U S Foreign Policy The Paradox of World Power 5th edition Hook Solutions Manual

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Chapter 2: The Expansion of U.S. Power

Instructor Chapter Overview

Chapter Objectives

2.1 Discuss U.S. policies of economic and territorial expansion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
2.2 Explain how major shifts in the global balance of power led to two world wars and the rise of the United States.
2.3 Describe the institutional foundations and conflicts representing U.S. foreign policy in the postwar period.
2.4 Identify the ideals and issues the United States has faced since the end of the Cold War.

Chapter Outline

- Economic and Territorial Expansion
  This section addresses early U.S. foreign policy, introducing students to the debates between the framers of the Constitution in regards to U.S. foreign policy, the concept of isolationism, and the importance of international trade to early foreign policy.
  - Manifest Destiny on the Western Frontier
    This section details the U.S.'s efforts to fill the geographical vacuum in Latin and South America, becoming the de facto regional power while expanding its own territory. The section also illustrates the political, economic, and moral rationales used to justify U.S. expansion.
  - Opening the Door to Asia
    This section introduces several tactics employed by the United States to expand its influence to Asia, including *gunboat diplomacy*, *annexation*, and *intervention*. The section also discusses the U.S.'s *open door policy* in China to prevent European expansionism.
  - A Big Stick in Latin America
    This section discusses the significance of the *Roosevelt Corollary*, as well as the U.S.'s many interventions in Latin America.

- Fighting Two World Wars
  - The First World War
    This section illustrates the conditions that led to the U.S.'s entry into World War I, as well as the consequences of the U.S.'s participation on the war.
  - Failed Efforts to Keep the Peace
    This section describes the post-war conditions that led policymakers to realize the importance of U.S. involvement in European affairs. The section also details the role that the United States, and in particular Woodrow Wilson's *Fourteen Points* speech, played in the establishment of international organizations like the *League of Nations* to prevent future wars. Finally, the section demonstrates the ineffectiveness of the League and the conditions that led to World War II.
  - The Second World War
    This section examines how the United States came to fight in World War II, and the consequences of U.S. participation in the war.

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- Global Primacy and the Cold War
  This section highlights the consequences of the World War II on the international order, and how *bipolarity* shaped U.S. foreign policy over the next four decades, beginning with the *containment* strategy of the early Cold War period.
  - New Structures of Foreign Policy
    This section describes the domestic restructuring of U.S. foreign policy institutions after the Second World War, as well as initiatives such as the *Truman Doctrine* and the *Marshall Plan*. The section also details the U.S.'s role in major changes to the international system, such as the establishment of the United Nations and the Bretton Woods agreements.
  - Regional Conflicts and the Vietnam Syndrome
    This section examines the conditions that led the United States to military involvement in Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam, and the consequences on U.S. foreign policy.
  - The End of the Cold War
    This section explores the Nixon and Carter administrations and each president's role in the easing of tensions between the United Sates and the Soviet Union.

- New Challenges After the Cold War
  This section highlights the changes in both the United States under the Reagan administration and the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev, and explains the conditions that led to the end of the Cold War.
  - Elements of the New World Order
    This section examines the George H.W. Bush administration's post war foreign policy in the New World Order, and the Clinton administration's foreign policy of engagement and enlargement.
  - Overseas Unrest and Domestic Unease
    This section explores the tension between domestic and international actors that guided U.S. foreign policy, and in particular military intervention, in the post-Cold War period. The section also examines the U.S.'s responses to international crises such as Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait, failed states, and civil wars.
  - September 11 and the War on Terrorism
    This section identifies the ways in which the Bush administration responded to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, building a foreign policy doctrine of prevention and preemption. The section also explores the Obama administration's approach to foreign policy and in particular the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as the Arab Spring and the rise of Russia and China.
  - A New Era of Power Politics
    This section describes how the contemporary foreign policy environment is one of great power politics, reminiscent of the great power politics of the seventeenth century. The section also identifies how Russia's recent aggression in Ukraine and elsewhere challenges the "New World Order" of the post-Cold War period.

Classroom Suggestions

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Discussion Question: Ask students to consider what role they think history should play in the foreign policy process by using contemporary examples (for example, U.S.-Soviet/Russian relations during the World Wars, the Cold War, and the post-Cold War period). How do contemporary U.S.-Russia relations reflect the legacy of the Cold War? What recent developments may be affecting the U.S.-Russia relationship? Is there an opportunity to "learn" from the past?

