

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

WHAT IS DIPLOMACY?	1
FOREIGN POLICY INTRODUCTION	3
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	10
HARRY TRUMAN	27
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.....	39
NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL, AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS	61
JOHN F. KENNEDY	69
LYNDON B. JOHNSON	78
NATIONAL INTEREST ANALYSIS MODEL	86
RICHARD NIXON	91
GERALD FORD	104
CONGRESSIONAL ROLE IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY	110
JIMMY CARTER	114
RONALD REAGAN	121
REVOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR	136
FUNCTION OF AMBASSADOR AND NSC VS. DOS	145

What is Diplomacy?

I. Foreign Policy (Organizational Perspective)

- a. Goals
- b. Plans
- c. Action

II. Politics (definition)

- a. Struggle for power, *influence*, and *wealth*

III. Diplomats (role)

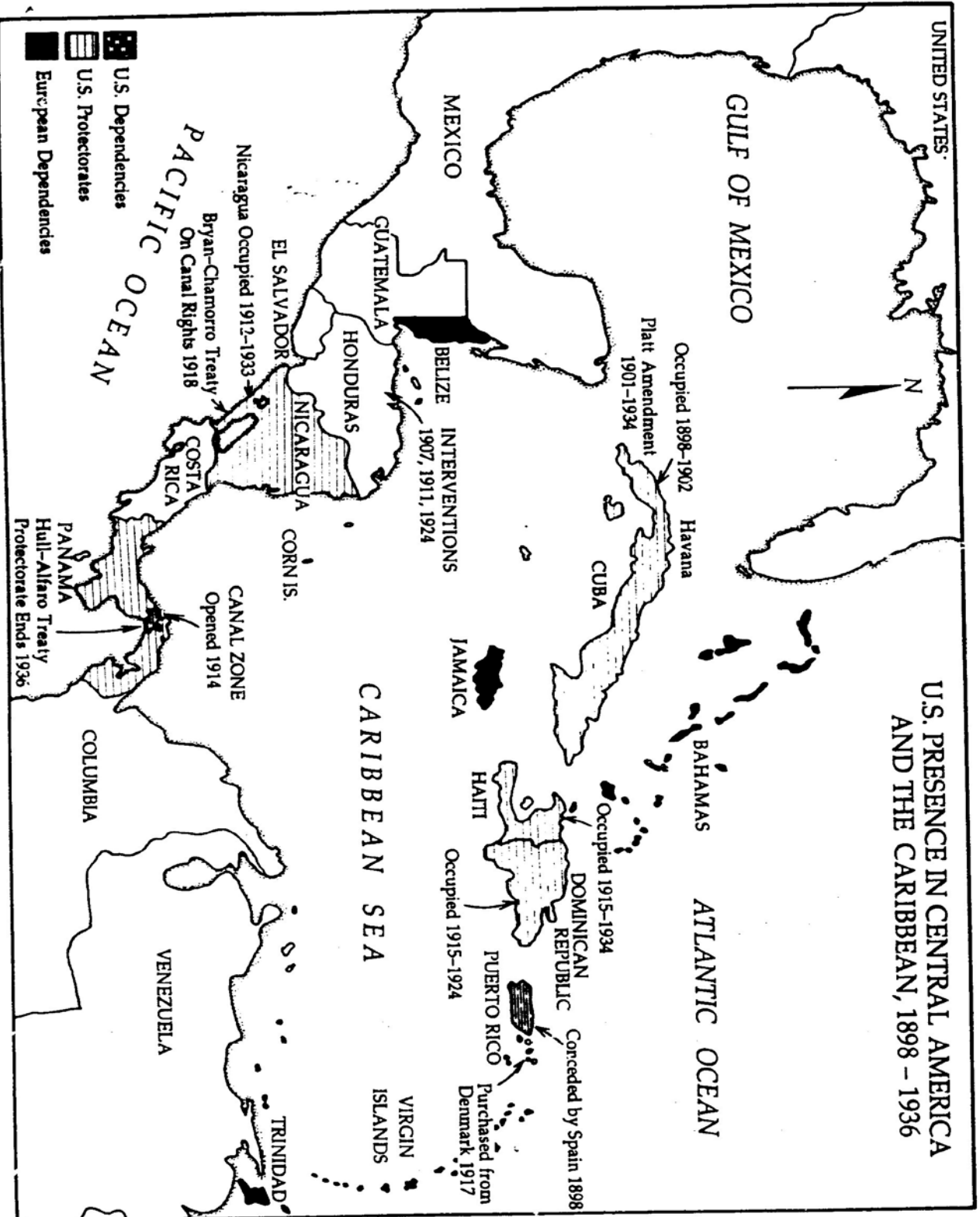
- a. Implement Foreign Policy

IV. What is Diplomacy?

- a. Actions taken that are short of war to influence parties to follow a course of action that a government proposes
- b. May include, calling foreign diplomat to White House
- c. May include, convening a conference to discuss an issue
- d. May include, going to an organization (United Nations, Organization of American States)
- e. Could be to exert financial or economical pressure on a country, such as cutting off trade or freezing a country's assets

V. War (definition)

- a. Extension of politics, using violent means



Foreign Policy Introduction

I. Introduction

- a. “2 Urges”
- b. Monroe Doctrine
- c. “Open Door”
- d. Manifest Destiny
- e. Panama Canal
- f. Roosevelt Corollary
- g. Dollar Diplomacy
- h. Versailles

II. Books of Interest

- a. *Path Between the Seas* by David McCullough

III. Declaration of Independence

- a. US foreign policy stems from Declaration of Independence

IV. Preamble to Constitution

- a. We the people of the United States, in Order to create a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America
- b. Union – Foreign policy was good to unite the population
- c. Defense – Must be good to defend the nation
- d. Welfare – Entire nation must be allowed to prosper
- e. Foreign policy was subservient to Domestic policies and interests

V. Founding Fathers

- a. Thomas Jefferson, 1800 – saw the creation of the United States, as unique
- b. Believed certain acts of God allowed Washington to defeat the British
- c. This belief led to arrogance

VI. Washington’s Farewell Address, 1796

- a. Warned that US should not get entangled in alliance that would lead US into European wars
- b. Wanted to extend commercial relations, with as little political relations as possible

VII. 2 Urges

- a. Urge to stay out of world affairs
- b. Urge to promote American values (to other countries and societies)

VIII. Early US Foreign Policy

- a. US was weak militarily
- b. US was isolated from the world, except for French colony (Louisiana)
- c. First 100 years – US only had 1 alliance (France during American Revolution, which allowed Washington to win at Yorktown in 1781)
- d. US had agreements and treaties, but no alliances
- e. US was isolationist

IX. Louisiana Purchase, 1803

- a. US wanted Louisiana for security reasons b/c it feared that they could be attacked from the West
- b. Louisiana Purchase doubled the size of the SU
- c. Jefferson was criticized for wasting the National treasury
- d. But other had a dream of one day reaching the west coast

X. Mexican War

- a. US Grant said – US tricked Mexico into war as an excuse to take Texas and California
- b. Mexico was not happy to lose half their country

XII. Other Acquisitions

- a. Florida, 1821 – from Spain
- b. Alaska, 1967 – from Russia

XIII. Open Door Policy (Japan)

- a. **Commodore Matthew Perry** is sent to open up trade w/ Japan
- b. In 1854, after Pierce becomes President, Perry makes it clear to the Japanese that the U.S. was ready to fight, but all they wanted was to open up trade
- c. Japan was caught off guard by invasion and was forced to open up diplomatic relations
- d. 1868, Shogun (military chieftain, who has an emperor as figurehead) is overthrown b/c Perry had undermined his power

XIV. Latin American Independence (1810 – 1825)

- a. 1810 – Latin American Revolutions begin
- b. 1821 – Mexico gains its independence (today's Mexico + Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California)
- c. Out of Mexico's revolt from Spain comes the Monroe Doctrine

XV. Monroe Doctrine

- a. Called the "Monroe-Adams" doctrine by scholars
- b. 2 inconsecutive paragraphs in Annual Message of President Monroe
- c. "We do not want outside powers coming into Hemisphere. Western Hemisphere is off limits to future colonization"
- d. "No military intervention by forces in Europe in Western Hemisphere."

XVI. British back Simon Bolivar

- a. British back Simon Bolivar in his quest for independence
- b. This caused concern in the US that Britain and France could have influence in the Americas and was the reason for the Monroe Doctrine

XVII. War of 1812

- a. Many battle victories for the British, except for Battle of New Orleans
- b. Treaty of Ghent in 1815 declared a truce and a return to the status quo before war

XVIII. Barbary Pirates

- a. In Jefferson's 1st term, U.S. begins troubles w/ Middle East
- b. Barbary Pirates (Arabs) attack U.S. ships, killing sailors
- c. Jefferson decides to build up Navy
- d. Jefferson starts an unofficial war against the Barbary Pirates
- e. By 1809, Barbary Pirate issue ends

XIX. Navy

- a. From the Barbary Pirates war, US found that the key to protecting US was the Navy
- b. US had a small Army that was mainly for fighting Indians
- c. Navy was always on the cutting edge of technology

XX. American Unilateralism

- a. US was suspicious of foreigners, people who learned foreign languages or anyone who had sympathy for a foreign perspective
- b. Out of these attitudes, 200 years of unilateralism prevailed

XXI. Industrial Revolution

- a. Increased US manufacturing capability tremendously
- b. As country developed and came out of Civil War, massive immigration began
- c. US became known as the “Bread Basket” b/c nobody starved in the US
- d. With the Industrial Boom in the 1880s and 1890s, idea of Manifest Destiny spread

XXII. American Imperialism

- a. China was seen as a potential commercial market
- b. Territory acquired from Spanish American War

XXIII. Spanish American War, 1898

- a. Jose Marti, 1870s – tried to liberate Cuba from Spain
- b. Marti got the sympathy of the US Press
- c. Sinking of the USS Maine gave US the excuse it needed to get into war
- d. War gave people who believed in Manifest Destiny the chance to get Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico

XXIV. Amendment to Appropriations Bill

- a. An amendment to the bill that provided funding for the war said that while Cuba was liberated, it would not become a US colony
- b. Sugar Interests – Louisiana and other sugar interests w/ the US sugar beet industry lobbied Congress, telling them that they would be out of business if Cuban sugar cane entered the US
- c. Philippines and Puerto Rico become Colonies

XXV. Treaty of Paris

- a. Ended Spanish American War
- b. No Cuban leaders present at signing
- c. US felt that it knew better how to run Cuba than the Cubans did (arrogance)
- d. US Army ran Cuba for a few years after independence

XXVI. Platt Amendment

- a. US told Cuba it had to be democratic, hold elections, and write a Constitution
- b. Platt Amendment – US writes addition to Cuban Constitution that US can intervene at any given time if it deems that the governmental situation is chaotic
- c. So, Cuba becomes independent, but not free
- d. US has interests in Cuba

XXVII. Fidel Castro

- a. Gets popular support from Cuban people for giving Cuba sovereignty
- b. 1898 – US liberates Cuba, but doesn't give sovereignty
- c. 1959 – Cuba gets sovereignty (kicking out American interests)

XXVIII. Panama Canal

- a. Theodore Roosevelt helps Panamanians gain independence from Colombia, 1903
- b. In exchange, US gets CANAL ZONE
- c. Panama thought that since France could not build a canal that the US couldn't either
- d. US found solutions to fighting mosquitoes and malaria
- e. Panama Canal opens, 1914

XXIX. Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

- a. In 1903, US realized it had to protect Canal b/c Britain, France, and Germany had strong Navies
- b. US feared that poor countries in South America could rent a **coal firing** station to a European power in exchange for their dismissing their debts – These European powers could then shut down canal
- c. To prevent this danger, TR said that if a country couldn't act in a civilized manner and reject foreign presence or get into debt to a foreign country, that the US would occupy that country to make sure coaling stations were not given out

XXX. US in Latin America (Big Stick Policy)

- a. Roosevelt Corollary led to the US taking over the Dominican Republic (taking over its treasury until 1941)
- b. Marines also took over Haiti to create roads
- c. Cuba – 6 major cities in Cuba, 1910 – had some of the best water in the world
- d. US lands in Honduras, 1924 – throws Tegucigalpa out of power and imposes an unopposed candidate for President
- e. People in Congress became ashamed of the “Big Stick”

XXXI. Good Neighbor Policy, 1933

- a. FDR announce Good Neighbor policy, claiming that the US doesn't care who the people have in power – the US will have relations with all
- b. However, all democracies collapsed and dictators took over
- c. Dictators – Cuba (Batista), Dominican Republic (Trujillo), Haiti (Papa Doc)
- d. Big Stick of Democracy, while it was imposing democracy, was authoritarian because it was imposed on the people and not chosen

