Contemporary American Foreign Policy Influences Challenges and Opportunities 1st edition Mansbach Solutions Manual

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Contemporary American Foreign Policy Influences Challenges and Opportunities 1st edition Mansbach Solutions Manual

Chapter 2: Competing Currents in U.S. Foreign Policy
Instructor Manual

Answers to In-Text Questions

End-of-Chapter Discussion Questions

1. To what extent should the United States try to spread its values globally? Do you think that exclusive concern with interests would be beneficial or harmful to America? Illustrate with a case.

   Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter. The answer should demonstrate an understanding the the need to balance interests and values.

2. Should the United States remain deeply engaged in regional and global issues, or should it disengage itself from some of these? What issues do you believe are vital to the United States?

   Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter.

3. Should the United States increasingly act multilaterally or unilaterally? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

   Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter. The answer should demonstrate an understanding of the conceptual distinctions between multilateralism and unilateralism and the real-world complexities of both policy orientations.

4. Is isolationism a feasible alternative for the United States? What possible arguments could be made for isolationism before World Wars I and II or today?

   Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter. Possible arguments for isolation include avoiding great power conflict and war, terrorism, or global economic contagion. Arguments against isolationism may explain the difficulty of isolation in an era of globalization and interdependence.

5. In what ways did the orientation of President Obama's foreign policy differ from those of President Bill Clinton and President George W. Bush?

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Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter. It should demonstrate an awareness of the elements of unilateralism/multilateralism, isolationism/internationalism, and interventionism/noninterventionism in each administration.

6. Would you be a foreign-policy shaper or retrencher? Explain.

   Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter. The answer should demonstrate an understanding of shapers, who seek to be more engaged in global politics, and retrenchers, who seek to limit America's involvement in global affairs.

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Chapter 2: Competing Currents in U.S. Foreign Policy
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Learning Objectives

2-1 To understand the competing role of "values" and "interests" in U.S. foreign policy.

2-2 To identify and explain recurrent and competing orientations in U.S. foreign policy: isolationism and internationalism, unilateralism and multilateralism, and interventionism and non-interventionism.

2-3 To explain and offer examples of the historical evolution of recurrent and competing orientations in U.S. foreign policy.

2-4 To recognize the impact of events since 9/11 on the balance between multilateralism and unilateralism in U.S. foreign policy.

Chapter Summary

This chapter continues the discussion of influences begun in chapter 1, focusing on how they have produced competing orientations in American foreign policy. The conventional narrative that describes the United States as isolationist until World War II and multilateral for the postwar era is incomplete. U.S. foreign policy has always exhibited elements of competing currents: isolationism and internationalism, unilateralism and multilateralism, and interventionism and noninterventionism. Chapter 2 examines how these shifts are simultaneously the outcome of considerations of interests and values. *Key terms include: engagement, grand strategy, internationalism, interventionism, isolationism, multilateralism, noninterventionism, unilateralism.*

Annotated Chapter Outline

I. Introduction

II. Competing Currents

- **A.** U.S. leaders have always been concerned about America's place in the world and therefore by foreign policy.
- **B.** Through much of American history, leaders have been guided by a reasonably consistent and coherent view of their interest in foreign affairs.
  - **i.** This coherent view is known as a *grand strategy*: "the capacity of the nation's leaders to bring together all the elements, both military and nonmilitary, for the preservation and enhancement of the nation's long-term" interests however defined (Paul Kennedy, 1992).
  - **ii.** It is the logic driving the choice of foreign policy tools.

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C. Interests and Values
- **i.** Foreign policy decisions are simultaneously the product of considerations of interests and values.
  - **a.** Interests involve concerns about security, power, and expediency and are emphasized by "realists."
  - **b.** Values involve the maintenance and spread of American norms and are emphasized by "liberals." Examples include:
    a. Economic liberalism.
    b. Human rights and democracy.
    c. Rule of law.
    d. Individualism.
- **ii.** U.S. leaders are always balancing interests and values in formulating foreign policy.

D. Isolationism and Internationalism.
- **i.** The interplay of interests and values leads to a choice between isolationism and internationalism.
  - **a.** Isolationism involves restraint to maximize freedom of action and is associated with "disengagement" from world affairs.
    a. It relies on American power to maximize freedom of action.
    b. Today's "neo-isolationists" seek to avoid overextending U.S. commitments.
  - **b.** Internationalism entails engagement in world Affairs. It can be used to describe any involvement overseas, but a more robust understanding stresses engagement to promote cooperation through international law and institutions.
- **ii.** Isolationism and internationalism have a "symbiotic" relationship in that these competing currents often exist simultaneously.