Discussion Question: A good starting point for discussion of the United States after the Cold War is to ask students how they envision the contemporary international order, and the U.S.'s place in it. For example, is the international system unipolar? Bipolar? Multipolar? Is it organized hierarchically? How is anarchy mitigated? Is this organization permanent, semi permanent, or temporary? This opens the discussion to how the contemporary system is influenced by history, as well as the challenges resulting from this international order and future sources of conflict for the United States. It also presents the opportunity to discuss how the United States should position itself, based on its history – so, for example, should the U.S. be interventionist? Isolationist? And how does the U.S. formulate and pursue its foreign policy interests? Even if the US doesn't necessarily want to be a world police force, and even if it wants to be less interventionist, does it have an obligation to the international community (because of its power) to intervene? Under what conditions?

Suggested documentary: Errol Morris, Michael Williams, and Julie Ahlberg (Producers), and Errol Morris (Director). (December 19, 2003). *The Fog of War* [Motion picture]. U.S.A.: Sony Pictures.
This Academy Award-winning film interviews former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, providing McNamara's "lessons learned" during the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam War. The film is also useful for applying the concepts discussed in *Chapter Three: The Dynamics of Decision-Making*.

Discussion starters:

- McNamara says that empathy was present in the Cuban Missile Crisis but absent in Vietnam. What examples of empathy (or lack thereof) does McNamara mention for each case? What are the consequences?
- What factors led Kennedy to address only the October 26 letter while ignoring the October 27 letter? Assume Khrushchev's perspective in considering Kennedy's response. Should Khrushchev have accepted Kennedy's offer?
- What factors led to the passage of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution? If the administration had foreseen how long and costly the war would be, do you think that it would have chosen the same means to obtain congressional support and legal authority?
- What do you think McNamara means by proportionality? Does proportionality matter more or less depending on whether you win or lose a war?

Student Chapter Summary

As the United States has grown from a regional powerhouse to a global superpower, it has continued to maintain the political arrangements, along with the social and cultural traditions, that prevailed in a time of diplomatic detachment. Specifically, early American leaders developed a code of moral, political, and social exceptionalism, while seeking to protect the nation from global entanglements. This approach ultimately set the new nation on a paradoxical

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course in global relations. Indeed, its ongoing promotion of democratic reforms in foreign countries contributed to a "constitutional" order after World War II that, by the twenty-first century, was widely seen as threatening national sovereignty and as an unacceptable constraint on the nation's freedom of action. Meanwhile, the nation's record as a catalyst for economic globalization affirmed one of its founding ambitions but fueled the rise of economic competitors, particularly in the area of industrial production.

This chapter thus explores the paradox of American power in two distinct historical periods. The first begins with the nation's founding and extends through World War I, during which the United States charted a course of unilateral action, avoiding diplomatic entanglements with the great powers of Europe while building an industrial economy that would make the United States a major force in global trade markets. This period witnessed tremendous territorial expansion along with the exercise of regional power politics as the United States sought to carve out its own sphere of influence in Latin America while alleging it was charting a new course distinct from the imperialism of classic European power politics. In short, with the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory from France, followed by the displacement of Spain from Florida, the subsequent demise of the Spanish empire in Latin America, and the favorable resolution of lingering trade and territorial difference, with Great Britain in the War of 1812, the United States was free to exercise regional hegemony—that is, external dominance without formal political authority. In 1823, to cement this new state of affairs while discouraging any would-be competitors from intruding upon its sphere of influence, President James Monroe proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine, politically separating the United States from Europe and declaring future colonization in the Western Hemisphere a threat to U.S. national security.

The second period covers the conduct of U.S. foreign policy once the country became a great power in the twentieth century. The United States began the century in the midst of a struggle to colonize the Philippines and then asserted hegemonic control over Central America. Emerging from the world wars with unprecedented military strength and economic clout, U.S. leaders then became engulfed in the Cold War with the Soviet Union and other communist states. The Soviet Union's collapse in 1991 left the United States in the position of unprecedented global primacy. Even so, maintaining this status proved more difficult than expected as regional conflicts and civil wars ignited in many parts of the world. The United States found that even after the end of the Cold War, ethnic and religious conflicts, along with global terrorism, present problems for the "new world order."

The terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001 literally brought these conflicts home, shattering the nation's historic sense of invulnerability, and ushering in a protracted war on terror. In spite of ending the Iraq war in 2011, capturing and killing Osama bin Laden, and significantly reducing the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan, the Obama administration has continued to face challenges with violent extremist groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), as well as ongoing democratic revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa. The resurgence of power politics and the actions of Russia and China add another layer of complexity to the U.S.'s ongoing efforts to maintain its primacy.

In order to understand the actors and institutions in the U.S. foreign policy process, this chapter considers how they were created and how they evolved over the years. Actors and institutions are often slow to change in the sense that foreign policies are difficult to revise and implement

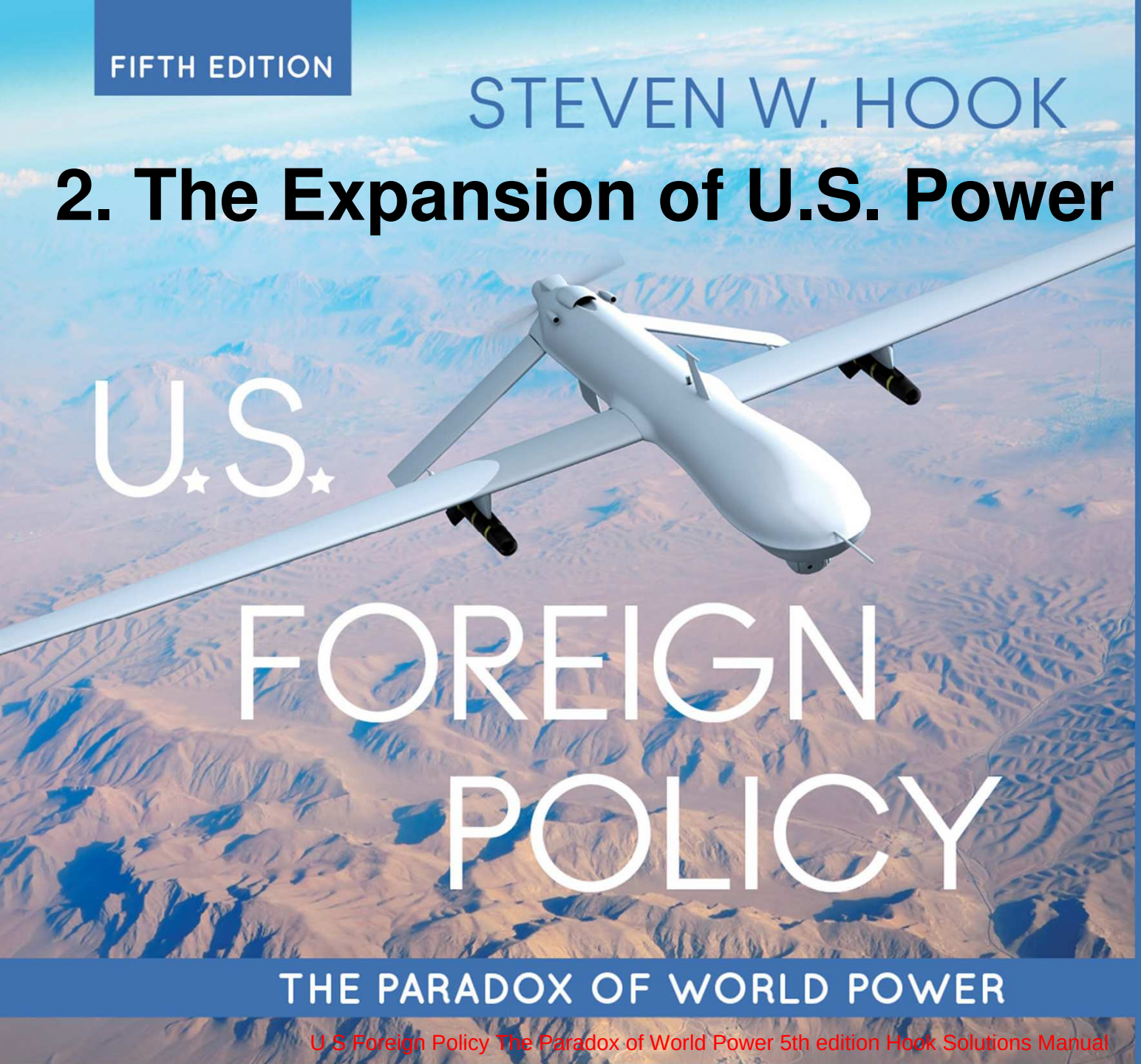
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because of historical inertia and the setup of the U.S. government. The history of U.S. foreign policy, while short, encompasses changing global environments, institutions, and actors that will be discussed in the following chapters.

