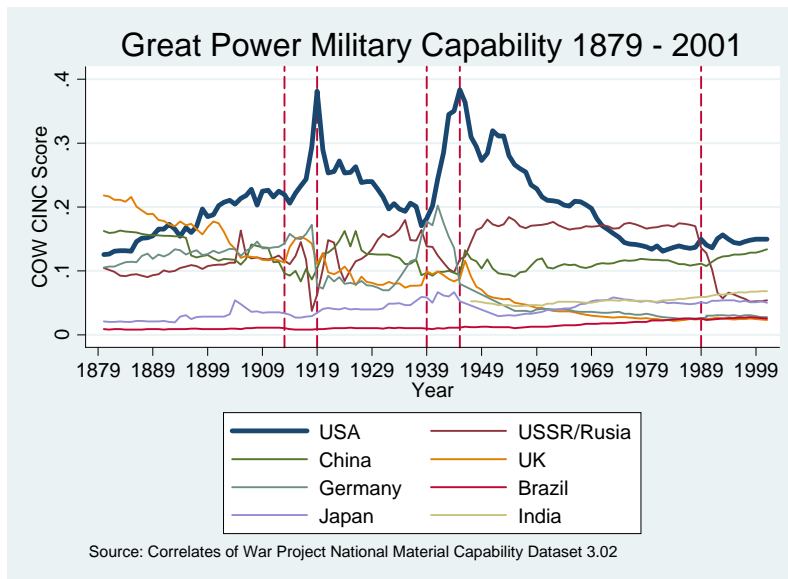
Size of US Military 1950 - 2007



Why does this matter?

- Total US Army and Marine Corps (2007) = 699,000 troops
- Minimum required for successful nation building:
  - Iraq = 366,875
  - Afghanistan = 425,598
  - Total = 792,473
- We are short-handed compared to our commitments

(note: the troop numbers required for nation-building used above are calculated using the formula provided in Dobbins, James, et al. *The Beginners Guide to Nation Building* available from the RAND Corp. The ratio for a successful nation building effort in a difficult post-conflict situation is 13 troops per 1,000 persons. Population data for Iraq and Afghanistan came from the CIA World Factbook.)



### Post-Cold War Geostrategic environment

- US faces painful choices regarding the future
  - Great power struggle is different
  - But will it stay that way?
  - How do we adapt to our relative weakness?
- This debate was going on before 9/11
- This debate is still here

### June 16

#### *9/11 and After – War Without End?*

#### Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch8, 8.1,8.3

#### Recommended Reading:

- none

### America on 9/10

- No one had heard of Al Qaeda
- Terrorism was something that happened “over there”
- Terrorism was a law enforcement issue that required only occasional military action
- The biggest worry was recovery from the .com crash
- George W. Bush was working on an almost purely domestic policy agenda

### 9/11 Was a surprise

- No one was ready for something like this
- Planners had predicted it as early as the 1970’s
- It was a “high impact, low probability” event
  - Something with a serious effect on the country
  - But it will probably never happen
- No one was prepared

## Cold, hard numbers

- 9/11 did not matter that much in a material sense
- Relative numbers
  - 2800 people were killed
  - .00093% of the US population
- In both absolute numbers and in percentage terms 9/11 was a big attack, but it was a single attack
- The attacks did nothing to harm the US capacity for defense

## Symbolic power

- The material impact doesn't matter
- The 9/11 attacks had immense symbolic power
- The US was enraged
- A tectonic shift in policy took place
  - Detention without trial of US citizens (Jose Padilla)
  - Searches of any and all communications by any person in the US (warrant-less wire-taps, Echelon system, etc.)
  - Major increase in overseas military action
  - Shift in the role of security in American politics

## Focus on a new threat

- Al Qaeda is a non-state actor
- No geographic location
- Uses globalization against the West
- An intermestic threat
  
- There is no real model for this
- No plan on the shelf covers this
- Policy must be made fast, answers will come later

## Need to act

- Patriot Act – signed into law October 26
  - 45 days after the attacks (342 pages long)
  - Revised or repealed 11 other Acts of Congress
- Invasion of Afghanistan – October 7
  - 26 days after the attacks
  
- The time pressure prevented a major rethink of prior policies
- Political reality meant evaluation on the fly