E. Unilateralism and Multilateralism.
- **i.** The interplay of interests and values also leads to a choice between unilateralism and multilateralism.
  - **a.** Unilateralism entails acting alone.
  - **b.** Multilateralism has multiple meanings that include policy coordination among three or more states or coordinated action that transcends national interests.
- **ii.** There are many possible gradations and complex combinations of the two currents in U.S. foreign policy.

F. Interventionism vs. Noninterventionism.
- **i.** Another enduring debate is that between intervention and nonintervention.

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a. Intervention often takes the form of military, economic, or diplomatic interference. It may be self-interested or altruistic.

b. Nonintervention describes efforts to avoid unsolicited interference.

ii. U.S. leaders have a broad view of when intervention is acceptable and always retain the right to intervene elsewhere when vital interests are at stake.

III. The Past: Competing Currents in Historical Perspective.

A. Isolationism or Unilateralism: The Foreign Policy of a Young Nation.

i. There exists an enduring tension between isolationism and internationalism that asks how to remain free of foreign entanglements while securing necessary foreign support.

ii. Key events in this era include the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the Monroe Doctrine (1823).

B. Interventionism: America Expands, 1823–1914.

i. During this era, isolationist sentiment remained strong in America. Leaders continued to avoid war with European powers and expand trade and interventionism in the Western Hemisphere.

ii. Manifest Destiny (1842–1848) reflected competing isolationist, internationalist, and interventionist tendencies.

a. Both interests and values were at play, as seen in U.S. efforts to manage population pressures and the threat of European expansion, and to pursue the nationalist ideal that America was divinely destined to expand.

b. Manifest Destiny was central to the onset of the Mexican-American War (1846–1848).

iii. Interventionism and the Roosevelt Corollary.

a. In 1904 Theodore Roosevelt extended the Monroe Doctrine, claiming a right to intervene in unstable countries in the Americas.

b. Roosevelt was also a strong internationalist who used international institutions to help settle international disputes.

C. A Global Leader Emerges, 1914–1945.

i. Tensions among isolationism, unilateralism, and interventionism continued in the early 20th century.

ii. World War I and Wilsonian Diplomacy (1914–1920)

a. The United States attempted to remain uninvolved in World War I, but large U.S. loans to Britain and France undermined its neutrality.

b. Americans debated how to promote U.S. interests and values in this era.

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a. Conservative internationalists sought a new international order based on law and institutions whereas progressive internationalists advocated for domestics social and economic reform. Isolationists sought to remain uninvolved in the Great War to protect U.S. interests.
b. Woodrow Wilson was a liberal interventionist with idealistic, internationalist objectives at the conclusion of World War I. His efforts were thwarted by British and French leaders and by the domestic political battle over the Versailles Treaty.

c. In the 1930s, public opinion fueled isolationist policies including the Neutrality Acts (1930s).
d. America abandoned neutrality in 1941 with the passage of the Lend-Lease Act (March) and the announcement of the Atlantic Charter with Britain (August).

D. Instrumental Multilateralism: Containing Strategic Challenges.
i. By 1945 isolationism had ended and America was a great power.
ii. In the Cold War the United States pursued almost all of the various foreign policy currents: multilateralism, unilateralism,
iii. After the Cold War U.S. foreign policy focused on maintaining U.S. leadership, preserving sovereignty, maximizing flexibility, and balancing competing currents.
a. George H. W. Bush declared a "New World Order" in which the U.S. would use its power to support universal values like peace and the rule of law, but also acted unilaterally in support of vital national interests.
b. Bill Clinton, the first fully post-Cold War president, faced fewer international constraints without a global challenger but also faced greater domestic constraints in formulating foreign policy.
a. The Clinton Doctrine emphasized the spread of democracy and market economies in his first term and humanitarian intervention in his second.
b. Clinton was a multilateralist but his policies were often unilateralist and interventionist as well.
i. Haiti (1994).
ii. Bosnia (1995).
iii. Kosovo (1999).
iv. Strikes in Iraq (1993, 1996), Afghanistan and Sudan (1998).

IV. The Present: The Impact of 9/11

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A. The Unilateralist Turn
- **i.** Key examples of unilateralism in the George W. Bush administration after 9/11 include:
  - **a.** Preemptive war doctrine
  - **b.** Military intervention in Iraq
  - **c.** WMD proliferation strategies
  - **d.** The U.S. and the ICC
  - **e.** Drones
- **ii.** Prior to 9/11 the Bush administration focused on countering state-based threats emerging from great powers (China and Russia) and rogue states (North Korea, Iran, and Iraq).
- **iii.** After 9/11 terrorism became the highest priority and interests and norms integrated to produce foreign policies that sought to enhance security and spread liberal values. Policies emphasized:
  - **a.** Counterterrorism
  - **b.** Democracy promotion
  - **c.** Free Trade and Investment
- **iv.** Bush balanced competing currents as both a staunch liberal interventionist and an unapologetic unilateralist.