Student Study Questions

1. In your own words, describe the Cold War time period. What U.S. actors and institutions were involved?
2. Describe the National Security Act of 1947. What long-term policy impacts did it have?
3. Compare and contrast the Vietnam War with the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In what ways do U.S. foreign policy institutions and history influence this compare-and-contrast review?

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2. The Expansion of U.S. Power

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Introduction: Why History Matters

- Ideas and experiences of framers and leaders have shaped American institutions and policies.
- Past interactions with other countries shed light on current relationships.
- U.S. power has changed over time.
- International relations of countries and organizations have changed over time.

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Chapter 2: "The Expansion of U.S. Power" Outline

I. Economic and Territorial Expansion
   a. Manifest Destiny on the Western Frontier
   b. Opening the Door to Asia
   c. A Big Stick in Latin America

II. Fighting Two World Wars
   a. The First World War
   b. Failed Efforts to Keep the Peace
   c. The Second World War

III. Global Primacy and the Cold War
   a. New Structures of Foreign Policy
   b. Regional Conflicts and the Vietnam Syndrome
   c. The End of the Cold War

IV. New Challenges After the Cold War
   a. Elements of the New World Order
   b. Overseas Unrest and Domestic Unease
   c. September 11 and the War on Terrorism
   d. A New Era of Power Politics

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Economic and Territorial Expansion

- Under the Articles of Confederation, a weak central government made the United States vulnerable to intimidation from great powers.
  - They were replaced by the Constitution in 1787, giving federal government more control and dividing foreign policy powers between the president and Congress.
  - However, the separation of powers and institutional design did *not* encourage diplomacy.

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Economic and Territorial Expansion

- Debates on how to pursue becoming a powerful nation
  - Alexander Hamilton: Strong industrial setting and large central government
  - Thomas Jefferson: Small farming communities and strong state power

- Primary foreign policy goal = economic relations (trade)
  - Favored unilateralism: No entangling alliances
  - Limited institutions for foreign policy making and implementation

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Economic and Territorial Expansion

- Primary foreign policy goal = economic relations (trade)
  - Favored unilateralism: No entangling alliances
  - Limited institutions for foreign policy making and implementation
- U.S. policy makers favored isolation in theory; in practice, continued to pursue expansion
- United States moved westward, away from European involvement

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Manifest Destiny on the Western Frontier

- Global balance of power: Multilateral (anchored by European powers), with U.S. as emerging "offshore power"
  - U.S. moved to fill geographic vacuum, became regional power by default and by declaration (Monroe Doctrine)
- Territory purchased and forcefully gained to increase U.S. economic and military power (emphasizing paradoxes)
  - Jefferson's executive authority in the Louisiana Purchase, acquisition of Florida, Texas
  - Conflict with Native Americans over expansion of democracy, assimilation
  - U.S. influence in Latin America (regional hegemony)

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Justifying Expansion

- **Political rationale**: Monroe Doctrine detached U.S. from Europe, but strengthened regional hegemony, declaring regional sphere of influence
- **Moralistic rationale**: Manifest Destiny—cultural and religious justification for westward territorial expansion
- **Economic rationale**: Opening new markets, helping commercial sectors with trading partners
  - Implementing tariffs and low-interest loans to promote U.S. trade
  - Growing the agricultural sector

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Opening the Door to Asia

- U.S. seeks additional markets and territory in Asia
  - **Gunboat diplomacy**: President Fillmore sent naval vessels to Tokyo (1853) after failed negotiations to establish commercial relations
    - Results in 1854 treaty of friendship between U.S. and Japan
  - **Annexation**: Hawaiian Islands (1893) and Alaska (1867)
    - Appealing because of geographically strategic value
  - **Intervention**: U.S. forces ousted Spanish from Cuba and the Philippines
    - McKinley focuses on Philippines, breaks general rule against colonization
    - Did not attempt to colonize Cuba
  - **Open-door policy**: Preventative measure in China
    - Policy makers did not want European powers to carve up China to serve their own trading interests

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A Big Stick in Latin America