XXXII. Dollar Diplomacy

- a. Imperialistic policy of Taft in China
- b. US gives aid to help Chinese economy
- c. US settles colonial disputes in favor of Americans

XXXIII. Philippino Insurrection

- a. Philippines remained US territory after Spanish American War
- b. US lost men in Philippino Insurrection until Arthur MaCarthur (father of Douglas MaCarthur) captured Aguinaldo by tricking him to believe that US wanted peace
- c. It was decided that by 1946, US would have strong enough commercial interests in place in the Philippines that it could give the Philippines sovereignty

XXXIV. Britain Reaches Out To American People (WWI)

- a. US wants to stay out of WWI
- b. Britain, France want US ammunition
- c. Germans begin submarine warfare, causing Britain to blockade Germany
- d. British conduct propaganda campaign in the US to convince American people that Britain and France were victims of German imperialism

XXXV. Sinking of the Lusitania

- a. Germany sinks Lusitania ship
- b. 100+ Americans lose their life
- c. Attack infuriates Americans
- d. US newspapers claim that US freedom of the seas was in jeopardy, but Congress was not convinced that the US should enter WWI

XXXVI. Wilson Sympathizes with British

- a. 1915-16 – WWI is in a stalemate
- b. Wilson believes that if US enters and wins, then Wilson could turn Europeans into good democrats

XXXVII. Zimmerman Telegram

- a. Germans make a huge error – Germany offers Mexican government an alliance
- b. At the time, there was a revolution in Mexico
- c. Germany asked Mexico to cause trouble for the United States b/c if the US was distracted in a war w/ Mexico, then it couldn't enter WWI
- d. British intercepted "Zimmerman telegram" – which told Mexico that Germany would give them back the territory they lost in the Mexican-American war if they caused trouble for the US
- e. Germans declare Unrestricted Submarine Warfare in 1917

XXXVIII. US Enters World War I

- a. Zimmerman telegram and unrestricted warfare made Congress realize that US had to get into war
- b. US mobilized a million man Army across the Atlantic Ocean (largest transport in history)
- c. By 1901, US was the #1 economic power in the world (greatest manufacturing capability) – gave them the ability to project force and create ships

XXXIX. Leon Trotsky

- a. Protected in move from US to Russia
- b. Stopped in Halifax, but on orders from US, he was let go

XXXX. Lenin

- a. Lenin and 32 other guys left Switzerland at the behest of the German General Staff
- b. These guys went through Germany into Russia
- c. Germany believed that these men would cause trouble in Russia and force them to pull out of war and that is what happened

XLI. Russian Revolution, 1917

- a. The beginning of the Russian Revolution allowed Germany to shift 1 million Germans towards the West
- b. However, Allies seemed invincible

XLII. International Banking Organizations

- a. International Banking Organizations helped fund Revolution in hopes of getting influence in the country if the revolution was successful
- b. Banking Organization also helped fund Mussolini's takeover in Italy and the Chinese Revolution in 1912

XLIII. Versailles Conference, 1919

- a. Wilson tries to convince victorious European power to treat each other properly (14 points)
- b. Wilson wants open relations and democratic elections

XLIV. Ho Chi Minh

- a. Young Vietnamese Nationalist wanted to ask Wilson to negotiate w/ France to receive representation for his part of Indo-China in the French parliament
- b. Wilson, however, refused to see him

FDR and World War II

I. Books of Interest

- a. *Day of Deceit* by Robert B. Stinnett
- b. ISBN: 0-7432-0129-9
- c. (paperback edition) 2001 edition

II. Veterans Hospital Administration

- a. After World War I, there was dissolution with having gone to war
- b. US created Veterans Hospital Administration after WWI to get wounded veterans off the street (so that they wouldn't be a reminder of the war)

III. Desire For Isolationism Increases

- a. There was lot of propaganda against war after it ended (it had been prohibited during the war)
- b. Belief in isolationism took over the country
- c. Isolationism affected US economy

IV. Smoot – Hawley Tariff

- a. During the Great Depression, businesses were under pressure
- b. Tariff against import goods helped US businesses because Americans with less money had to buy cheaper products

V. FDR's Helps Restore Confidence

- a. FDR was elected b/c Hoover wasn't doing enough to help the country
- b. FDR exhibited an aura of confidence
- c. FDR initiated reform programs to get people back to work (although the Depression lasted throughout the 1930s and into WW2)
- d. The Rich took advantage of the Depression

VI. FDR's Foreign Policy Management Style

- a. Has to get all departments coordinated
- b. FDR has foreign experience (Assistant Secretary of the Navy)
- c. Listened to his advisors
- d. Had efficiency and competence – he felt he could do foreign policy better than anyone in government

VII. 3 Foreign Policy Governing Styles

- a. Competitive
- b. Formalistic
- c. Collegial

VIII. Competitive Style

- a. Uninhibited, diverse opinions coming into the President

IX. Formalistic Style

- a. Highly structured staff system
- b. Analysis of pros and con takes effect in a systematic manner to determine best action

X. Collegial Style

- a. President organizes foreign policy advisors as a team to work together to analyze and solve problems as a closely knit group

XI. FDR's Competitive Style

- a. No chains of command
- b. Not much communication between advisors
- c. All information coordinated in President's Office
- d. Anybody could reach up to the President and he could reach down (this is the way FDR liked it b/c it fit with his political personality)

XII. FDR: "The Lion and the Fox"

- a. Some Historians call FDR "The Lion and the Fox"
- b. Fox – very devious, could be very shrewd, used any trickery needed (including murder) to accomplish task, the ends justify the means

XIII. Pros of Competitive Approach

- a. President – mainstream of network (flows to president)
- b. President looks for politically feasible and bureaucratically doable solutions to accomplish his political aim
- c. Creates lots of creativity for new ideas (within and outside governmental system)

XIV. Cons of Competitive Approach

- a. Places a large amount of demands on decision-maker's time and attention (Results in less time for other things)
- b. Can expose President to biased information for a solution that is only doable and not necessarily the best solution
- c. Aides/informants may be pursuing their own interests at the expense of decision-makers
- d. Decision-makers tend to be secretive and aides are not necessarily consulted regarding decisions (President makes a decision and then it is executed)
- e. Courses of action are not completely thought out (b/c new problems may be created)
- f. Causes lots of wear and tear (burn out) on staff

XV. FDR and American Confidence

- a. During the 1930s, FDR tried to re-establish American confidence, needed to break out of the Great Depression

XVI. Japan Invades Manchuria, Sept. 1931

- a. Japan invades Manchuria in Sept. 1931, claiming that the invasion was for self-defense
- b. Early 1932 – Japan installs a Japanese puppet government in Manchuria
- c. Puyi – the last Chinese emperor becomes emperor of Manchuria
- d. Japanese rename Manchuria, calling it **Manchukuo**
- e. Japanese were able to take over Manchuria because Mao and Shek were fighting a civil war against each other
- f. After this event, Mao and Shek's forces unite to fight war against Japan

XVII. Japanese Resources From America

- a. Japan got oil from United States
- b. Japan got iron ore from US and Canada

XVIII. German Colonies After World War I

- a. After WWI, Germany was weak
- b. Germany lost all its colonies in Africa
- c. Japan took Germany's colonies in Pacific
- d. League of Nations didn't say anything b/c nobody else wanted the colonies

XIX. Japanese Power Increases

- a. 1905 – Japan wins Russo-Japanese War
- b. 1920s – Japan started to increase the number of their battleships

Pearl Harbor Time Lines

- 1923: Brigadier General Billy Mitchell, acknowledged as the "father" of the Army Air Corps (air force), predicts that sometime in the future, early on a Sunday morning, the Japanese will launch a surprise attack in the Pacific Ocean against an American target - Pearl Harbor.

- 1925: US Navy intelligence begins a dedicated effort to intercept, decode and translate Japanese military signals. This is part of the Navy's contingency war planning (War Plan Orange) which assumes that the most probable adversary that the United States will have to face in the event of war will be Japan. The Navy prepares accordingly and develops its own modern, cutting edge attack aviation capability and aircraft carriers.

- 1938: Vice Admiral Ernest J. King, using the aircraft carrier USS Saratoga, conducts a surprise, simulated air raid on Pearl Harbor, launching his planes from the North Pacific approaches into Hawaii.

- Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland in 1939, beginning World War II. In late 1939 several refugee scientists from Europe, including Albert Einstein and Leo Szilard, notify U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt that the Germans are working on the problem of harnessing atomic energy into a bomb. Based on that information Roosevelt establishes the Manhattan Project so that the United States can develop its own bomb before Nazi Germany does. If the Nazis are not defeated or overthrown in a timely manner and their atomic bomb development project quashed, there is a possibility that Adolf Hitler might achieve sufficient military superiority to impose his will upon the United States, e.g. time is of the essence in defeating Hitler's scientific effort.

- In June 1940 Germany overruns France and then begins an aerial bombardment of England in preparation for an invasion.

- September 1940: Germany signs a mutual-assistance alliance with Japan, committing each to come to the assistance of the other in the event of the outbreak of war.

- September and October 1940: Army and Navy cryptographers (code breakers) solve the two principal Japanese government code systems: Purple, the major diplomatic code, and the Kaigun Ango code, which is a series of twenty-nine separate Japanese naval operations codes used for radio contact with warships, merchant vessels, naval bases and personnel in overseas posts. This includes Code Book D or the "5-num" code. The US Navy begins tracking the movement and location of Japanese warships in October 1940 and is greatly assisted through the use of radio direction finding (RDF), which enables a radio signal monitor station to determine the direction from which a radio signal came. By triangulation or the use of two or more distinct directions (azimuths) from as many monitor stations the Navy can determine the precise location of an individual ship, the type of ship, and even its name. Twenty-two radio signal monitor/intercept stations (redundancy was considered crucial) located in three tiers (east, central, and west) and

focused on Japanese naval ship movements cover the entire Pacific Ocean. Four cryptographic centers transmit and decode, but Washington (Station US) reserves for itself the decoding of the special "5-num" Japanese naval code and does all the translations; thus controlling the input to the combat field units throughout the Pacific Ocean of decrypted/translated information. The Japanese modify their codes from time to time, but the Navy is able to break them within 72 hours in every case.

October 1940: Lieutenant Commander Arthur McCollum of the Far East Desk of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) prepares a memorandum recommending eight (8) actions which would antagonize Japan to the point that it would have to cease all its military operations in the Pacific and in China or go to war with the United States. Actions include forward basing of the U.S. Navy's Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, freezing Japanese assets within the United States, and embargoing all trade with Japan, including that of the British and the Dutch. In short the memorandum recommends that the U.S. cut Japan off from all fuel, funding, and trade (iron and steel).

- Fall 1940: Japan's navy begins planning for the possibility of war with the United States and, in particular, begins rehearsals for a possible attack on Pearl Harbor.

- January 1941: According to White House routing logs. President Roosevelt is on the receiving list for the decoded Kaigun Anglo messages.

- 27 January 1941: US Ambassador Joseph Grew in Tokyo sends a message to Secretary of State Cordell Hull in Washington that the Japanese intend "to attempt a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor" sometime in the future.

- 1 February 1941: President Roosevelt replaces Admiral James Richardson, commander of the fleet at Hawaii, because the latter disagrees with Roosevelt's plan to base the fleet at Pearl Harbor; considered by Richardson to be a highly vulnerable forward position. Admiral Husband Kimmel becomes the new fleet commander at Pearl Harbor.

- April 1941: At the direction of Admiral Royal Ingersoll, Asst. Chief of Naval Operations in Washington, Admiral Kimmel at Pearl Harbor is cut out of the intelligence loop for reports concerning specific locations of Japanese warships.

- July 1941 ONI stops sending decoded and translated intercepts to Kimmel and Short.

- July 1941: The United States, England, and Holland (the government now based in the Dutch East Indies) implement the McCollum recommendations in earnest, seizing Japanese assets, and embargoing iron, steel and oil. The Dutch refuse to grant Japan oil concessions in the Netherlands Indies (today Indonesia).

- July 1941: With its economy on the verge of being strangled, the Japanese military decides that it has no option but to go to war. U.S. military intelligence notes that the Japanese reaction to the embargo policy includes drafting a half-million additional males

into the armed forces, recalling to the home islands all merchant marine vessels from around the world, and directing that all warships and aviation units be recalled from their bases in China. Roosevelt directs that the Panama Canal be closed to Japanese vessels of all types (including those merchant marine ships returning to Japan from the Atlantic Ocean).

- August 1941: Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill meet in secret for a four-day conference aboard the British battleship Prince of Wales off the coast of Newfoundland. The result was the Atlantic Charter, a joint statement of shared goals for the war against Germany. The United States was still four months away from officially entering the war, but Roosevelt has committed the United States to the British war effort. In the Atlantic Ocean the U.S. Navy is ordered to attack on sight all German warships (especially submarines) encountered.