B. A Return to Multilateralism
- **i.** Barack Obama was a devoted multilateralist on the campaign trail, but was much more pragmatic than ideological once in office.
- **ii.** Obama's belief in multilateralism was apparent in his policies regarding diplomatic engagement, and support for international law.
- **iii.** In practice, Obama's policies regarding nuclear nonproliferation, climate negotiations, and even international trade were better described as "hybrid multilateralism" or "soft unilateralism."
- **iv.** In his military policy, Obama argued that military intervention still had a place in U.S. foreign policy, but only with multilateral support.

V. Conclusion: Engagement or Disengagement?

A. Isolation is no longer a real option in U.S. foreign policy. The question becomes, how engaged will America be with the world?
- **i.** If the United States becomes a shaper, it will expand commitments to shape a world that is favorable to pursuing American interests. Liberal internationalists tend to advocate for this kind of engagement.
- **ii.** If the United States retrenches, it will limit its foreign policy and withdraw from all but the most vital commitments. A variety of traditions advocate for restraint/retrenchment, including liberal multilateralists and neo-isolationists.

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Discussion Questions

1. LO 1.1: What roles have values and interests played in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy of the course of American history?

2. LO 1.2: What are the recurrent orientations in U.S. foreign policy? In what ways do they compete?

3. LO 1.3: How has each foreign policy orientation evolved over the course of American history? What are some historical examples of orientations in competition?

4. LO 1.4: What are the key events since 9/11 and how have they led to more or less multilateralism and unilateralism in U.S. foreign policy?

Answers to In-Text Questions

End-of-Chapter Discussion Questions

1. To what extent should the United States try to spread its values globally? Do you think that exclusive concern with interests would be beneficial or harmful to America? Illustrate with a case.

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4. Is isolationism a feasible alternative for the United States? What possible arguments could be made for isolationism before World Wars I and II or today?

   Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter. Possible arguments for isolation include avoiding great power conflict and war, terrorism, or global economic contagion. Arguments against

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isolationism may explain the difficulty of isolation in an era of globalization and interdependence.

5. In what ways did the orientation of President Obama's foreign policy differ from those of President Bill Clinton and President George W. Bush?

   Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter. It should demonstrate an awareness of the elements of unilateralism/multilateralism, isolationism/internationalism, and interventionism/noninterventionism in each administration.

6. Would you be a foreign-policy shaper or retrencher? Explain.

   Sample answer: This question requires students to formulate an argument and support it with evidence from the chapter. The answer should demonstrate an understanding of shapers, who seek to be more engaged in global politics, and retrenchers, who seek to limit America's involvement in global affairs.

Activities and Exercises

Exercise 1: Class Preparation and Essay Exam Questions

These questions may be used as homework assignments to prepare for class or for exams.

1. Identify and discuss the key currents in U.S. foreign policy.
2. Discuss how unilateralism and interventionism have been displayed throughout American history.
3. How has American foreign policy evolved since the country's founding? What are the enduring themes or currents?
4. Explain why U.S. foreign policy underwent a shift in the period 1914–1945.
5. Discuss the significance of the Louisiana Purchase, the Monroe Doctrine, and Manifest Destiny for U.S. foreign policy.
6. What did American isolationism look like in the 1930s? What were the sources of that unilateralism? What factors brought it to an end?
7. Describe the evolution of U.S. foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. Which currents dominate and why?
8. In what ways did President Obama's administration break from the past? In what ways did it not? Explain the factors shaping these trends.

Exercise 2: Brief Response Questions

These short answer questions may be used to assess student's comprehension of the material in this chapter.

1. What is the "implicit" grand strategy considered in chapter 2?
2. Explain the difference between interests and values.
3. What has isolationism looked like through American history?
4. What are the two views of multilateralism?
5. In what was has the United States been "engaged" in the world through U.S. history?

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6. Describe U.S. foreign policy in the interwar period.
7. Describe a key current in George W. Bush-era foreign policy.
8. What is hybrid multilateralism?

Activity 1: Class Reflection and Assessment

These short questions may be used to assess how well students understand material covered in class or the reading.

1. Briefly describe the concept or issue that you best understood from this chapter.
2. What questions do you have about this chapter's material upon completing the reading?
3. Describe one question you have about the material covered in class.
4. Describe the one concept covered in class that you feel you understand best.