- Theodore Roosevelt: "Speak softly, but carry a big stick."
  - 1905: Negotiated the end of Russo–Japanese War (and won a Nobel Peace Prize)
  - 1907: Deployed naval armada around the globe to show U.S.'s strength
  - Believed wars were both inevitable and noble
- Roosevelt corollary: U.S. involvement in Latin America justified to secure U.S. economic interests and stable regimes
  - Ordered military interventions in Dominican Republic (1904), Honduras (1905), Cuba (1906), and Panama (1908)

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The First World War

- **1914**: European conflicts over territory and nationality
  - President Wilson attempts to keep U.S. "neutral in fact as well as name"
- **1915**: U.S. national interests threatened by German navy sinking merchant vessels, sinking of the *Lusitania*
- **1917**: Security concerns lead Congress to declare war against Germany
- U.S. contributed to war efforts on two fronts
  - Provided munitions, weapons, and medical supplies to allies
  - Deployed reinforcement troops to Western front to relieve British/French troops and stage counteroffensive
- **1918**: Germany surrenders due to U.S. reinforcement measures

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Failed Efforts to Keep the Peace

- Mixed incentives led to U.S. involvement in European affairs
  - Policy makers uncomfortable with security policy based on **geopolitics**
    - The distribution of global power should not be tilted too heavily toward one European country (e.g., Germany)
  - President Wilson's moralistic sense of duty
    - All citizens should be free to determine their own destinies—"Making the world safe for democracy"

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Failed Efforts to Keep the Peace

[Incentives to maintain U.S. involvement in European affairs (con't.)]

- World War I to be "war to end all wars"
  - So destructive as to end all future global conflicts
- **Collective security**: Leaders renounce war as instrument of statecraft; countries defend one another against aggressors
- Wilson's "**Fourteen Points**" outlined steps to world peace, including. . .
  - Freedom of markets, seas, governance
  - Also provided framework for global collective security organization—became the **League of Nations**

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Failed Efforts to Keep the Peace

- Outcomes of League of Nations:
  - Congress refuses to ratify treaty, U.S. does not join the organization
    - Resented Wilson's actions during the negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles
  - League fails to intervene when Japan invades Manchuria (China) in 1931 and when Italy invades Ethiopia (1935)
    - Collective-action and free-rider problems plague organization
    - Creates a false sense of security

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Failed Efforts to Keep the Peace

- U.S. absence hurt League of Nations, but did not deter U.S. from looking for other preventative measures to limit future world wars
- Anti-war efforts: U.S. attempts to stop military conflicts and prevent new wars
  - Calls for disarmament, **Kellogg-Briand Pact**
- Collective security efforts (through League of Nations) fail to curtail power politics by Italy, Germany, and Japan

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The Second World War

- **1938–1939**: Hitler annexes Austria; Czechoslovakia, invades Poland and divides it with Soviet Union
- **1941**: Hitler launches Blitzkreig against Soviet Union, assumes control of most of Western Europe
- During this time, U.S. attempts to remain "neutral," despite Roosevelt's desire to aid European democracies
  - Focus on domestic affairs, recovery from Great Depression
  - Public opinion divided over isolation or involvement
- **Lend–lease program**: Roosevelt sends military hardware, ships, and supplies to Great Britain

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The Second World War

- **December 7, 1941**: Japan attacks Pearl Harbor
  - Germany and Italy declare war against the United States
  - Domestic debate between Congress, the public, and the president ends
  - U.S. enters war against Germany, Japan, and Italy

- **1945**: United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union together defeat Germany; however, Japanese emperor remained defiant
  - President Truman assumes office after Roosevelt dies and orders the use of the first nuclear bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Japan), leads Japan to surrender

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Global Primacy and the Cold War

- In the wake of WWII, United States and Soviet Union were only superpowers remaining, resulting in emergence of **bipolar balance of power**

- **Cold War** based in ideological differences
  - Capitalist states (led by U.S.) vs. communist states (led by Soviet Union)
  - Competition to influence markets and countries around the world (spheres of influence)

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Global Primacy and the Cold War

Map 2.2 ■ Cold War Division of Europe



Sources: Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *Principles of International Politics: People's Power, Preferences, and Perceptions*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2003), 197; Steven W. Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 18th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010), 30. Reprinted by permission of CQ Press, an imprint of SAGE Publications Inc.