## Why act fast?

- Political reality
- Americans want things done
  - Elected officials need to be seen responding to the crisis
  - 24-hour news cycle reinforces this with speculation about what will be done
- Politics means reaction will come before anyone is done analyzing what happened
- This pressure exists regardless of who is in office

## The War on Terror

- 9/11 led to a war on terrorism
- Terrorism is a tactic, not a group
  - The overall policy goal is simple: eliminate terrorism
  - Success is nearly impossible
- The War on Terror is a return to the Cold War logic
  - Any terrorist anywhere is a threat to the US
  - The “global terror network” is a monolithic evil that must be fought absolutely everywhere
- Any and all policy is justified in these terms

## Unintended consequences

- Guantanamo Bay
  - What to do with captives?
  - Laws of war don't cover armed NGO's
- Loss of moral high ground
  - Perception = reality
  - World opinion turned against a “unilateral” approach
  - Cooperation has been limited
- Things are even more complex

## Geostrategic concerns

- Global balance of power did not change
- US did not expand the size of the military
  - 2000 = 1,384,338
  - 2007 = 1,380,082
- The US workload increased significantly
- Other states disagree on threat from non-state actors

## Too early to tell

- 9/11 was only eight years ago
- We do not know the long-term policy impact
  - Courts are still fighting domestic and international legal questions
  - Nation-building efforts are ongoing
  - The US is only just making the underlying policy decisions about the longer term
    - Military force structure
    - Future of nation-building
    - Etc.

## June 17 - Qset2 Due

*Today's Problems – Nuclear Proliferation and Non-traditional Security*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch9, 9.1, 9.2

Recommended Reading:

- none

### A broader definition of security

- Traditionally security meant national defense
  - Deter enemies is possible
  - Defeat them if you can't deter them
- We are seeing an expansion of what "security" includes
  - Human security
  - Responsibility to Protect
  - Nation-building
  - Economic development
  - Environmental concerns

### Human security – Moral version

- We have an obligation to protect those who cannot protect themselves
  - Humanitarian intervention in cases of crimes against humanity
  - Nation-building in failed states to restore order
- These are things that are our duty as part of the global community
- The US has the capacity to do these things well, so we should

### Human security – Self-interest version

- Tormented and unhappy people like to blame others for what's happened
- The US makes a great scapegoat
  - Sometimes we are actually responsible
  - Sometimes we are a symbol of the West, colonialism, or whatever else gets blamed
  - We reinforce this by arguing about how essential we are
- Policing the world reduces these problems and makes us safer

### The Responsibility To Protect

- A doctrine that states owe a duty to protect those suffering crimes against humanity
- States with the capacity to intervene have a "responsibility" to do so
- Humanitarian intervention on a large scale
- Goal is to eliminate crimes against humanity

### Nation-building

- Failed states need to be rebuilt from scratch
- "Stressed" states are on the brink of joining them
- These places are breeding grounds of bad things
  - Criminal organizations
  - Terrorist groups
  - Humanitarian crises
- Effective nation-building will reduce these problems

### Economic development

- Poverty is a bad thing
  - Poor people make easy recruits for the bad guys
  - Poor people can't buy the things we make
  - Poor people don't like being poor
  - Poverty leads to instability

- Poverty is a security threat
  - More poverty = more instability = more threats
  - Breeding ground for dissatisfaction

#### Environmental concerns

- Climate change is going to create dislocations
- These add to instability
- Poor societies will be the least able to cope
- This will lead to more problems
- Potential for mass chaos in some states
- Stressed states may collapse

#### What does this all mean?

- Security is complicated
- Traditional security is still around, but not on the front burner
- Focus has shifted to War on Terror, but will it stay there?
- Where do these other concerns fit?
  
- We are working on this as we speak

#### Problem of today's security

- If you bet wrong, people die
- There is no clear answer to the questions we face
- Policy-makers have to make policy anyway

### June 18

#### *Today's Problems – Turbulence and Humanitarian Intervention*

##### Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch10, 10.1 – 10.3
- Western (pdf)

##### Recommended Reading:

- none

#### The US faces intermestic problems

- We need international cooperation to deal with these
- To solve global problems we need global governance
- Global governance is very, very hard

#### The climate change example

- In 2009 all the leaders of the world agree that climate change is a big deal
  - The climate is changing
  - Humans are responsible
  - Massive effort is needed to do something
  - And those guys over there should pay for it
  - Whatever “it” is

#### A quick note

- It doesn't matter if climate change is real
- It doesn't matter if people are causing it
- It doesn't matter if there is anything we can do about it in reality
- Political leaders are going to do something about it
- The reality is not important, because the political argument is over

The problem: competing interests

- US, EU countries, Japan are all rich and got that way by burning everything they could find
- Poor countries want to develop
  - The cheap technologies to do this are dirty
  - The clean technologies are expensive
  - Poor countries won't stay poor to make the developed states feel good about being green
- There is fundamental problem:
  - The desires of the parties are not reconcilable

Can this be solved?