- October 1941: The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is directed to allow the Navy to take over all espionage investigations in the Hawaiian Islands.

- 5 November 1941: Ambassador Grew reports to Secretary of State Hull that Emperor Hirohito has given the go-ahead and authorization for the attack on Pearl Harbor.

- 15 November 1941: General Marshall conducts a special press briefing for seven key representatives of the U.S. news media (New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Time and Newsweek, and Associated Press, United Press, and International News Services). He explains concerning Japanese military operations and the possibility of the outbreak of war: "We know what they know and they don't know we know it." He goes on to predict that a war between Japan and America would break out during the "first ten days of December." That he did not make the same effort to notify his Hawaiian-based, Army Lieutenant General Walter Short is of some concern. Who deserved to receive the information first? General Short or the reporters?

- 16 November 1941: The Japanese Pearl Harbor strike force under Admiral Nagumo assembles at Hitokappu Bay (northern Japanese islands) in preparation for its operation against Hawaii.

- 15 November -16 December 1941: Admiral Nagumo, although he and his ships are supposed to be on "radio-listening-silence," transmits 129 messages back to Japanese naval headquarters in the home islands (60 are from Nagumo's Akagi aircraft carrier itself) and all are monitored, decoded, and translated. RDF bearings for each of these messages are included. Navy radio intercept operators in the Philippines and Hawaii work around the clock, including holidays, in rotating eight-hour shifts to keep up with the flow of intercepted radio signals (42 per hour or about 1,000 per day from the Japanese military).

- 23 November 1941 (two weeks prior to the Pearl Harbor attack): Frustrated that his intelligence officers can not tell him where the Japanese navy's aircraft carriers are

located, Admiral Husband Kimmel conducts a secret reconnaissance in force (disguised as a "training exercise" - Exercise 191) 200 miles into the north Pacific to try to locate and engage any Japanese force that might be approaching Pearl Harbor from that direction. Included Kimmel's training exercise are 46 warships and 126 aircraft from two aircraft carriers. They are fully armed and prepared to engage hostile warships that might be discovered. Long distance air search and the use of radar were undertaken on a 24-hour basis. The exercise takes place over the exact area from which the Japanese will launch their aerial attack on Pearl Harbor.

- 24 November 1941: Kimmel receives an abrupt message from Naval Headquarters in Washington ordering the cancellation of his training exercise and immediate return to Pearl Harbor.

- 24 November 1941: "Vacant Sea" order issued by Asst. Chief of Naval Operations, Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll to clear all U.S. and allied shipping out of the North Pacific (shipping rerouted south via Australia).

- 24 November 1941 Admiral Kimmel orders Commander Joseph Rochfort to "find the [Japanese] carriers"

- 24 - 26 November 1941: Japan's Admiral Yamamoto transmits, using four naval code systems, thirteen (13) distinct messages directing the attack on Pearl Harbor. U.S. Naval intelligence intercepts (monitors), transcribes, decodes and translates all of these within 24 hours of receipt. Six aircraft carriers in the North Pacific attack force and 30 submarines of a Central Pacific force are identified under the command of Vice-Admiral Chuichi Nagumo and collectively called "Kido Butai" (strike force).

- 25 November 1941: The Pearl Harbor strike force sets sail from Japan for Pearl Harbor (other fleets have already begun movements, heading for the Philippines, Wake Island, and Guam).

- 26 November 1941: Admiral Harold Stark, Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), orders Kimmel to use his aircraft carriers (USS Enterprise and Lexington) to ferry Army pursuit planes to Wake and Midway Islands out to the west of Pearl Harbor. To accompany the carriers, Kimmel is further ordered to send out 21 of his most modern warships.

- 28 November 1941: Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Harold R. Stark, sends message to Admiral Husband Kimmel at Pearl Harbor which states in part: "If hostilities cannot be avoided the United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act. Undertake no offensive action until Japan has committed an overt act."

- 28 November 1941: Marshall sends a message to Short in Hawaii: "all precautions be taken immediately against [Japanese] subversive activities."

- 28 November 1941: Secretary of War Henry Stimson attends a meeting with President

Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull, General George Marshall (Army) and Admiral Harold Stark (Navy), and enters into his diary that evening: "One problem troubled us very much. If you know your enemy is going to strike you, it is not usually wise to wait until he gets the jump on you by taking the initiative. The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition." Note: president Roosevelt faced a terrible dilemma as to how to break the American people out of their lethargy and anti-war mentality to save England from the Nazi onslaught. From the White House's point of view the Pearl Harbor attack was something that had to be endured in order to stop a greater evil - the Nazi invaders of Europe.

- 29-30 November 1941: a North Pacific typhoon scatters 31 vessels of the Japanese strike force; Admiral Nagumo and other main ships transmit on low power to scattered vessels out of sight to enable them to regroup; solar storms at that moment on the sun cause these radio signals to skip and bounce so that they are picked up by steamship (SS) Lurline en-route from San Francisco to Hawaii.

- 2 December 1941 Kimmel asks his intelligence officer Commander Layton where the Japanese carriers are. Layton claims he does not know. ONI in Washington knows that the Japanese Pearl Harbor raiding force is proceeding easterly from Japan along the 40 degree North Latitude region (parallel) of the North Pacific. The Dutch naval attache assigned to Washington, Captain Johan Ranneft, observes on an ONI situation map a naval intelligence plot which holds two Japanese aircraft carriers leaving Japan across the North Pacific on an easterly course.

- 3 December 1941: eastward movement of Pearl Harbor strike force along 40th parallel stops and the warships turn south towards Pearl Harbor.

- 6 December 1941: During another visit to ONI, Captain Ranneft again notes the progress of the Japanese carriers in the North Pacific and assumes that the US Navy will ambush the Japanese as they make their approach towards Pearl Harbor.

- 7 December 1941: Stripped of his intelligence inputs (thus blinded) and with his only two aircraft carriers dispatched by Washington outside of supporting range (both "hands" tied behind his back). Admiral Kimmel unknowingly confronts the Japanese onslaught early that morning. Despite having the most up-to-date information available to them in Hawaii (from the Philippines and Alaska), top Naval intelligence officials in Hawaii fail to provide Kimmel with the key data that the admiral needs to allow the American military and its civilian establishment an even chance in the ensuing fight against the Japanese 360 plane attack. Joseph Rochefort, one of the top Naval intelligence officers at Pearl Harbor and responsible for keeping Admiral Kimmel informed of Japanese aircraft carrier movements stated in a postwar assessment of the attack: "It was a pretty cheap price to pay for unifying the country." Some 2,334 persons were killed by the 7 December attack at Pearl Harbor.

- 8 December 1941: Congress declares war on Japan.
- 11 December 1941: Hitler declares war on the United States (as part of his alliance agreement with Japan). Congress then declares war on Germany. President Roosevelt accomplishes his aim of involving the US in the war to defeat Hitler.
- 11 December 1941: All records involving the Japanese radio intercept program are locked away in vaults controlled by Navy communications officials. On December 10 the SS Lurline returns to San Francisco where a Navy intelligence official boards the ship and confiscates its radio log (radio direction finding reports on Japanese radio signals in the North Pacific prior to the Pearl Harbor attack)
- June 1942: Just six months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, at the battle of Midway Admiral Chester Nimitz and the US Navy, using intercepted messages (5-num code) and RDF, successfully ambushes the Japanese navy's main aircraft carriers, sinking four. The Japanese navy never recovers from this setback.
- 25 May 1999: The US Senate finds that both Admiral Kimmel and General Short "were denied vital intelligence that was available in Washington."

FDR's Wartime Diplomacy

I. Wartime Conferences

- a. Atlantic Charter – August 1941
- b. Casablanca – January 1941
- c. Quebec – August 1943
- d. Cairo – November 1943
- e. Tehran – November 1943
- f. Quebec II – October 1944
- g. Yalta – February 1945
- h. Potsdam – February 1945
- i. Potsdam – July 1945

II. 1940 Presidential Election

- a. FDR ran and was re-elected on the policy that he was not going to send American boys into a foreign war (official policy)
- b. By January 1941, the policy changed
- c. By April 1941, US Navy was secretly instructed to shoot at German submarines, but Hitler wouldn't take the bait to give FDR a reason to get into the war

III. June 1941

- a. Germans invaded the rest of Poland and the Soviet Union
- b. Germans had to bomb airspace over Britain, but Hitler moved away from attack when he heard that Britain was going to attack Berlin
- c. As a result, Hitler moved to invade the Soviets

IV. Japanese Take the Bait

- a. Since Hitler would not create an incident in the Atlantic, FDR looked for the Japanese to create an incident in the Pacific
- b. Japanese Attack – hard day for folks at Pearl Harbor b/c Kimmel stood at Pearl Harbor and took the hit, then was later used as the fall guy for the attack
- c. Americans were infuriated at Japanese attack
- d. FDR's advisors were surprised that FDR wasn't shocked to hear about Japanese attack

V. Churchill's Jubilation

- a. Churchill was happy US got into the war b/c it saved his country
- b. Churchill believed that Mussolini and Hitler's fate were sealed once America entered the war
- c. By Jan.- Feb. 1941 – England thought it would be invaded, but it didn't happen

VI. General George Marshall's Mobilizing Effort

- a. General Marshall (Army) looked for a plan to mobilize America for war in early 1941
- b. A few days before Pearl Harbor, on December 4, 1941, someone leaked FDR's war plans to the Chicago Tribune
- c. Chicago Tribune printed "FDR's War Plans" on its December 4, 1941 edition

VII. WWII Increases US Air Power

- a. US aircraft carriers increased tremendously in comparison to the Japanese aircrafts

VIII. Why Did FDR Let Pearl Harbor Get Attacked?

- a. FDR needed to shock American public into war to break out of isolationist mentality

IX. Tension with Japan

- a. US feared Japan moving further southward
- b. US and Great Britain believed that Japan could attack colonies
- c. US colonies: Philippines, Guam
- d. July 25, 1940 – Oil loopholes were closed – US cut off oil to Japan – making them feel that they were being encircled (and encouraged the Dutch to do likewise)
- e. July 25, 1941 – US froze Japanese funds in the US to make sure that they couldn't get any US oil and to pressure them into stopping their southward movement toward American and British colonies

X. Anti-Japanese Propaganda

- a. Before feature films at movie theatres, newsreels were shown, depicting events of WWII
- b. Japanese were portrayed as sadistic for murders in China
- c. Strong anti-Japanese mentality developed in America
- d. Japanese were also shown to wear glasses, making Americans think that Japanese were inferior

XI. Lend-Lease Act, 1941

- a. After taking 3rd oath, FDR wants to give Britain aid, but stay out of war and remaining neutral
- b. FDR convinces Congress to pass this act
- c. Some, including Democrats opposed the passage of this act, but more than 1/2 in d. Congress agreed by March 1941, when the bill finally passed
- d. \$7.2 billion in aid was given to Great Britain

XII. Lend-Lease Extended to Russia, Summer 1941

- a. Nazi Germany abandoned ally of Russia and tried to invade Russia
- b. U.S. gave Lend-Lease Aid to Soviet Union
- c. U.S. ships were sunk by Germans on the way to provide ammunition to Russia
- d. Congressmen believed that Germany was in the right for their actions because the
- e. U.S. was not being neutral and they were protecting themselves
- f. As a result, FDR never asked Congress to declare war on Germany after sinking of supply ship

XIII. Atlantic Charter, August 12, 1941

- a. FDR meets Churchill on board a British Battle Cruiser
- b. Churchill Tells FDR he wants top priority for Lend-Lease
- c. FDR says that Soviets will be given priority for Lend-Lease (b/c they were needed to distract the Japanese), but FDR tells Churchill, he won't be left out
- d. Churchill and FDR discuss "Four Freedoms" desired for all countries

XIV. "Four Freedoms"

- a. No territorial aggrandizement - no seizing territory of other countries without the approval of the population involved
- b. Right of Self-determination
- c. Free Trade world-wide – Stems from Great Depression where all countries imposed high import tariffs
- d. Improved labor conditions
- e. Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want
- f. Freedom of Speech and thought was left out b/c it might be an embarrassment to the Soviet Union (where there was no free speech)
- g. 6 idealistic positions were expressed in war propaganda worldwide (freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear – the 4 freedoms)

XV. 4 Freedoms Propaganda Inspires Latin America

- a. This propaganda served to inspire liberal groups, especial in Latin America, who were seeking changes in the face of dictators
- b. Sets the basis for reform efforts after WWII (exploited by Castro)

XVI. A United Nations is Considered, February 1942

- a. US is talking about a United Nations that would apply to the world with no exceptions

XVII. Soviets Want a 2nd Front Opened

- a. Stalin lobbies for immediate invasion in Europe to open up a 2nd front to throw off the Germans
- b. America claims that it would take the Army a year to catch up to the Navy's capabilities for a land invasion

XVIII. Communist Party in US

- a. When Russia/Germany invaded Poland, Communist Party in US were told that the Nazis were good guys (Nazi-Soviet Pact)
- b. June 1941 – Gear reverses and American Communists oppose Nazis
 - Went to extreme efforts to lobby for support for Soviet Union

XIX. Casablanca (Africa), January 1943

- a. US has started to counter attack
- b. Conference is between Churchill and FDR
- c. FDR first proposes concept of unconditional surrender (no bargaining or negotiations) – Japan and Germany would be occupied, their war-making capabilities would be neutralized forever
- d. Churchill was not completely sold on the idea of unconditional surrender b/c the Nazis could use the threat to extend the war (which is what happened) and would make it impossible to divide Axis powers
- e. Elliot Roosevelt, FDR's son who sat in on conference, wrote in his diary that FDR thought that Stalin would love the idea of unconditional surrender

XX. Nazis Exploit Threat of Unconditional Surrender

- a. Nazis told Germans that their country would be invaded and that the US and Britain had evil retribution in mind in retaliation against Germany
- b. This united Germans with the Nazis and prolonged the war

XXI. Quebec Conference, August 1943

- a. Meeting between FDR and Churchill
- b. Decision was made that Invasion of Europe would occur in June 1944
- c. At meeting, Churchill began to question what would be the state of post-war Europe
- d. Churchill was concerned with Stalin's Armies that were surging towards the Polish frontier – what would happen to Europe? – would Soviets overrun Europe before Allies get to France?

