

# FOREIGN POLICY TRADITIONS AND US COLD WAR INTERVENTIONISM

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- **Background:**
  - Research Focus
  - What is Foreign Policy Analysis?
- **US Cold War Interventionism**
  - US Military Interventions (overview)
  - US Cold War Doctrines
  - What Drives US Foreign Policy?
- **Questions? Answers?**

# RESEARCH FOCUS

## Speaking International Security

- The Uncertainty Doctrine
- Enemy Addiction

## Collaborative Projects

- Benchmarking in Global Governance
- Crisis Leadership in International Politics



# WHAT IS FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS?

- **FPA is :**

‘the study of the conduct and practice of relations between different actors, primarily states, in the international system’

- **Focus:**

State conduct and sources of decision rather than workings of the international system (1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> image/level of analysis not 3<sup>rd</sup> image/level of analysis)

- **Key Concern:**

decision-making (processes, actors, contexts, influences, outcomes)

- **Normative Position:**

improving FP decision-making to achieve better outcomes and more peaceful relations



# US COLD WAR INTERVENTIONISM

## The World According to America?



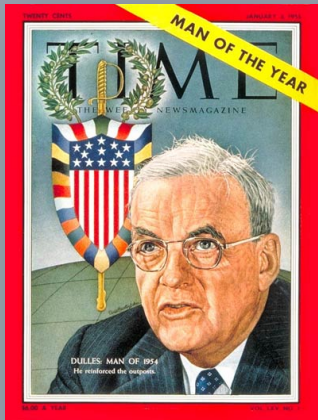
# US COLD WAR INTERVENTIONISM



## Early Cold War (1946- 1953; Truman)

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| IRAN 1946           | Soviet troops told to leave north.  |
| YUGOSLAVIA 1946     | Response to shoot-down of US plane.   |
| URUGUAY 1947        | Bombers deployed as show of strength.   |
| GREECE 1947-49      | U.S. directs extreme-right in civil war.  |
| GERMANY 1948        | Atomic-capable bombers guard Berlin Airlift.  |
| CHINA 1948-49       | Marines evacuate Americans before Communist victory.  |
| PHILIPPINES 1948-54 | CIA directs war against Huk Rebellion.  |
| PUERTO RICO 1950    | Independence rebellion crushed in Ponce.  |
| KOREA 1951-53(-?)   | US/So. Korea fights China/No. Korea. Stalemate; a-bomb threat (1950), against China (1953). |

# US COLD WAR INTERVENTIONISM



## Cold War (1953 - 1960; Eisenhower)

IRAN 1953

CIA overthrows democracy, installs Shah.

VIETNAM 1954

French offered bombs to use against siege.

GUATEMALA 1954

CIA directs exile invasion after new gov't nationalized U.S. company lands; bombers based in Nicaragua. (-> J F Dulles)

EGYPT 1956

Soviets told to keep out of Suez crisis; Marines evacuate foreigners.

LEBANON 1958

Marine occupation against rebels.

IRAQ 1958

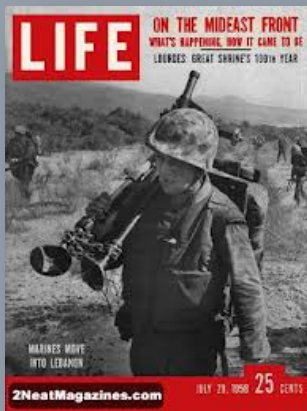
Iraq warned against invading Kuwait.

CHINA 1958

China told not to move on Taiwan isles.

PANAMA 1958

Flag protests erupt into confrontation.



# US COLD WAR INTERVENTIONISM



## Cold War (1961 – 1968; Kennedy, Johnson)

VIETNAM 1960-75

Fought South Vietnam revolt & North Vietnam; 1-2 million killed in longest U.S. war; atomic bomb threats (1968 & 1969).

LAOS 1962

Military build-up during guerrilla war.

CUBA 1961

CIA-directed exile invasion fails.