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Global Primacy and the Cold War

- U.S. State Department specialist George Kennan's **containment strategy** as a middle ground between complete detachment and full-scale invasion
- Objectives:
  - Prevent communist expansion into new areas and countries, but accept already existing Soviet areas
  - Strengthen political, economic, and military ties overseas
  - Involvement in civil wars and struggles around the world (see next slide, Table 2.2) to promote anti-communist regimes

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U.S. Foreign Policy Chronology: The Cold War

Table 2.2 ■ U.S. Foreign Policy Chronology: The Cold War	
1945	Yalta Conference of victorious powers seeks to organize the postwar world.
1946	George Kennan devises containment strategy as the Cold War sets in.
1947	Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine call for U.S. aid to allies.
1948	The State of Israel is created and immediately recognized by the United States.
1949	NATO is formed by United States and eleven other nations.
1950	North Korea attacks South Korea, prompting UN military intervention.
1953	Korean War ends; CIA aids overthrow of Iran's government.
1954	CIA aids overthrow of Guatemala's government.
1959	The Cuban Revolution produces a communist state close to the U.S. border.
1962	Cuban missile crisis prompts nuclear showdown between the Soviet Union and United States.
1964	Congress authorizes U.S. military intervention in Vietnam.
1968	Tet offensive in Vietnam prompts birth of antiwar movement in United States.
1970	Nixon orders invasion of Cambodia; four student protestors are killed at Kent State University.
1972	Nixon launches détente strategy, visits Soviet Union and China.
1979	Iranian militants seize U.S. embassy in Teheran; Soviet Union invades Afghanistan.
1981	Reagan begins major military buildup as the Cold War heats up.
1986	U.S. covert support for Nicaraguan rebels leads to Iran-*Contra* scandal.
1989	Hungary opens borders with Austria, signaling the Cold War's demise.
1990	Russia and Ukraine declare independence from Soviet Union; Germany is reunified.
1991	Soviet Union dissolves, ending the Cold War.

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New Structures of Foreign Policy

- Following end of WWII, the United States reorganizes and develops new *domestic* institutions to align with containment doctrine and security state ideals

- National Security Act of 1947
  - Replaces War Department with Department of Defense
  - Establishes National Security Counsel (NSC)
  - Forms Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
    - Other federal departments also develop intelligence agencies—led to struggles between organizations for resources and power
    - Little information-sharing between agencies
    - "Flawed by design"

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New Structures of Foreign Policy

- U.S. creates *international organizations* to preserve power
  - 1944: Bretton Woods institutions extend U.S. ideologies and values into world economic markets
    - Creation of World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF)
  - 1947: Truman Doctrine extends military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey to combat communist aggression and insurgency
  - 1947: Marshall Plan develops economic aid for European countries to help them rebuild after World War II
  - 1949: North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) creates military alliance of Western European countries and United States

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Regional Conflicts and the Vietnam Syndrome

- U.S. policy makers concerned about wide range of issues in post–WWII environment
  - The relationship between Soviet Union and China (PRC)
    - Treaty of Cooperation (1950) and threat of nuclear power, communist expansion
  - Growing number of African and Asian countries in the *third world* and the potential appeal of communism to these new states
    - If one country falls to communism in a region, multiple countries will follow suit (domino theory)

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Korea

- **1950–1953**: North Korea and South Korea in conflict after World War II, divided at the 38th parallel
  - Truman and Eisenhower deploy troops to help fight against communist insurgency and North Korean troops
    - No clear victor
  - Sets precedent for future Cold War conflicts
    - President Eisenhower's **New Look** strategy of massive military (nuclear) buildup
    - Also included strengthening and expanding alliances, leading to the ANZUS, SEATO, and CENTO treaties
      - *Tied directly to containment policy*

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Cuba

- Closest “hot” country to the United States—less than 100 miles from Florida
- **1959**: U.S.-backed Batista regime overthrown by Marxist regime of Fidel Castro; Castro declares the U.S. to be enemy of the Cuban people
- **1961**: U.S. failed Bay of Pigs invasion marks problems in bureaucracy and intelligence
- **1962**: Cuban missile crisis occurs over Soviet nuclear missiles being secretly shipped to Cuba