XXII. Harry Hopkins

- a. Orchestrated Lend-Lease
- b. Secretly an agent of influence for the Soviets
- c. Contacted by Soviet agents in the 1930s and asked if he could influence policies if Soviets entered a war w/ Germany
- d. Eventually discovered after war, causing him to commit suicide

XXIII. FDR Wants To Appease Stalin

- a. In 1943, FDR said he thought that if he gave Stalin what he wanted, believing that Stalin was working for security in his country, that Stalin would work towards democracy

XXIV. Cairo Conference, November 1943

- a. Meeting between FDR, Churchill, and Shang Kai Shek (China)
- b. FDR tells Shek that he should form a coalition government w/ Mao's people
- c. Shek was shocked b/c he didn't know why FDR was insisting on this
- d. Shek's Army in China was pinning down a million Japanese soldiers, having the effect of cutting down the Japanese war effort against the US
- e. Shek tried to fight the Japanese and was told to take his enemy, Mao into the government (Shek said he would consider it)

XXV. Tehran Conference, November 1943

- a. Russian Army approaching the old Polish Frontier
- b. In Tehran, Stalin first meets w/ FDR and Churchill
- c. Stalin insists that as part of Normandy invasion, there should be an invasion of France from the South

XXVI. Mark Wayne Clarke

- a. Commanding troops – thought that Allies could cut through northeastern Italy to get there before the Russians got there
- b. Clarke thought that invading from the South was one of the biggest mistakes of the war
- c. After invading at Normandy, invasion from the South was pointless and had the effect of letting the Russians get into the Balkans
- c. Harry Hopkins, an agent of influence for the Soviets in America, influenced the decision to invade Southern France

XXVII. Hitler – Believes Normandy Invasion is a Ruse

- a. Hitler was convinced that the Normandy invasion was a ruse b/c General Patton, a noteworthy general, was commanding troops through Italy
- b. But the real invasion was coming from General Eisenhower at Normandy

XXVIII. Yalta Conference, February 1945

- a. 48% of Poland's land was to be given to Soviets – it was ratified (The idea of popular sovereignty went out the window – even though the war began as a result of the invasion of Poland)

XXIX. US Manufacturing in WWII

- a. US was producing 1 airplane every 5 minutes
- b. But these planes needed pilots and mechanics
- c. 1 ship was built each day
- d. US aircraft carriers increased to 100
- e. In 3 years, General Motors produced 60,000 tanks

XXX. Quebec II Conference, October 1944

- a. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau wants to run Germany into a farming country and give all German Industry to Britain
- b. Plan leaks out to the press
- c. Germans exploit leak in order to get their population to fight to the end
- d. Truman renounced this plan when he became President
- e. At the time of this conference, FDR was going through an election and had to be propped up for photos – that were then edited
- f. Polio was wearing FDR away since 1942

XXXI. Yalta Conference, February 1945

- a. FDR flies halfway around the world in bad health
- b. Alger Hiss was at Yalta – Nixon later accused Hiss of being an agent of influence for the Soviets and of exploiting FDR's health, helping to give the Soviets the secret to the atomic bomb
- c. At Yalta, FDR agrees:
 1. All of Manchuria should go to Soviets at the end of the War
 2. Western Japanese Islands go to the Soviets
 3. Soviet Union, not Chinese, will accept surrender of Japanese and their equipment
 4. Korea would be divided in half (north and south)
 5. 500 ship loads of supplies would be sent from the west coast of the US to Soviet port (Instigated by Harry Hopkins)

- d. Soviets agree to enter into war with Japan 90 days after European war ends (February 1945 – Russian Army is at the gate of Berlin)
- e. In Europe, Stalin gets the Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia), ½ Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, a deal w/ Tito in Yugoslavia
- f. 4 Freedoms went out of consideration
- g. War began over Poland invasion, but Poland still had half its country ceded to Soviets at the end
- h. Stalin believed in international power politics – largest arm in the world

XXXII. War in the Pacific

- a. Japanese attack Pearl Harbor to wipe out US Pacific capability so that Japanese could get to oil fields in Java
- b. Instead of invading Philippines, Japanese would have had a bigger effect by invading Hawaiian islands and then affecting the locks on the Panama Canal
- c. Japanese put ½ million men in Pacific islands
- d. MacArthur liberated Philippines b/c there were Americans there – “I shall return”
- e. US had to decide whether to invade Japan (decided in Potsdam Conference - July 1945)

XXXIII. Potsdam Conference, July 1945

- a. Truman meets Churchill and Stalin
- b. During Summit Meeting, Churchill ordered that a Parliamentary election take place because since the War in Europe was over, it was seen as the right thing to do
- c. Churchill’s party lost in elections, so he was ousted as Prime Minister and the Labour Party’s Clement Attley (1945-51) replaced Churchill in the middle of the Summit
- d. (Churchill would return to being Prime Minister from 1951-55)
- e. Truman told Stalin that he had an atomic bomb, but he didn’t seem very interested b/c he already knew about it (and was working on his own bomb)

XXXIV. Potsdam Declaration

- a. Truman warns Japan that he’s going to use a terrible weapon against Japan if they don’t surrender
- b. Truman gives the military control over the 2 atomic bombs that had been created after Japan doesn’t surrender

XXXV. Why Did Truman Bomb Japan?

- a. To Shock Japanese into believing that they couldn’t win war and should surrender (point reinforced w/ 2nd bomb)
- b. An invasion of the home island of Japan would result in ½ Americans dead b/c Japanese would have fought to the death (literally, to every man, woman, and child)
- c. If Japan surrenders quick, war could be over before Russians get there

XXXVI. Hiroshima, 8/6/45

- a. The *Enola Gay* plane drops first bomb on Hiroshima (a military center) at 8:15 a.m.
- b. 43 seconds later, it exploded over Hiroshima, killing 80,000 men, women, and children instantly
- c. After the pilot of the *Enola Gay* released the atomic bomb, he looked back to see the effects and was shocked and troubled by the devastation
- d. Pilot goes through mental anguish with feelings of guilt for the rest of his life, even though he had been ordered to drop the bomb by his commander
- e. Effects of Hiroshima have not ended to this day
- f. People are still being victimized by the radiation it created, which is spreading cancer
- g. Hiroshima was wiped out

XXXVII. Russians enter War in Japan, 8/7/45

- a. August 7, 1945 – U.S. drops bomb on Hiroshima, Japan
- b. August 8, 1945 – Russia declares War on Japan
- c. Russia turns North Korea, which Japan had a sphere of influence over, Communist

XXXVIII. Nagasaki, 8/9/45

- a. After attack on Hiroshima, the Japanese didn't respond to a U.S. demand for unconditional surrender b/c the Japanese emperor was not available
- b. 3 days after 1st attack, U.S. military decides to drop the 2nd and final atomic bomb on Nagasaki (another military center)

XXXIX. Japanese Surrender, 8/14/45

- a. After the 2 atomic bombs and the Russian invasion on the Japanese empire, the Japanese emperor went on the radio, which was the first time many Japanese people had heard the emperor's voice, and agreed to an unconditional surrender
- b. 9/2/1945 – Douglas Macarthur on board the U.S.S. Missouri accepts the surrender of the Emperor of Japan

XXXX. Japan after WW2

- a. After WW2, Douglas Macarthur rebuilds Japan
- b. Japanese Emperor becomes a figurehead and becomes a friend of the U.S.

Harry Truman

I. Topics

- a. Truman Doctrine
 - Marshall Plan
 - GATT
 - IMF/WB
- b. 1947: DOD, JCS, CIA, DOS (National Security Act of 1947)
- c. George Kennan
- d. NATO
- e. Venona Intercepts
- f. Joseph McCarthy
- g. NSC-68
- h. Korea
 - Macarthur
 - Inchon

II. Truman Succeeds to the Presidency

- a. After FDR died, Truman became President without knowing anything more than he read in the newspaper
- b. Truman – “The Buck Stops Here” – Truman took responsibility for decisions & actions

III. US After WWII

- a. 1946 – Russia has large land Armies dominating central and eastern Europe
- b. US has the largest Navy in the world (1000 ships)
- c. US has a monopoly over atomic bomb (seen as political ace in international relations)
- d. US economically dominates the world
- e. US was an industrial power without equal (held 50% of world market share; today: about 14-15% of world market share)

IV. United Nations, Fall 1945

- a. Based on the creation of the UN, US could influence and reshape world order w/ US values and liberties
- b. US hoped to eliminate economic problems in the world that lead to Great Depression
- c. US wanted to improve international economics, provide security to free nations

V. The Iron Curtain Begins, 1946

- a. Stalin and the Soviets began consolidating their position in Europe and Asia (including Manchuria)
- b. Stalin believed that “the West” was trying to encircle Russia
- c. With FDR’s death, Stalin felt that he lost the ability to control world events
- d. Stalin was paranoid
- e. Churchill started talking about an “Iron Curtain descending upon Europe” and isolating Soviets from the rest of the world so that they could impose Communism on their side of the world
- f. Although, Soviets did join the United Nations

VI. Should the US Share Atomic Bomb?

- a. US started thinking about sharing its bombs w/ other countries
- b. Eisenhower argued against sharing its atomic bomb – “How would it stop a Russian invasion of Western Europe” without a bomb
- c. Truman agreed

VII. Soviets Perceived As a Threat

- a. Soviet Union was becoming a threat to American interests in the world
- b. Truman advisor, Forrestal, talked about remobilizing troops toward Russia, but decided against it (b/c America was tired of fighting)
- c. Truman wanted to enjoy the economic boom brought after WWII (until early 60s)
- d. Soviets perceived as taking advantage of Communist infrastructure in the world
- e. Stalin was trying to get Western European countries to convert to Communism

VIII. Truman Doctrine, 1947

- a. Truman gave \$400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey to battle Communism
- b. Doctrine said that money would be given to any free people trying to resist subjugation
- c. **FREE** was defined as anti-Communist
- d. Brutal dictators in Latin America exploited Doctrine, claiming that they too were anti-Communist
- e. Truman Doctrine was the 1st time US started to get entangled in affairs outside of the Western Hemisphere

IX. Marshall Plan, 1948

- a. Truman requested \$17 million, but only \$13 million was approved by Congress to help revive European economy
- b. US believed that reviving European economy was the key to battling Communism
- c. It helped to give Europe money to buy products so that trade could continue, which helped stabilize governments (which could have fallen to Communism otherwise)

X. Key Industrial Sectors in World That Needed To Be Protected

- a. Western Europe
- b. United States
- c. Japan
- d. It was believed that if a hostile nation could exploit 2 of these interests, in conjunction w/ Middle East oil, they could dominate the world
- e. These became **vital** interests
- f. vital – necessary for survival; “if it is not preserved, protected, enhanced, its loss or neutralization will place in jeopardy the survival of the United States”

XI. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

- a. Promote free trade worldwide
- b. Limit import taxes on goods
- c. (Countries usually increase import taxes to protect interests, like farmers)