GERMANY 1961

Alert during Berlin Wall crisis.

CUBA 1962

Blockade during missile crisis; near-war with USSR

PANAMA 1964

Panamanians shot for urging canal's return.

INDONESIA 1965

Million killed in CIA-assisted army coup.

DOM.REP.1965-66

Marines land during election campaign.

GUATEMALA 1966-67

Green Berets intervene against rebels.



# US COLD WAR INTERVENTIONISM



## Cold War (1969-1980; Nixon, Ford, Carter)

**CAMBODIA 1969-75** Up to 2 million killed in decade of bombing, starvation, and political chaos.

**OMAN 1970** US directs Iranian marine invasion.

**LAOS 1971-73** US directs South Vietnamese invasion; "carpet-bombs" countryside, aids Hmong.

**MIDEAST 1973** World-wide alert during Mideast War.

**CHILE 1973** CIA-backed coup ousts elected Marxist president.

**CAMBODIA 1975** Gas captured ship, 28 die in copter crash.

**ANGOLA 1976-92** CIA assists South African-backed rebels.

**IRAN 1980** Raid to rescue Embassy hostages (aborted bombing); Soviets warned not to get involved





# US COLD WAR INTERVENTIONISM



## 'Second' Cold War (1980- 1988; Reagan)

LIBYA 1981

Two Libyan jets shot down in manoeuvres.

EL SALVADOR 1981-92

Advisors, overflights aid anti-rebel war; soldiers involved in 1992 hostage clash.

NICARAGUA 1981-90

CIA directs exile (Contra) invasions, plants harbour mines vs. Sandinista revolution.

LEBANON 1982-84

Marines expel PLO and back Phalangists, Navy bombs and shells Muslim & Syrian positions.

GRENADA 1983-84

Invasion four years after revolution ousts regime.

HONDURAS 1983-89

Manoeuvres help build bases near borders.

IRAN 1984

2 Iranian jets shot down over Persian Gulf.

LIBYA 1986

Air strikes to topple nationalist gov't.

BOLIVIA 1986

Army assists raids on cocaine region.

IRAN 1987-88

US intervenes to protect Iraqi tankers

# US COLD WAR INTERVENTIONISM



## End of Cold War (1989-90; Bush I)

- LIBYA 1989 Two Libyan jets shot down.
- VIRGIN ISLANDS 1989 St. Croix Black unrest after storm.
- PHILIPPINES 1989 Air cover provided for government against coup.
- PANAMA 1989 (-?) Nationalist government ousted by 27,000 soldiers, leaders arrested, 2000+ civilians killed.

## Post Cold War (1990 - 2008)

- Bush I: Iraq & Kuwait 1990-1; Somalia 1992. (2)
- Clinton: Somalia 1993-94; Yugoslavia 1992-94; Bosnia 1993-?; Haiti 1994; Zaire 1996-97; Liberia 1997; Albania 1997; Sudan 1998; Afghanistan 1998; Iraq 1998-?; Kosovo 1999; East Timor 2000; Macedonia 2001. (13)
- Bush II: Afghanistan 2001-?; Yemen 2002; Philippines 2002-?; Colombia 2003-?; Liberia 2003; Iraq 2003-?; Haiti 2004-05; Syria 2008. (8)

# US COLD WAR DOCTRINES



## **Kennan's irreducible national interest ( 1948):**

- “The fundamental objectives of our foreign policy must always be:
  - 1. to protect the security of the nation ...
  - 2. to advance the welfare of its people, by promoting a world order in which this nation can make the maximum contribution to the peaceful and orderly of other nations and derive maximum benefit from their experience and abilities”



## **Truman Doctrine**

- Truman (1947): “The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms... If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world-and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.”

# US COLD WAR DOCTRINES



## **Eisenhower Doctrine:**

- Eisenhower (1957): “to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations, requesting such aid, against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by International Communism”.



## **Kennedy Doctrine:**

- Kennedy (1961): “Let every nation know... that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty.”