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Vietnam

- **1964–1972**: U.S. supports weak and often corrupt regimes in South Vietnam while fighting against communist insurgents and the North Vietnamese army
  - U.S. spends billions on war, loses nearly 59,000 troops
  - U.S. institutions marred with failure
  - The public, inundated with images and stories of the failures of the war, pushes policy makers to end war
    - *Congress presses Johnson and Nixon*
- When U.S. withdraws forces, South Vietnam falls to North Vietnam
  - **Vietnam Syndrome**: Public believes U.S. should not intervene militarily overseas unless absolutely threatened

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The End of the Cold War

- Policy makers learned a number of lessons from Cold War conflicts
  - The difficulty in intervening in wars of independence and self-determination
    - Not simply a political or an ideological fight
  - Trouble fighting asymmetric warfare
  - Problems with fighting against no clear enemy or nation-state
  - Public opinion, media, and legislative bodies dislike long-term conflicts

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The End of the Cold War

- National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger and President Nixon institute **détente**—*the easing of tensions* between the U.S., Soviet Union, China
  - Agreement for agricultural exports to Soviet Union
  - Arms reduction deals with Soviet Union
  - Economic ties strengthened with China

- Triangular diplomacy: United States strengthens ties with Soviet Union and China, making adversaries of two enemies

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The End of the Cold War

- President Carter calls for a **liberal internationalist** foreign policy
  - More cooperative posture, emphasizing . . .
    - Human rights
    - Improved living conditions in the developing world
    - Stronger role for the United Nations
- Also brokered historic peace agreement between Israel and Egypt at Camp David (1978 Peace Accords)
- However, Carter administration faced multiple foreign policy failures
  - Nicaraguan Marxist revolution (1979)
  - Iranian hostage crisis
  - Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

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The End of the Cold War

- **1980**: President Reagan calls for overpowering the Soviet Union
  - "The focus of evil in the modern world"
  - Massive defense and technology buildup in U.S.

- Meanwhile, Soviet restructuring of economy and political system under Gorbachev
  - Soviet bloc begins to fall because of failed economy and political uprising
    - Bush administration adopts strategy of supporting Gorbachev and a "soft landing" for the Soviet Union to avoid military conflict

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New Challenges After the Cold War

- President George H. W. Bush and the **New World Order**
  - Democratization: Expansion of political rights
  - Economic globalization: Growth of market economy across the world
  - Multilateral cooperation: Expansion of global institutions and maintenance of order
- United States looks to expand economic markets into global markets with limited government regulation
- Clinton administration adopts strategy of "engagement and enlargement" by welcoming multilateral coalitions for peacekeeping and democratization

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Overseas Unrest and Domestic Unease

- New World Order and other strategies fail to prevent new military conflicts
  - Persian Gulf: Operation Desert Storm in Kuwait after Iraqi invasion
  - Failed states: Ethnic and civil conflicts such as Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo
- Limited U.S. intervention based on public opinion and past history of Cold War conflicts
- Domestic politics and economic success develop into new unilateralism in U.S. foreign policy, or hostility and ambivalence toward transnational policies/institutions
  - Congress reduces foreign aid and other spending
  - Public demands domestic/economic focus

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September 11 and the War on Terrorism

- Bush administration takes unilateralism to new heights before and after 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C.
  - Before 9/11
    - Nullification of antiballistic missile treaty
    - Trade tariffs (e.g., steel)
    - Rejection of Kyoto Protocol
  - After 9/11
    - Bush Doctrine: **Preemption** and primacy in military/economic areas
    - Tension with UN Security Council
  - Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq based on Bush Doctrine
    - Continuing violence leads to **surge strategy** of U.S. troops in 2007

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September 11 and the War on Terrorism

- **2009**: President Obama decides to replicate Bush's surge strategy in Afghanistan
  - Pledged to begin withdrawal of forces by 2011
  - Approximately 9,800 troops still remain (2015) with complete withdrawal anticipated by 2016
  - President Obama's foreign policy objectives also hampered by 2007–2009 global financial crisis
- **2011**: Arab Spring uprisings and U.S. intervention in Libya
- Renewed tensions between U.S., Russia, and China
  - Calls for changes to balance of power
  - Growing economic clout of the BRICs—New Development Bank
- Withdrawal of troops from Iraq and the rise of ISIS

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A New Era of Power Politics

- Founded in realism, power politics adopts a "might makes right" approach to foreign policy
  - Widely associated with great power conflicts of seventeenth century
- Post–Cold War assumptions of the New World Order challenged by Russia's aggressive actions toward Ukraine

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