XII. International Monetary Fund/World Bank

- a. Helps eliminate inflationary policies
- b. If a bank collapsed within a country, it would help them out to create financial stability
- c. Used to avert another Depression
- d. Prevents the rebirth of totalitarian leaders
 - World Leaders looked at post-WWI Germany
 - Germany had been strangled economically, creating bitterness and frustration that was exploited by Hitler

XIII. Formalistic Style

- a. Truman operated under the Formalistic Style of government
- b. Highly structured staff system
- c. Analysis of pros and con takes effect in a systematic manner to determine best action
- d. Truman wanted to hear from each of his cabinet heads who served as his advisors
- e. His cabinet heads were experts in their jurisdiction
- f. Advisors didn’t necessarily talk to each other (talked to President)

XIV. Reorganization of Government, 1947

- a. In 1947, it was recommended that government reorganize to deal w/ potential threat of Soviet Union

XV. Department of Defense (DOD) Established

- a. Has a Civilian Secretary of Defense
- b. Each Military Service (Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force) would also have civilian secretaries
- c. There was also a reshuffling in the military – Air Force was established in 1947 w/ a civilian Secretary in the Department of Defense (as a result of the work they did in WWII – bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki)

XVI. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)

- a. General standing General Staff of Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines and heads of military staff would all be in top leadership of JCS
- b. Each of the leader's deputies would run the day-to-day operations of each group

XVII. Department of State (DOS)

- a. Set up the professional Foreign Service officer system (FFO)

XVIII. Central Intelligence Agency Formed (CIA), 1947

- a. Would take in all intelligence coming into US, synthesize the information, process it, and provide information on national security issues to President and National Security Council (when it is formed)
- b. Conducts covert operations to combat subversion (through violent, economic, or other means)

XIX. Congressional Intelligence Committees

- a. Congress sets up committees to learn intelligence (serves as a watchdog to government agencies who claim that they have to do things for certain reasons)

XX. National Security Council (NSC), 1947

- a. President – acts as chairman
- b. Vice President – 2nd in command
- c. Secretary of State – 3rd in command
- d. Secretary of Defense – 4th in command
- e. (These 4 key people are the statutory members of the council, then formal advisors: CIA director, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff)

XXI. NSC Staff

- a. NSC decided it needed its own staff – Military and civilian advisors to help advise President about threats around the world
- b. NSC staff comes up w/ pros-cons of information and flow it to President

XXII. Presidential Leadership Necessary for NSC

- a. President must recommend policies to give NSC direction
- b. If President doesn't provide leadership, then it becomes its own actor (which can lead to scandals)
- c. NSC can take a large amount of information, distill it fast, provide recommendations, and alternative ideas (within a day)
- d. Department of State – too bureaucratic – takes too long to make decisions
- e. NSC provides President with privacy
- f. NSC allows for creative, independent thinkers

XXIII. Truman and the NSC

- a. Truman wanted NSC only as an advisor (acted as a think tank)
- b. He wasn't sure what to do with it b/c it was new

XXIV. Korean War and the NSC, 1950

- a. Most decisions made outside NSC
- b. Truman doesn't want NSC dominating him or his government

XXV. George Kennan

- a. Political advisor for Department of State (DOS) in Russia during and after WWII
- b. As an advisor, he studied the Communist system and the psyche of Russian people
- c. Concluded that Soviet system would eventually start to work itself into the ground
- d. System would not be able to retain control (hegemony) of East & Central Europe
- e. Says that if Soviets have no vital interests (industry, communications), US will ultimately win
- f. Points out that Soviets are motivated by their ideology
- g. Soviets saw the system and Stalin as infallible
- h. Soviets believed that b/c of Great Depression, Capitalism would fail
- i. Claimed that Soviets didn't want war with the US in the face of the US atomic bomb monopoly, but may try to use subversion worldwide to weaken the capitalist position
- j. Kennan recommended CONTAINMENT policy

XXVI. Containment

- a. Prevent the spread of Communism
- b. Kennan said a long term, patient, but firm stance of containment (isolate Soviets from the world, while enhancing democratic system without firing a shot)
- c. Don't fritter away treasury in fighting unnecessary wars in less than vital interests
- d. Don't try to fight Soviet Union everywhere (only protect vital interests)
- e. Protect communication worldwide (vital)
- f. Said that US could weaken Soviets by retaining a strong capitalist system
- g. Believed that top-down system wasn't sustainable and that people would demand change
- h. Kennan was taking a long term approach

XXVII. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), April 1949

- a. Truman leads the creation of a peace-time coalition of countries that are anti-Communist
- b. Includes U.S., Canada, and 13 European countries
- c. If any country in NATO is attacked by Soviets or a Soviet Satellite, it would be treated as an attack against the United States
- d. Spreads the idea of Containment

XXVIII. United Nations, 1945

- a. Newly established international organization, which replaces the League of Nations
- b. In Security Council, Soviets are given veto power – they use veto very often
- c. In General Assembly, Soviets want 15 votes (1 for each republic they controlled)
- d. In the end, the US gets 1 vote and the Soviets get 3 votes in General Assembly (Soviets, Byelorussia, Ukraine)
- e. UN – promoted world peace

XXIX. Soviets get Atomic Bomb, Sept. 1949

- a. 1949 – Russia exploded atomic bomb, making the U.S. realize that their monopoly over atomic bomb was over
- b. Led to the 2nd Red Scare with people fearing that there were Soviet spies all over the United States
- c. Shook up the Truman administration b/c Soviets got a bomb faster than expected
- d. Congress became very interested in how they learned to make a bomb so fast

XXX. Soviet Espionage

- a. During Great Depression, Soviets conducted a large espionage ring in US
- b. Nixon exposed Alger Hiss as a Soviet agent of influence

XXXI. Venona Intercepts (End of WWII)

- a. US tried to read Soviet cables going from US to Moscow
- b. US tried to break the Soviet's code
- c. These intercepts were discovered in Soviet archive
- d. Soviets wanted to influence US policy
- e. US was able to decode only 3000 messages b/c coding system changed daily
- f. 340 US officials – were involved as Soviet agents of influence (only ½ were able to be identified by actual name)
- g. Joseph McCarthy – Fundamentally correct about Communism ring (Venona telegrams)

XXXII. Why Did Russians Join in Espionage Effort?

- a. Immigrants that came from Russia became disillusioned with US during the Great Depression
- b. They were told about the great things that were going on in Russia, causing them to weaken their ties to American tradition
- c. Soviets used beautiful girls, who spoke English, to date important people to get information from America

XXXIII. China Falls to Communism, 1949

- a. Chiang Kai Shek goes back to fighting Mao after WW2
- b. With war over, Congress believes that it should cut funds to Shek
- c. As a result, he can't pay his troops
- d. Shek's troops then betray him
- e. Mao wins battle and china
- f. Conservative Right in US blame Truman for fall of China
- g. McCarthy says, of course it fell, there are all these agents of influence

XXXIV. US and Soviet Orbits of Influence

- a. As apart of analyzing interests of US in Asia and in Western Pacific, keeping in mind Containment, DOD decides that Japan must be protected and that a line would be drawn to include Taiwan and the Philippines
- b. It was seen that China Fell into the Soviet orbit (Asia had been compromised)

XXXV. NSC –68

- a. Modification of Kennan's *Containment* policy
- b. US want to rebuild military power and through means other than war, neutralize the Soviets and deter Soviets from making advancements throughout the world in order to create unrest inside the Soviet Union
- c. NSC – 68 contrasted w/ *Containment* in that NSC-68 argued that US should protect any nation battling Communism (not just vital interests)
- d. Kennan argued against fighting everywhere and just defend key strong points (vital interests)

XXXVI. Korea

- a. US gave minimum military supplies to S. Korea
- b. Soviets built up N. Korea (giving them big weapons)
- c. Truman was in the process of renewing NSC-68, when in the summer of 1950, North Korea attacked South Korea

XXXVII. Truman Chooses NSC-68 Over *Containment*

- a. US government had declared Korea outside US area of influence, but Truman was still being attacked for loss of China
- b. This was a political backlash against the loss of China
- c. Truman went more towards NSC-68 policy than Kennan's *Containment* policy

XXXVIII. Douglas Macarthur Moves to Korea

- a. North Koreans came on strong in fight against South Korea
- b. Douglas Macarthur who was then running Japan is told that he should take his troops out of Japan and send them over to Korea
- c. However, his troops hadn't done infantry training in at least a year (b/c they had been occupiers of Japan)
- d. As a result, North Koreans (who had been training) tore apart Macarthur's troops
- e. As the war begins, Truman is afraid to ask Congress for a declaration of war (b/c they believe more in *Containment* – staying out of wars that don't involve US vital interests)
- f. Truman goes to United Nations to avoid a "No" vote by Congress

XXXIX. Korean War, June 25, 1950 – July 27, 1953

- a. 6/25/1953, North Korea invades S. Korea
- b. United Nations votes to send troops into S. Korea
- c. Soviets, upset that the U.N. was not recognizing the Communist takeover of China, had walked out of U.N. in protest and did not vote in the U.N. decision to get involved in stopping North Korea's invasion of South Korea in 1950
- d. Soviets could have vetoed and prevented U.N. action in North Korea if they had voted
- e. United States and 19 countries go into North Korea
- f. Kim Mu Sum's North Korea is on the offensive until September 1950
- g. General Douglas MacArthur is head of the UN command in the 3-year war
- h. As President-elect, Eisenhower visits S. Korea in Dec. 1952 and tells N. Korea that they better negotiate an ending to the war or else, as President, he was going to drop an atomic bomb on N. Korea
- i. July 27, 1953 – a truce is called

XXXX. MacArthur Faces a Conflict of Policies

- a. Truman just wants to liberate South Korea
- b. UN wants to liberate North and South Korea and unite Korea as a free nation
- c. So, MacArthur has two orders
- d. MacArthur comes up w/ Inchon invasion

Truman's Korean War Policy

I. Topics

- a. General Douglas MacArthur
- b. Singmun Rhee (South Korea)
- c. Kim Il Jong (North Korea)
- d. Omar Bradley (Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff (C, JCS))

II. Korea and Containment

- a. 2 Koreas weren't seen as vital under Kennan's containment plan
- b. B/c policy was leaked, China/Soviets recognized that South Korea wasn't important to US

III. North Korean Buildup

- a. Soviets build up North Korean Army
- b. Jong of NK wants to take advantage of the fact that South Korea hasn't been built up militarily and invade South Korea, in order to reunite Korea

IV. North Korea Invades South Korea

- a. Invasion caught Truman by surprise
- b. At the time, MacArthur was the leader of the occupation Army in Japan
- c. However, within 72 hours, MacArthur had to move his troops out of Japan and move them into South Korea to defend them
- d. This was a problem however because MacArthur's troops hadn't been involved in active training for at least a year – so they didn't fare too well in South Korea
- e. If not for the Marines, things would have been tragic in South Korea

V. Truman Sidesteps Congress, Goes to United Nations to Go to War

- a. Truman sidestepped Congress in order to go to war b/c he felt that Congress didn't believe that South Korea was vital (since they believed in Kennan's *containment* plan)
- b. Since Truman had been blamed for China falling to the Communists, he wanted to protect South Korea for political reasons
- c. United Nations (UN) gave Truman a resolution to put troops in South Korea

VI. Macarthur Put in Charge of Troops

- a. Macarthur was put in charge of UN troops, but he was also worked for Truman
- b. This created a split command
- c. Macarthur initially hears for the UN to unite Korea and eliminate Communism
- d. Truman, however, just wants to drive the North out of the South

VII. Marine Corp Invades Inchon

- a. 1st Marine Corp division invades Inchon
- b. Successful because Macarthur cut communications lines in the South from reaching the North

VIII. Macarthur Gets New Orders

- a. At the same point as the Inchon invasion, the UN Security Council becomes hesitant and changes its orders to stop and not go into North Korea
- b. After Inchon, Truman decides that he may want to go into North Korea (north of 38th parallel)
- c. October 5, 1950 – Truman tells Macarthur to go into North Korea

IX. Macarthur Meets Truman at Wake Island, October 15, 1950

- a. Russians opted out of Korean War
- b. Nobody knew how Chinese would respond to Northern Korea invasion
- c. CIA, however heard intelligence that the Chinese were worried about their frontier being invaded
- d. At Wake Island, Macarthur tells Truman that there was very little chance that the Chinese would enter the war
 - 1. Macarthur says this b/c he has no information about Chinese plans to enter war
 - 2. Macarthur also feels that he has the full power of the US behind him (bombs)

X. Chinese Mobilize Forces

- a. October 1950 continues with the US not sure what Truman is trying to accomplish
- b. Truman announces that North Koreans can't take refuge across the Yaloo River
- c. This makes the Chinese think that the US is going to invade China)
- d. Chinese mobilize troops to divide Macarthur's forces
- e. Macarthur orders Yaloo River bridges destroyed
- f. November 9, 1950 – Chinese Army counter attacks Macarthur's northward movement
- g. Macarthur is defeated and thrown back to the 38th parallel