## **Johnson Doctrine:**

- Johnson (1965): When “the object is the establishment of a Communist dictatorship“, domestic revolution in the Western Hemisphere no longer a local matter when.

# US COLD WAR DOCTRINES



## **Nixon Doctrine:**

- Nixon (1970): “America cannot- and will not – conceive all the plans, design all the programs, execute all the decisions, and undertake all the defense of the free nations of the world.”



## **Carter Doctrine:**

- Carter (1980): “An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and ... repelled by any means necessary.”



## **Reagan Doctrine:**

- Reagan administration (1980) “We in this country, in this generation, are, by destiny rather than choice the watchmen on the walls of world freedom.”



# WHAT DRIVES (US) FOREIGN POLICY?

## International Relations (IR) Theory

### ■ Realism

- Interest defined in terms of power (Morgenthau)
- Security through power under conditions of anarchy (Herz)
- Survival in anarchical self-help system (Waltz)

### ■ Liberalism

- Bottom-up -> Democratic Peace (Kant)
- Principles -> Idealism / Liberal Internationalism (Wilson)
- Military-Industrial Complex (Mills)
- Bureaucratic Politics (Allison)
- Group Think

### ■ Critical Approaches and Constructivism

- Imperialism, Colonialism, Capitalism
- Ideas, Language, Intersubjectivity, and Othering

# WHAT DRIVES (US) FOREIGN POLICY?

## Imperative to Intervene?

- Defending/Securing US Homeland?
- Freedom/Democracy/'Way of Life'?
- US Interests? Ideology?
- International Peace and Stability?
- Rescuing Civilians?

## US 'Leadership Style'?

- Hegemony vs. Dominance
- Soft Power vs. Hard Power
- Example vs. Force

## Universalist or Particularist?

- Containment (Gaddis):  
'Vital Regions' vs.  
'Vital Regions' + 'Periphery'
- Liberal Hegemony (Ikenberry):  
Engagement and Containment

...father, what's the  
difference between "a just  
war" and "just a war"?

"A just war" is one  
which is being planned  
and "just a war" is one  
which has already happened.

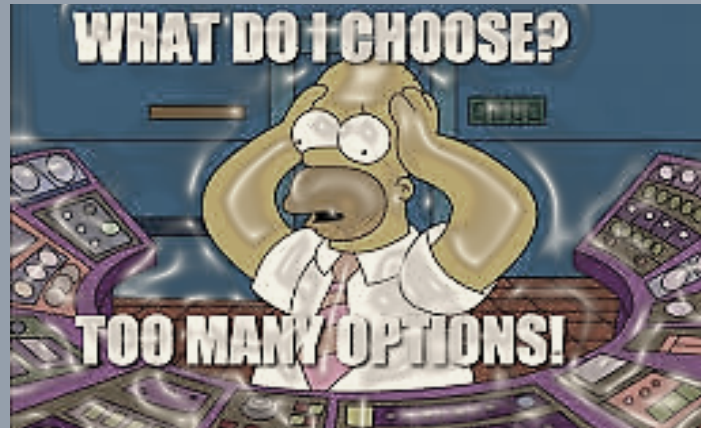


# WHAT DRIVES (US) FOREIGN POLICY?



- **American Images and US Foreign Policy**
- **US self-image?**
  - American Exceptionalism
  - Moralism
  - Liberalism
  - Legalism
- **US image of, and interaction with, others?**
  - Messianism
  - Idealism
  - Paternalism
  - Pragmatism
- **US image about role in the world?**
  - Isolationism vs. internationalism  
(-> compare Jefferson, Monroe, Roosevelt, Wilson)
  - Unilateralism vs. multilateralism

# ANSWERS? QUESTIONS?



Tradition?  
Security? Individuals?  
History? Society?  
Bureaucracy? Interests?  
System? Ideology?  
International  
Government?  
Group-Think?

# ANSWERS? QUESTIONS?

## CALVIN AND HOBBS