We'll find out in Copenhagen later this year

And when the treaty hits the US Senate

America's problem

- A classic cooperation game:
  - If we go green, we pay lots of costs
  - If others also go green, the playing field stays even
  - If others don't go green, then they have an advantage
  - But if we all go green, we are all better off
- The tricky part is finding a plan that all agree on... and enforcing it

The international problems

- No enforcement and the Treaty is just a pretty piece of paper
- To get enforcement all states have to agree to comply AND to enforce compliance on others
- Conflicting interests mean there is little common ground
- We need a plan and a means to enforce it, but neither is likely

Domestic problems

- Green politics means the government telling us what we can and can't do
  - To make it work, we all have to participate
  - Americans tend to resist this
- Green politics means global governance
  - Americans tend to resist being told what to do by foreigners
- There will be strong resistance to any Treaty
  - The Senate needs 67 votes to ratify the treaty

Can this be solved?

- Maybe

Climate change is only one example

- Economic development policy

- World Bank lending
- IMF conditionality programs
- Doha Trade talks
  - Agricultural subsidies
- Law of the Sea
  - Access to natural resources
- International Criminal Court
  - Dealing with international human rights violators
- Etc.

## June 19

*21<sup>st</sup> Century – What's next?*

Required Reading:

- Jentleson Ch11, 11.1 – 11.3

Recommended Reading:

- none

<b>Week 3</b>
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## June 22 - Qset3 Due

*The Iraq War – Context and Framing*

Required Reading:

- Bensahel, et al. Ch 1 - 3
- Pillar (pdf)

Recommended Reading:

- Jervis (pdf)

The Second Gulf War

- This is a controversial war
- It became a powerful political symbol
  - This clouds the reality of it
  - This makes it harder to evaluate its impact
  - This makes it harder to draw lessons

Context of War

- Post 9/11
  - Terrorists around every corner
  - Need for decisive action for domestic political reasons
- Intelligence estimates
  - Knowledge was limited
  - The new strategic framework increased Iraq's importance
  - A lack of sources created problems
- Election in 2004

Iraq context

- Iraq had launched aggressive war against Iran
- Iraq had launched aggressive war against Kuwait

- Iraq had significant contacts with Palestinian terrorist organizations
- Iraq used chemical weapons against Iran and its dissident Kurdish population
- Iraq was under crushing sanctions due to failure to comply with 1991 cease-fire
- Iraq had thoroughly corrupted the UN sanctions system

#### Intelligence and warfare

- Intelligence is what you know about your enemy or potential enemy
- Intelligence is never perfect
  - People make mistakes
  - Sources lie
- Intelligence is open to interpretation
  - There is no objective intelligence
- The intelligence community is a bureaucracy
  - The usual bureaucratic incentives are there

#### Intelligence and Iraq

- The intelligence services of the US and all of its NATO allies agreed on the WMD question
- Russia and China also agreed on the WMD question
- They were all wrong

#### What went wrong?

- Sources: Exiles and defectors
  - Strong incentive to exaggerate claims
- Rational actor assumptions
  - Saddam would not fight so hard to limit inspections without a program to hide
- Past precedent
  - Pre-1991 intelligence had all been wrong: it underestimated the extent of Iraq's program

#### Politics has 20/20 hindsight

The war has become a tool of politics

Senator Ted Kennedy:

- 2002: "We have known for many years that Saddam Hussein is seeking and developing weapons of mass destruction." \*
- 2004: Iraq war was a "war of choice", a "fraud cooked up in Texas" based on the "abuse of intelligence" and "the election cannot come too soon." \*\*

\* (Remarks At The Johns Hopkins School Of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C., 9/27/02)