XI. Omar Bradley, *Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff*

- a. Says that Truman and Macarthur's plan is fighting against the wrong enemy
- b. Believed that Korean war was a Soviet plan to get US bogged down in an Asian War (and was distracting America from actions in Europe)

XII. Truman Fires Macarthur For Criticism

- a. Macarthur became frustrated with the Chinese
- b. He wanted unconditional surrender from the Chinese
- c. Macarthur publicly criticizes Truman for not attacking China
- d. As a result, Truman fires Macarthur
- e. New generals are brought in, but there is a stalemate

XIII. Truman's Goals in Korea

- a. Return status quo in Korea
- b. Build up North American Treaty Organization (NATO) to confront Soviets
- c. Mobilization using draft (\$50 million to increase the size of the military, which could then reinforce Europe)
- d. Japanese re-armament encouraged, just 6 years after WW2, so that they could defend NW Asia and Europe against Communism
- e. American public became frustrated with Truman as a result of the Korean War
- f. As a result, Eisenhower (Ike) was elected President

XIV. Presidential Responsibilities

- a. Commander in Chief of Armed Forces (but Congress has the right to maintain the Army to put a check on presidential power – through funding)
- b. Creates treaties, which then have to be approved by 2/3 majority in Senate
- c. Appoints ambassadors, cabinet members, CIA officer w/ 2/3 majority in Senate
- d. President is supposed to ensure that laws are faithfully executed, but Congress actually makes the laws (although President can propose laws)
- e. Executes foreign policy, including committing forces into combat, but Congress has the responsibility to declare war

XV. Korean War: President vs. Congress

- a. In case of Korea, Truman went to UN Security Council and bypassed Congress in order to go to war
- b. Gave President a way to avoid his responsibility to go to Congress to declare war
- c. As a result, the Korean War was fought with a unified nation
- d. When Macarthur was driven back to the 38th parallel, people in the country started to question the rationale for going to war
- e. This relationship between President and Congress in dealing with wars has still not been resolved

Eisenhower's Foreign Policy

I. Topics

- a. "Policy Hill"
 - Planning Proposal Board (PPB)
 - Operations Coordinating Board (OCB)
- b. New Look
- c. John Foster Dulles
- d. Ideology of Anti-Communism

II. Formalistic Style – Ike's Managerial Style

- a. Highly structured staff system
- b. Analysis of pros and cons takes effect in a systematic manner to determine best action
- c. Ike had been the Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe in 1944-45
- d. So, he was organizationally focused
- e. He believed that disorganization was inefficient and led to disaster

III. Ike's National Security Council

- a. The NSC was not just an advisory instrument to Eisenhower, as it had been for Truman
- b. The NSC actually helped Ike solve problems

IV. Ike's Thoughts on the Economy

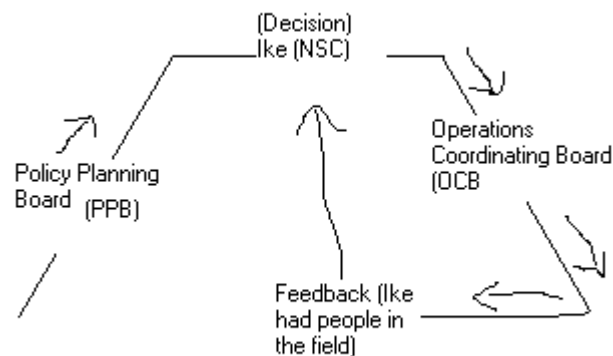
- a. Ike felt that economics was important
- b. He listened to the Secretary of the Treasury and the Operations Coordinating Board (OCB), adding them to certain National Security Council meetings
- c. Ike realized that without a good economy, US couldn't deal with the Soviet menace
- d. Stalin was the Soviet leader when Ike became President – Stalin died in 1953

V. “Policy Hill”

- a. Ike’s organization for conducting foreign policy was called “Policy Hill”
- b. Policy Planning Board determined courses of action
- c. Based on these proposals, Ike determined decided on what to do
- d. Operations Coordinating Board – Made sure that policy was coordinated and implemented in the field
- e. Ike also had people in the field he could depend on to provide him with feedback

VI. PPB

- a. Helped to come up with policies and strategies
- b. Alerted to problems in certain areas by the CIA
- c. Papers were distributed



VII. OCB

- a. Made sure that policy was coordinated and implemented in the field
- b. Ike also had people he could depend on to check in a field and provide him with feedback

VIII. Advantages (Pros) of Policy Hill Program

- a. Very orderly and thorough analysis, Ike sometimes monitored PPB in an informal mode to ensure that they were doing what he wanted them to do
- b. Conserves decision makers time for the big decision
- c. Emphasizes the optimal decision to come out of analytical decision process

IX. Disadvantages of Policy Hill Program

- a. Hierarchy
 - screens out information or distorts it
 - If PPB isn't provided with certain information or they can't get it, they won't provide good recommendations (Ike tried to get around this by using feedback system)
- b. This type of organization responds very slowly, especially in a crisis – a crisis is something that threatens vital interests
- c. Not a lot of time to react very quickly (too cumbersome)

X. “New Look” Policy

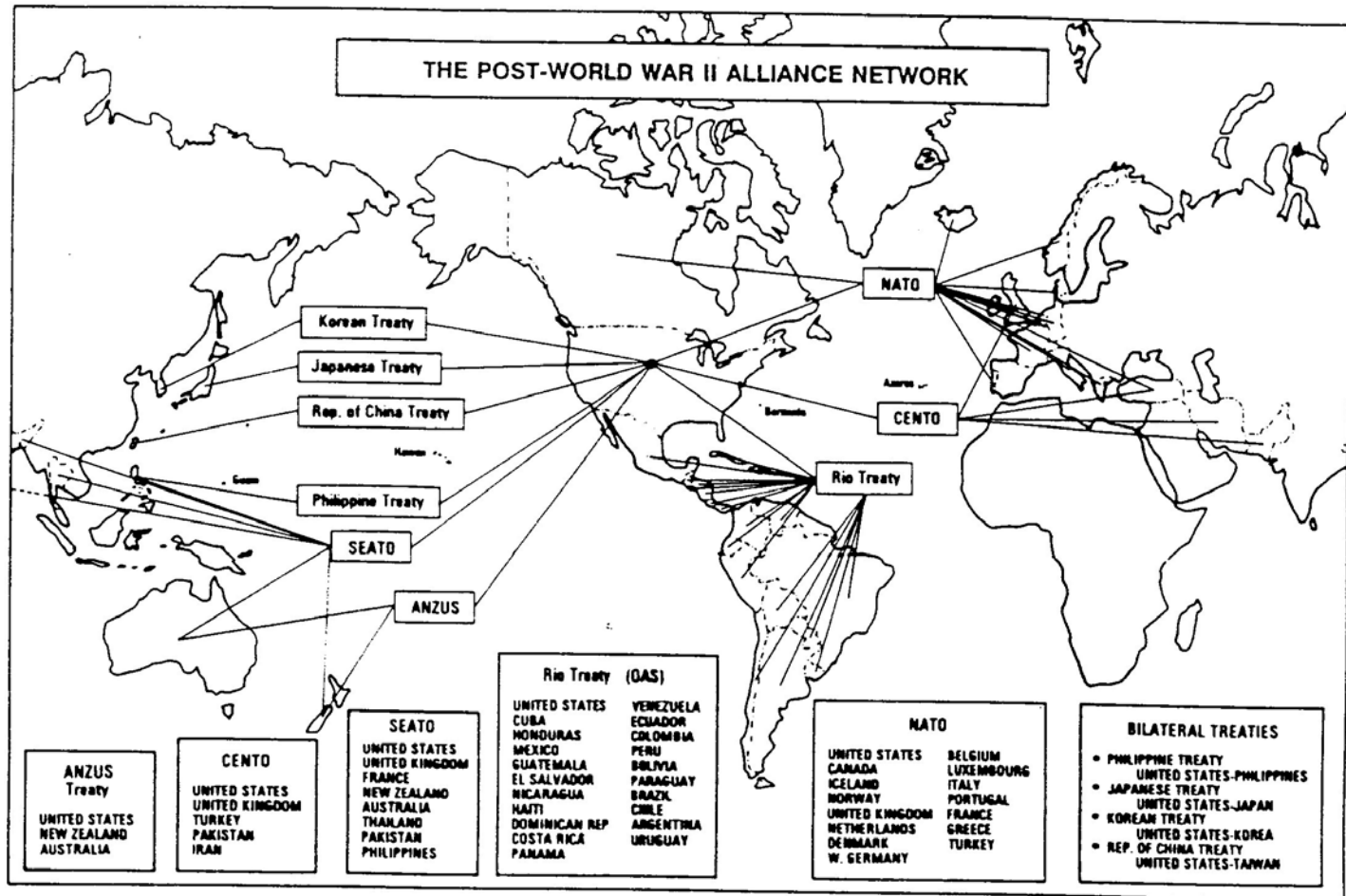
- a. As Ike went into government, implementing Policy Hill, Ike came up w/ “New Look” policy in looking at the soviets
- b. Exploits technological advantages to oppose Soviets war making capability
 1. Nuclear Weapons – Determines that it is cheaper to make nuclear weapons that maintaining a standing Army that has to be fully equipped
 2. Massive Retaliation – Soviets were put on notice – if they conduct a war against US interests, the US would then respond w/ its entire nuclear inventory against targets in the Soviet Union
 - To Reinforce point, Ike got in touch with Curtis Lemay to make sure that he could actually carry this out and begin orchestrating it
 - It was concluded that the Soviets might be able to retaliate, but they couldn't defend Russia
- c. While Air Force was one aspect of nuclear capability, Ike wanted a tactical approach

XI. US-Soviet Stalemate

- a. As part of the “New Look” Program, every infantry battalion would have artillery that could shoot nuclear weapons (very powerful and lethal – scared the Soviet Politburo)
- b. Soviets found out about this plan because they had very good and thorough intelligence within the US
- c. Ironically, Soviets found out, but they had no real defense against it
- d. As a result, it created a nuclear stalemate b/c US and Soviets feared going to war against each other, for fear of wiping each other out

XII. John Foster Dulles – Political Containment

- a. As part of “New Look” Policy, Secretary of State Dulles wanted to create a series of alliances to surround the Soviets in order enable the US to hamstring any of their operations throughout the world



XIII. Alliance Network

- Gives Soviets the impression of being surrounded
- It also gets the rest of the world to recognize the Soviet menace
- If Soviets attacked any US allied country, it would mean that the US would go to war with the Soviets

XIV. Cons of the Allied Network

- Dulles' plan would spread US troops out very thin
- If a country not vitally important to US interests gets into a shooting match with the Soviets, the US has to get involved

XV. Dulles' Ideology of Anti-Communism

- Dulles was an uncompromising anti-communist – to the point that it became an ideology of anti-communism for him
- However, there were some major problems with that

XVI. Purpose of Alliance System

- a. To tell the Soviets that the US wanted to contain Communism
- b. US wanted to reduce the Soviets and its allies' motivation to go to war against US allied countries

XVII. Ike Ends Korean War Stalemate

- a. January 20, 1953 Ike becomes President
- b. Ike looks at the Korean war stalemate
- c. Chinese have 1 million men at 38th parallel (North Korea/South Korea border)
- d. At the same time, Americans were getting disillusioned w/ the war
- e. Ike sent a message via one of his wartime allies (a Russian general), saying that if there was no armistice in Korea, he would launch the US's full nuclear capabilities against the Chinese
- f. This Threat Forces Chinese to get North Koreans out of South Korea
- g. This ended the Korean War
- h. US still has occupation force in South Korea

XVIII. Chinese Island Bombardment Also Stops

- a. At the same time as the Korean War, the Chinese were attacking islands off of Mainland China
- b. Chinese started to bombard islands, but Ike threatened to nuke the Chinese if they didn't stop
- c. Mao in China had to stop b/c Ike was a former General who was now President of the US (and he believed that Ike would use nukes)
- d. This forced the Chinese to realize that in order to deal with the US they had to begin developing nuclear weapons

XIX. French Indo-China (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia)

- a. During WW2, Japan invaded Indo-China and humiliated the French occupation forces in Indo-China, driving the French out
- b. After World War 2, Truman agreed to let France get Indo-China back because they had been through a lot (Nazi invasion, Normandy invasion)
- c. Truman also believed that the French would help bolster Europe against the Communist threat