Suggested Assignments

Assignment 1: Concept Map

Construct a concept map (or a similar map like a mind map or topic map) for the key U.S. "foreign policy currents." Your concept map should include the most important concepts, examples, and relevant relationships. May be done individually or as a team.

Assignment 2: Timeline

Design your own timeline of key events in the evolution of U.S. foreign policy. Justify your choice of events. Write a brief analysis of the trends that appear in your timeline.

Assignment 3: Apply What You've Learned

1. Find an analysis of a foreign policy issue in the news that is an example of multilateralism. Explain how multilateralism is operating in this issue. It is a "pure" or a "hybrid" multilateralism? Justify your response.
2. Find a recent public opinion poll on a U.S. foreign policy issue. Describe the issue and the distribution of U.S. public opinion. How influential do you think public opinion is on this issue and why?

Recommended Readings

Lisa A. Baglione, "Emphasizing Principles for a Moral Foreign Policy," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51:9 (May 2008), 1303–1321.

> *This article provides a review of Amitai Etzioni's* Security First: For a Muscular Foreign Policy. *It provides an analysis of the moral underpinnings of U.S. foreign policy and relates to the chapter's discussion of values.*

Arash Heydarian Pashakhanlou, "Back to the Drawing Board: A Critique of Offensive Realism," *International Relations*, 27:2 (June 2013), 202–225.

> *This article examines the explanatory power of offensive realism and its applicability to U.S. hegemony in the Western hemisphere from 1800 to 1900. The analysis relates to the*

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chapter's examination of American foreign policy prior to the rise of the United States as a global hegemon and also to the policy option of restraint described in the chapter's conclusion.

Dominic Tierney, "Multilateralism: America's Insurance Policy Against Loss," *European Journal of International Relations*, 17:4 (December 2011), 655–678.

This article analyzes the costs and benefits of multilateralism for U.S. foreign policy. It relates to the chapter's analysis of different forms of multilateralism.

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2. Find a recent public opinion poll on a U.S. foreign policy issue. Describe the issue and the distribution of U.S. public opinion. How influential do you think public opinion is on this issue and why?

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Contemporary American Foreign Policy

INFLUENCES, CHALLENGES, AND OPPORTUNITIES

Chapter 2: Competing Currents in U.S. Foreign Policy

RICHARD MANSBACH
KIRSTEN L. TAYLOR

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Topics to Cover

- Competing Currents
- Past: Competing Currents in Historical Perspective
- Present: The Impact of 9/11
- Conclusion: Engagement or Disengagement?

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COMPETING CURRENTS

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Competing Currents

- U.S. leaders have always been concerned about America's place in the world.
- Throughout much of U.S. history, they have been guided by a grand strategy:
  - "the capacity of the nation's leaders to bring together all the elements, both military and nonmilitary, for the preservation and enhancement of the nation's long-term" interests however defined (Paul Kennedy, 1992).

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Interests and Values

- Foreign policy decisions are simultaneously the product of considerations of interests and values.
  - Interests involve concerns about security, power, and expediency and are emphasized by "realists."

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Interests and Values

- Values involve the maintenance and spread of American norms and are emphasized by "liberals."
  - Economic liberalism.
  - Human rights and democracy.
  - Rule of law.
  - Individualism.

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Isolationism versus Internationalism

- Isolationism involves restraint to maximize freedom of action.
  - It is associated with "disengagement" from world affairs.
  - It relies on American power.
  - Today's "neo-isolationists" seek to avoid overextending U.S. commitments.

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Isolationism versus Internationalism

- Internationalism entails engagement in world affairs.
  - It can refer to any involvement overseas.
  - It can emphasize engagement to promote cooperation through international law and institutions.

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Isolationism versus Internationalism

- The interplay of interests and values leads to a choice between isolationism and internationalism.
- These competing currents often exist simultaneously.

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Unilateralism versus Multilateralism

- Unilateralism entails acting alone.
- Multilateralism has multiple meanings:
  - Policy coordination among three or more states.
  - Coordinated action that transcends national interests.

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Unilateralism versus Multilateralism

- There are many possible gradations and complex combinations of the two currents in U.S. foreign policy.

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Interventionism versus Noninterventionism

- Intervention
  - Often takes the form of military, economic, or diplomatic interference.
  - It may be self-interested or altruistic.
- Nonintervention
  - Describes efforts to avoid unsolicited interference.

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Interventionism versus Noninterventionism

- U.S. leaders have a broad view of when intervention is acceptable.
- They always retain the right to intervene elsewhere when vital interests are at stake.

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PAST: COMPETING CURRENTS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Isolationism or Unilateralism?