\*\* (quoted at CNN All Politics <http://www.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/01/14/kennedy.iraq/>)

#### What can we learn from this?

- Intelligence is about probability, not certainty
- Past actions have costs
  - Reductions in intelligence services post-Cold War means fewer assets in Iraq
  - Lack of support for 1991 uprising meant it was hard to "do business"
- Political leaders have short memories
  - Electoral politics will warp how events are seen very quickly
- Making these sorts of decisions is hard

## June 23

*Who Owns a War?*

Required Reading:

- Bensahel, et al Ch 4 - 7

Recommended Reading:

- Woodward (pdf)

Planning

- We plan for everything
- War plans exist for hundreds of scenarios
- These plans are updated periodically
- More attention is paid to likely crisis points
  - Iraq
  - North Korea
  - Iran
  - Caucasus
  - Etc.

Person and office: Donald Rumsfeld

- Secretary of Defense is the top civilian in the Defense Department
- Rumsfeld was chosen as an institutional reformer
- His job was to change the Pentagon bureaucracy
  - System had not changed when Cold War ended
  - System was designed for a military twice the size of the actual military
- Rumsfeld was picked for his skills as a bureaucratic reformer
- This was his first priority on 9/10

Rumsfeld's transformation

- Planning was part of the transformation
- Old war plans were pulled and re-evaluated
- Rumsfeld started with a drive to shift the assumptions in these war plans
  - All major war plans went first
  - This included Iraq
  - This also included several others
  - Over time, the plan was to do this for all contingency plans
- All of this is before 9/11

9/11 and job descriptions

- Role of Secretary of Defense changed radically
  - Institutional reform is out
  - War on Terror is in
- This is a major shift in policy focus, but no shift in the person in the job

Afghanistan and interagency competition

- The CIA wins the (bureaucratic) war in Afghanistan
- Defense cannot react quickly enough
- Rumsfeld is determined not to lose in the next conflict

- Defense will take the lead in the next major priority: Iraq

#### Pre-war planning

- Bensahel discusses this in detail as regards the process
- Assumptions matter
  - But assumptions are dangerous
  - Especially when you don't really think about them

#### June 24

##### *Who Owns Post-Conflict Nation Building?*

##### Required Reading:

- Bensahel et al. Ch 8 - 9

##### Recommended Reading:

- none

#### The concept of policy ownership

- Ownership is the concept of responsibility
  - Who will get credit for success or failure?
  - Who does the planning?
  - Where does the buck stop?
- This is important in bureaucratic politics
  - Ownership means you are responsible for the outcome

#### Ownership of warfighting

- Defense owns warfighting
  - Afghanistan was an aberration
  - Iraq was the norm
- Defense fights wars
- Major combat operations went very well
  - The US swept aside resistance and seized a country the size of California in a matter of a few weeks
- Now what?

#### Ownership of post-conflict reconstruction

- Defense does not own nation-building
- Who does?
  - No one owns nation-building
  - No agency exists to do this
  - No clear chain exists for planning responsibility
- Nation-building has no owner

#### Consequences of ownership

- If you own a policy, you are responsible for its success or failure
- If no one owns a policy, no one is responsible
  - Bureaucracy has its own logic
  - Responsibility is part of that logic, so is ownership
- The result in the case of Iraq is that no one was considered responsible for the "Phase IV" side of the policy

## Institutional competition

- When a policy is not owned, but it succeeds
  - Everyone wants a piece of the credit
- When a policy is not owned, and fails
  - No one wants to be associated with it
- Fingers point all around the table
- Budgets and reputations are at stake
- All this makes policy analysis harder

## June 25

### *Implementation and Follow-Through*

#### Required Reading:

- Bensahel et al. Ch 10-12

#### Recommended Reading:

- none

## June 26 - Qset4 Due

### *Learning from the Iraq War*

#### Required Reading:

- Bensahel et al. Ch 13
- Mueller (pdf)

#### Recommended Reading:

- none

<b>Week 4</b>
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## June 29

### *The Future of Foreign Policy*

#### Required Reading:

- none

#### Recommended Reading:

- none

## June 30 - Qset5 Due

### *Conclusion and Evaluations*

#### Required Reading:

- none

#### Recommended Reading:

- none

**July 1**  
Reading Day  
(no class)

**July 2 - Final Exam/Qset6 Due by 1pm**