XX. Battle of Dienbienphu, 1954

- a. At the same time that the Korean War is going on, there is a guerilla war in Indo-China with France
- c. Marxist Leader – Ho-Chi-Minh tries to take Indo-China from France
- d. France asks for help
- e. Ike goes to Congress, but they don't want to go into another war (especially in SE Asia (not vitally important)
- f. After Battle of Dienbienphu, French clear out of Indo-China and make a deal to give North Vietnam to Ho Chi Minh, but they stay in South Vietnam

XXI. Divided Vietnam

- a. 2 Vietnams created between 1954-56
- b. North – governed by Ho Chi Minh
- c. South – Ngo Dinh Diem
- d. 1956 – Vietnam Reunified
- e. No Free Elections allowed in S. Vietnam because Minh would win election
- f. Diem stays in power in S. Vietnam
- g. Marxist Rebels fight against Diems creating a Civil War
- h. Marxists – were referred to as Vietcongs in North Vietnam
- i. No American Casualties under Eisenhower

XXII. South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

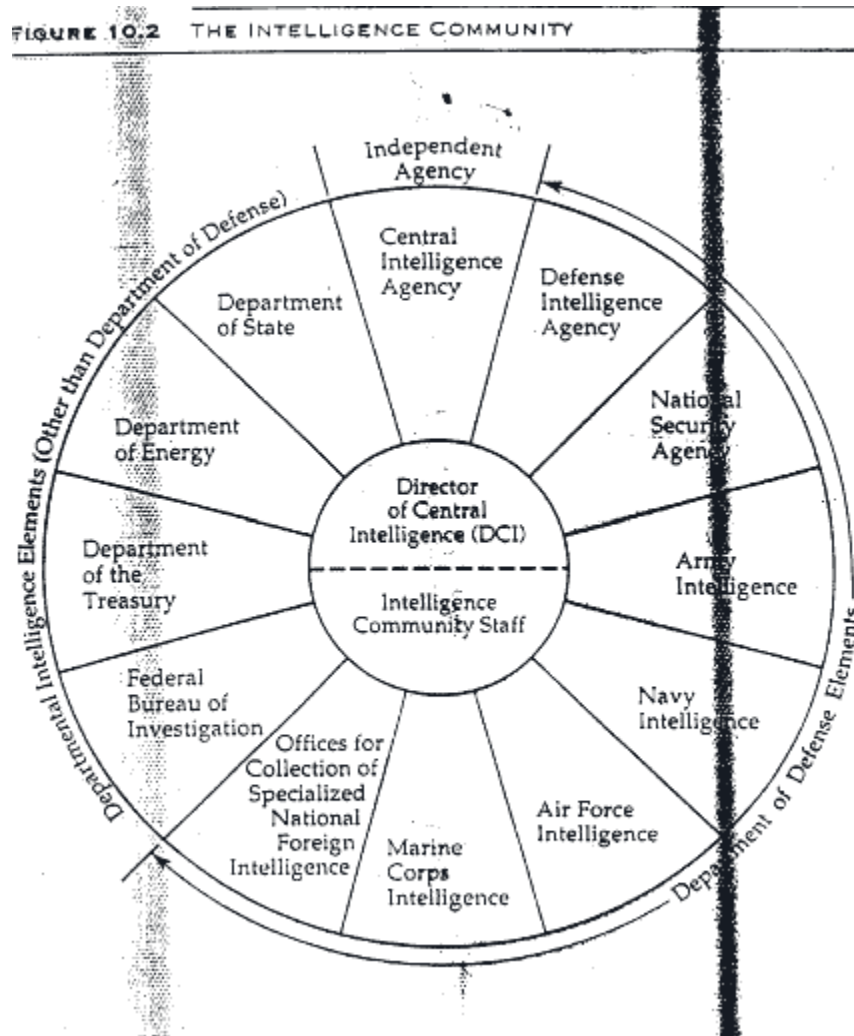
- a. At this point in time, Secretary of State Dulles, under the advise of SEATO (party of Alliance Network) says Ho Chi Minh's (Marxist/Communist) occupation was a threat to Vietnam and the US must put troops in Vietnam
- b. So, US replaces French in Vietnam

XXIII. Ngo Dinh Diem's Dictatorship in South Vietnam

- a. Military man and a dictator
- b. Diem oppressed Peasants, but intellectuals supported him
- b. He was a Catholic in a Buddhist country
- c. He was a trader to the Vietnamese b/c he collaborated w/ the French in their fight to save Indochina (He was a "Benedict Arnold")
- d. Diem was an anti-Communist
- e. Backed by US from 1954-1963
- f. At the same time, Ho Chi Minh is consolidating his forces in North Vietnam (where he is seen as a hero)

XXIV. Intelligence

- a. CIA didn't know that Chinese were going to intervene in the Korean War
- b. However, it is very important to get useful information when making a lot of foreign policy decisions
- c. Information must be adequate, timely, accurate, and responsive to the needs of the user
- d. Intelligence includes the mind frames of leaders (adversaries and allies) to know how they stand on issues
- e. It is also important to learn the capabilities of adversaries to know what they are trying to develop
- f. Intelligence officials are supposed to anticipate problems before they become a serious threat



XXV. National Security Agency

- a. Breaks Codes
- b. Listens in on what the good and bad guys are saying via their telecommunications systems

XXVI. Primary Functions of CIA

- a. Collects and produces an intelligence report for National Security Council each morning, called the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE)
- b. Responsible for counterintelligence outside US (to learn if somebody is spying on us)
- c. Responsible for covert action, or “special activity” – might include assassinations of foreign leaders, in favor of leaders who support US interests
- d. Coordinates intelligence community inside the US

Eisenhower's Foreign Policy Around the Globe

I. Topics

- a. Camal Nasser
- b. Nikita Khrushchev
- c. John Foster Dulles (DOS)
- d. Allen Dulles (CIA)
- e. Juan Arevalo (Guatemala)
- f. Jacabo Arbenz (Guatemala)
- g. United Fruit Company (UFCO)
- h. Nixon
- i. Castro
- j. Rafael Trujillo
- k. Paz Estenssoro
- l. Nicolai Bulganan

II. Important Collection Sources for Intelligence

- a. Open source
- b. Humint sources
- c. Signal intelligence
- d. Imint intelligence
- e. Masint intelligence
- f. Covert Action

III. Open Source for Intelligence

- a. Unclassified source of information open to the public (newspapers, books, magazines)

IV. Humint Source of Intelligence

- a. Provides information on what other country's leaders think about their capabilities and what their intentions are
- b. What are the people in power thinking?
- c. What is the mood of the people in the country?

V. Signal Intelligence

- a. Intercepting or monitoring telegraphic radio communications, locating sources of signals
- b. National Security Agency is responsible for Signal Intelligence
- c. Since 9/11, NSA has taken itself out of search engines
- d. People who work for NSA won't reveal anything to the public

VI. Imint Intelligence

- a. Comes out of aircraft photo imagery
- b. Surveillance of areas – planes fly 15-20,000 feet above to take photos
- c. Photos can be super magnified to reveal infinitesimal details
- d. Satellites also provide images – show resources and other things

VII. Measurement and Signal Intelligence (MASINT)

- a. Deals with picking up acoustic, seismic, infrared, chemical sounds
- b. 1950s – US Navy put acoustic sounds in oceans to pick up the sounds of Soviet submarines – so that they could track them from their port on their travels around the world
- c. Hunter Killer Submarine – US created silent submarine that listens to sound of Russian screw – this can tell by the # generated for a ship, where that ship is at all times (billions of dollars spent in program – Hunt for Red October movie)

VIII. Covert Action

- a. CIA definition – use of clandestine means to influence foreign governments, organizations, persons, or events in support of US foreign policy in such a way that the hand of the US government is not apparent
- b. This allows for plausible denial – if something happens in another country, when people ask who did that, Washington says nothing – it wasn't us.

IX. Covert Activities (Dirty Tricks)

- a. Propaganda campaigns
- b. Sabotage
- c. Assassination
- d. Subsidizing Foreign Newspapers

X. Covert: Propaganda Campaigns

- a. Information or disinformation campaign to sensitive decision makers to conduct themselves in a manner to help US foreign policy objectives
- b. Secret electoral assistance – provides money through secret funds to influence outcome of political campaigns to promote the interest of one party over another (b/c they have a pro-US attitude)

XI. Covert: Sabotage

- a. Undermine or create an adverse economic situation in a nation
- b. Neutralize someone's weapons development program (destroy key elements of factory to cause program to come to fruition)
- c. Assist in the overthrow of unfriendly governments

XII. Covert: Assassinations

- a. CIA sometimes wants to take somebody out, or neutralize them so that they don't compete politically

XIII. Covert: Subsidizing Foreign Newspapers

- a. Give money to newspapers to keep them running if they are having financial problems
- b. This is done because the newspaper may be criticizing the local government or supports a US policy

XIV. Ike and the Middle East

- a. Middle East – one of Ike's 1st challenges
- b. Middle East hadn't really figured in US foreign policy until after WW2
- c. Oil, which was vitally important to containing communism, made it important
- d. Ike wanted to preserve Middle East oil assets for the free world (and keep it out of Soviet hands)
- e. Ike wanted to block Soviet penetration or infiltration into the Middle East

XV. Camal Nasser (Egypt)

- a. Ike was even willing to deal with someone who was anti-British in order to preserve Middle East oil from falling into Soviet hands
- b. Nasser of Egypt was anti-British and was receiving arms from the WARSAW Pact (Soviet influenced organization that opposed NATO)
- c. US helped Nasser create a dam along the Nile River, but eventually Nasser decided to impart his desire and give Egypt sovereign (nationalized) control over the Suez canal
- d. However, Egypt wouldn't allow Israel access to the Suez canal

XVI. Suez Canal Crisis, 1956

- a. US was distracted by Suez Canal Crisis at the time that the Soviets ended rebellion in Hungary
- b. Israelis, British, French invade Egypt b/c Egypt doesn't allow Israel use of the Suez Canal
- c. Ike believes that Egypt has a right to the Suez Canal and wants them to withdraw their invasion
- d. US talks them into abandoning the invasion
- e. Ike threatens to withdraw support from Britain, France, and Israel if they don't withdraw (which leads to their withdrawal)
- f. Crisis proves that Britain is no longer the most powerful nation
- g. Suez Canal is destroyed, however

XVII. US in the Middle East

- a. After the Suez Canal crisis, the US replaced Britain in the Middle East
- b. Ike wanted stable Middle East that was friendly to the US
- c. Nonetheless, Nasser (Egypt) did turn to Soviets to receive military support as part of the WARSAW Pact

XVIII. Khrushchev Backs Down on Lebanon Issue (Oil), 1958

- a. Lebanon's President found himself in a chaotic situation, where he was threatened by religious people
- b. US sent forces
- c. Khrushchev threatened to intervene, but Ike put him on notice that Middle East oil was vital to the US and that the US would go to war with the Soviets if they intervene
- d. By 1954, Curtis LeMay had created B-52 bomber launchers
- e. Ike had a coercive influence, so the Soviets backed down

XIX. CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) Influence

- a. By 1958, CENTO had solidified US influence in the Middle East
- b. 1958 was the first interface between the US and Middle East
- c. Middle East is very important today to US national security

XX. Eisenhower/Soviet Leadership

- a. Stalin died in 1953
- b. Stalin was replaced by Bulganin
- c. **Khrushchev**, 1956 – replaced Bulganin
- d. Khrushchev denounced Stalin and loosened up the Soviet system

XXI. Voice of America (Radio Propaganda Network)

- a. As part of NSC-68, to create tension in the Soviet Union, the US began a radio propaganda network aimed at all Soviet occupied nations, broadcasting in all languages
- b. Part of propaganda was to encourage Soviet satellite countries to resist Communism
- c. This made Satellites realized that they had to get organized in order to change their situation
- d. Various refugee groups formed a lobby in the US so that they could help get their home country economic aid from the US

XXII. Rakoshi – in Hungary

- a. After Stalin's death – Hungary stayed under the dictatorship of Rakoshi
- b. Rakoshi killed and imprisoned his rivals
- c. Prime Minister Nagi misjudged mood in Budapest, Hungary
- d. Hungarians destroyed a statue of Stalin