- There is an enduring tension between isolationism and internationalism.
- How does the U.S. remain free of foreign entanglements while securing necessary foreign support?

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Isolationism or Unilateralism?

- This tension was evident in:
  - The Louisiana Purchase (1803).
  - The Monroe Doctrine (1823).

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Interventionism: America Expands, 1823–1914

- Isolationist sentiment remained strong in America.
- Leaders avoided war with European powers and expanded trade and interventionism in the Western Hemisphere.

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Interventionism: America Expands, 1823–1914

- Manifest Destiny (1942–1848)
  - Reflected competing isolationist, internationalist, and interventionist tendencies.
  - Both interests and values were at play.
  - Manifest Destiny was central to the onset of the Mexican-American War (1846–1848).

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Interventionism: America Expands, 1823–1914

- Interventionism and the Roosevelt Corollary (1904)
  - Theodore Roosevelt extended the Monroe Doctrine, claiming the right to intervene in unstable countries in the Americas.
  - Roosevelt was also a strong internationalist.

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A Global Leader Emerges, 1914–1945

- Tensions among isolationism, unilateralism, and interventionism continued in the early 20th century.
  - The United States attempted to remain uninvolved in World War I, but large U.S. loans to Britain and France undermined its neutrality.

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A Global Leader Emerges, 1914–1945

- World War I and Wilsonian Diplomacy
  - Americans debated how to promote U.S. interests and values.
    - Conservative internationalists.
    - Isolationists.
    - Liberal interventionists.
  - Public opinion fueled isolationist policies in the 1930s.
    - The Neutrality Acts.

A Global Leader Emerges, 1914–1945

- World War I and Wilsonian Diplomacy
  - America abandoned neutrality in 1941.
    - The Lend-Lease Act (March).
    - The Atlantic Charter with Britain.

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Instrumental Multilateralism: Containing Strategic Challenges

- By 1945 isolationism had ended and America was a great power.
- In the Cold War, the U.S. pursued almost all of the foreign policy currents.

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Instrumental Multilateralism: Containing Strategic Challenges

- After the Cold War U.S. foreign policy focused on:
  - Maintaining U.S. leadership.
  - Preserving sovereignty.
  - Maximizing flexibility.
  - Balancing competing currents.

Instrumental Multilateralism: Containing Strategic Challenges

- George H. W. Bush declared a "New World Order."
  - The U.S. would use its power to support universal values like peace and the rule of law.
  - America also acted unilaterally in support of vital national interests.

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Instrumental Multilateralism: Containing Strategic Challenges

- Bill Clinton faced fewer international constraints, but greater domestic constraints.
  - The Clinton Doctrine.
  - A multilateralist, Clinton practiced unilateralism and interventionism.
    - Haiti (1994), Bosnia (1995), Kosovo (1999), Strikes in Iraq (1993, 1996), Afghanistan and Sudan (1998).

PRESENT: THE IMPACT OF 9/11

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The Unilateralist Turn

- Key examples of unilateralism after 9/11 include:
  - Preemptive war doctrine.
  - Military intervention in Iraq.
  - WMD proliferation strategies.
  - The U.S. and the ICC.
  - Drones.

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The Unilateralist Turn

- Prior to 9/11
  - The Bush administration focused on countering state-based threats emerging from:
    - Great powers (China and Russia).
    - Rogue states (North Korea, Iran, and Iraq).

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The Unilateralist Turn

- After 9/11
  - Policies prioritized terrorism.
  - Interests and norms produced foreign policies that sought to:
    - enhance security.
    - spread liberal values.

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The Unilateralist Turn

- After 9/11
  - Policy emphasis:
    - Counterterrorism.
    - Democracy promotion.
    - Free trade and investment.
  - George W. Bush was liberal interventionist and unilateralist.

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A Return to Multilateralism

- Barack Obama was a devoted multilateralist while campaigning.
- He was more pragmatic than ideological once in office.

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Hybrid Multilateralism

- Obama practiced “hybrid multilateralism” or “soft unilateralism.”
- He argued military intervention still had a place, but only with multilateral support.

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CONCLUSION: ENGAGEMENT OR DISENGAGEMENT?

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Conclusion

- Isolation is no longer a real option in U.S. foreign policy.
- How engaged will America be with the world?
  - Is the U.S. a “shaper” or a “retrencher”?

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Discussion

- Should the U.S. increasingly act multilaterally or unilaterally?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of each strategy?

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Discussion

- Would you be a foreign-policy shaper or retrencher?

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Discussion

- Which of these currents do you see operating as U.S. leaders attempt to manage today's key foreign policy challenges?

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