XXIII. Hungarian Revolution, Oct-Nov, 1956

- a. Nagi (pronounced Nazh) backed Hungarian Revolutionaries
- b. Soviets had hoped that Nagi would restore order
- c. Nagi was Prime Minister when he acknowledged the revolution, saying it was a fight for freedom
- d. Hungarians thought they won Revolution, although they suffered massive losses
- e. Hungarians looked to the West to guarantee their Revolution
- f. However, the West was preoccupied with the Suez Canal Crisis
- g. All Soviet symbols were torn up in Hungary
- h. Soviets sent more troops into Hungary
- i. **Nagi declared neutrality for Hungary and a pledge to withdraw from Warsaw Pact**
- j. But laws that allowed Hungary to enter Warsaw Pact made any withdrawal invalid and thus disregarded by the West
- k. Soviet Army reentered Budapest
- l. Khrushchev ordered attacks, believing Hungary belonged in the Soviet sphere of influence
- m. U.S. said that they would send troops in 3 weeks, so Hungarian fighters continued fighting, waiting for Western help
- n. If West intervened, it could have led to WW3 b/c Hungary was Soviet territory
- o. West never came --- they said they were coming b/c if Hungary won in the meantime, they would look good and if they lost, the Soviets would look bad by having to roll tanks into Hungary
- p. Nagi was executed and Hungarian liberalization war ended
- q. Khrushchev reinforced Iron Curtain
- r. US not intervening made the rest of the WARSAW Pact realize that the US would not help them out and that they were stuck with Soviet occupation
- s. US was promoting image of helping anti-Communists anywhere in the world, but to avoid a nuclear war, the US backed off
- t. Hungary was not considered vitally important to the US
- u. Rolling back iron curtain was not going to happen
- v. Voice of America radio propaganda network had to rework its programs b/c it was working against vital American interests

XXIV. Soviet ICBMs, 1957

- a. US had B-52 bombers
- b. But Soviets were going for Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs)
- c. Late 1959, Soviets have 100 ICBMs

XXV. Soviets in Space, October 4, 1957

- a. *Sputnik* satellite launched, 1957
- b. Yuri Gagarin – 1st man in space
- c. US feared that if Soviets were able to launch *Sputnik* into space that they could easily launch Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs)
- e. It created a panic in US and led to the Space Race
- f. U.S. had bad intelligence – No previous knowledge of USSR's advance in space

XXVI. US Space Program

- a. In late 1940s, US Air Force considered a space program, but at the time, Truman believed that it would further aggravate the Russians so he didn't use it
- b. After *Sputnik I* was launched, the Air Force went to its archive and gave their blue prints to industry to create a satellite for the US
- c. Jan. 30, 1958 – Explorer 1 – 1st U.S. orbit into Space
- d. Russians also orbit men and dog into space before U.S.
- e. Russians orbit into space gets U.S. to wake up about Education & Space Travel

XXVII. Sino-Soviet Rift

- a. Late 1950s, Mao has solidified his control of China
- b. Mao was now calling for wars of national liberation, promoting worldwide revolution to undermine the US and its allies, feeling that the US couldn't possibly nuke every country in the world
- c. China's **Mao** (1947-76) insisted on battling the West
- d. Khrushchev wanted peaceful co-existence with the West (Capitalism)
- e. China considered the Soviets to be traitors to Communism for wanting peaceful co-existence b/c Marxist theory says class conflict and struggle will ultimately lead to the dictatorship of the Proletariat
- f. **Mao** wasn't worried about starting WW3 b/c China had an immense population
- g. Soviets thought Mao was reckless b/c he was willing to risk WW3
- h. As a result, Soviets didn't want to give China nuclear secrets – this upset China
- i. From 1949 when China became Communist to 1953 when Stalin died, relations between Soviets and China were bad
- j. After **Great Leap Forward** was announced, relations increasingly worsened
- k. 1960, Soviets took aides out of China and reduced aid to China
- l. By 1961, Khrushchev has shot rockets into space, but he had to crush several revolts in satellite nations and deal w/ the Chinese problem

XXVIII. Communist Rift Confuses US

- a. When US leaders heard reports of the split between the Soviets and Chinese, they rejected the concept
- b. It created confusion because they believed that all Communists were united

XXIX. United Nations Eliminates Colonialism

- a. Initially, Europeans wanted to compete in Africa for colony's, so it was carved-up
- b. At the end of WW2, with the creation of the United Nations, part of the UN philosophy was the right of self determination and embracing human rights
- c. This meant that the UN was now in confrontation with the former colonial powers of the day

XXX. Creating Colonial Government in Africa

- a. When you're a colonial power forming an empire, you want stability
- b. Rather than sending your own people to govern a country, they brought local elites to the home country, indoctrinated them with their rules of law, then sent them back to their colony to rule (This was done by the French, Belgians, and especially the British)

XXXI. African Sovereignty

- a. After these Africans were indoctrinated and saw the freedoms that were enjoyed in Europe, however, they wanted the same freedoms for their home
- b. Now that these people knew how to govern, they wanted to create their own country
- c. Educating local elites doomed the mother country's empires
- d. Once the UN was established to promote self-determination, colonialism was undermined

XXXII. Mao is Interested in Africa

- a. As there are rising expectations within these areas in Africa, Mao's Communists wants to exploit the situation
- b. But all these particular areas go their own way, sometimes creating dictatorships, resorting to ethnic cleansing, but in other places it creates peace
- c. Moving so fast for independence and self-determination caused many of the elite rulers to revert back to a caudillo state (man of horseback)
- d. But all that the US was concerned with was that these dictatorships were anti-Communists
- e. As long as a leader was anti-Communist, the US didn't care who was in power
- f. Neither the Soviets nor the Chinese could penetrate into Africa b/c they wanted sovereignty
- g. Africa is important, but not that important for US foreign policy

XXXIII. FDR's Good Neighbor Policy

- a. FDR wanted to replace American-imposed democracy in Latin America with one that promoted peace and non-intervention
- b. FDR was especially interested that Mexican and Venezuelan oil was preserved, wanting it to be reliable, especially with the state of European event, which would lead into WW2
- c. However, Mexico nationalized US oil interests in Mexico
- d. But, FDR felt that Mexico had a right to control its own resources
- e. US was able to get 19 countries behind it in the war against Germany and Japan

XXXIV. Eisenhower and Latin America

- a. Latin America was very important to Ike's administration
- b. Ike looked at Latin America (Western Hemisphere) as being important in the containment of communism
- c. China had no Navy, but the Soviets were seen as a threat to Latin America
- d. US wanted to make Latin America neutralized, but preferably allied with them
- e. Unfortunately, for Guatemala, US ideology came head to head with its reform efforts

XXXV. Juan Arevalo, Elected (Guatemala, 1944-45)

- a. 1st democratically elected President with 85% of the vote
- b. He was confronted with 2% of the population owning 70% of the best land
- c. With Arevalo's government, an opportunity for reform begins, based on FDR's "New Deal"

XXXVI. Arevalo's Reforms

- a. Abolishes Forced Labor for Children
- b. Institutes a minimum wage
- c. Creates labor laws
- d. Establishes a Social Security program
- e. Land reform is announced as a future intention
- f. Literacy campaign was undertaken (7/10 Guatemalans were illiterate – meaning that they could speak Spanish; they spoke various Indian dialects)
- g. Literacy campaign upset plantation owners because they wanted people illiterate so that they wouldn't revolt for being paid cheap wages
- h. Life was tough

XXXVII. Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, Elected (Guatemala, 1951)

- a. This was another democratic election
- b. Arbenz retired from the Army, then ran for President and was elected

XXXVIII. Arbenz's Land Reform

- a. Arbenz privatizes the land of capitalist farmers
- b. Starts land reform to give any Guatemalan family who wants to farm, 10 acres of land
- c. Land comes from plantation owners
- d. These owners question the Arbenz government
- e. But he says that he's going to make everybody equal under the law
- f. 1 ½ million acres were given to 100,000 needy families
- g. A plantation owner couldn't have more than 1500 acres of land, but there were people who had a lot more than them
- h. Plantation owners were upset at the idea of equality b/c it meant that they lost power and influence
- i. Anybody could get title land – this was truly a revolution
- j. Arbenz, being from the military, had enough military support to implement this land reform, so owners couldn't go through the military to run a coup de tat

XXXIX. United Fruit Company (UFCO)

- a. Arbenz went to United Fruit Company
- b. He told them that they had ½ million acres they would have to give up
- c. The UFCO said it would pay for the land at whatever Arbenz's government said it was worth
- d. The UFCO declared that the land was worth 50 cents/acre
- e. So, then decided to pay them 50 cents an acre for their land
- f. Declaring that the land was worth so little worked out against the UFCO

XXXX. UFCO/Plantation Owners Go To US Embassy

- a. The disgruntled UFCO and Plantation owners that lost their land went to the US embassy
- b. They told the embassy that Arbenz was running a Communist Revolution – Giving land to peasants

XXI. John Foster Dulles (DOS) and Allen Dulles (CIA) --- Dulles Brothers

- a. These two brothers in the Eisenhower administration had been lawyers in their early days for the United Fruit Company, so they were still concerned with their interests
- b. Arbenz was willing to build a parallel railroad as well so that UFCO couldn't control transportation or communication lines
- c. Dulles brothers get together to discuss the situation
- d. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles convinces Ike to run an operation in Guatemala

XLII. CIA Operation in Guatemala, 1954

- a. CIA sets up a dummy radio operation to split the Guatemalan military
- b. Communications announce that there are several thousand invaders into Guatemala, when there are really only over 100 fighters
- c. This propaganda leads the military to believe that there is a mass invasion of Guatemala and so they overthrow Arbenz

XLIII. Guatemalan Civil War

- a. 2 years after Arbenz is overthrown, AFL goes into Guatemala and says that workers are in a condition of virtual slavery
- b. So, reform system is reversed
- c. It's one thing to know what you're against, but what are you for?
- d. **The sincere reform effort had been deliberately distorted and portrayed to Ike as a Communist revolution**
- e. Democracy was destroyed, supposedly to save it
- f. Guatemala became a polarized society for the next 36 years, fighting a civil war that cost 100,000 lives

XLIV. Bolivia

- a. Ironically, at the same time, in Bolivia, the US supported Paz Estenssoro, a reformist who led the way in overthrowing a dictatorship, which was sponsoring the tin monopoly
- b. Estenssoro came out with land reform
- c. Gave titled land to any Indian who wanted it
US supported revolution, even though it was very similar to the Guatemalan situation
- d. US even funds 30-40% of Bolivia's budget for 20 years

XLV. VP Nixon Goes to Latin America, 1958

- a. JF Dulles, 1956-57 becomes incapacitated
- a. Nixon went to Latin America, where he was met with heavy protests for not backing reform in Guatemala

XLVI. Fidel Castro Takes Power in Cuba, 1959

- a. Castro takes power in Cuba after overthrowing Batista dictatorship
- b. Castro becomes popular for giving Cuba sovereignty and kicking out foreign interests
- b. Castro says that he's interested in reform around South America
- c. This leads to a new US policy in the region

XLVII. New US Policy in Latin America

- a. Ike says that US must not destroy what it is trying to defend
- b. Virtually every country in Latin America is under a dictatorship
- c. Ike wants to isolate Castro and keep him from interfering in the region

Trujillo – Dominican Republic

I. Topics

- a. Milton Eisenhower
- b. Fidel Castro
- c. Rafael Trujillo

II. Castro - A Hero in Latin America

- a. 1959 – Castro Revolution overthrows Batista dictatorship
- b. This had a resonating effect throughout Latin America (for overthrowing a dictatorship)
- c. Castro became a model for other in Latin America to follow
- d. Signs in Latin America said, “We like Ike, but we like Fidel, too.”

III. Communist Castro

- a. Castro was Communist
- b. He took over the Cuban Communist Party and molded it into his own vision

IV. Ike Doesn’t Like Castro

- a. Ike felt that Castro wasn’t a good guy and that he was against US interests (by kicking out foreign interests)
- b. Ike has the CIA conduct covert operations

V. CIA Covert Operations

- a. CIA creates a paramilitary force of Cuban exiles
- b. Their mission is to isolate and inhibit Castro and his government politically, economically, and socially

VI. Castro Moves Towards the Soviets

- a. Their actions drove Castro towards the Soviets
- b. Castro sided with the Soviets because he felt that he couldn’t trust the US anyway
- c. Signs in Latin America said, “We like Ike, but we like Fidel, too.”

VII. Milton Eisenhower

- a. There was considerable rethinking about what Ike's government should be doing in Latin America
- b. Milton Eisenhower said that Castro has revolutionary potential around Latin America, so America should promote governments that uplift their people rather than repress them (change of policy)
- c. The idea behind this is to create reform and create peaceful revolution before a violent revolution is brought about and the wrong people come to power
- d. Castro was seen as an imminent threat

VIII. Social Progress Trust Fund

- a. Economic aid program based on Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)
- b. An individual or group could borrow money to promote economic reform
- c. This promotes trade within Latin America and creates a Latin American common market

IX. Ike's Embassies in Latin America

- a. Ike's average US embassy staff jumped from 15 – 75 people in every Latin American country to promote various programs

X. Change Promoted For LA Militaries

- a. Latin American militaries were encouraged to have soldiers enhance the community by doing good deeds (community projects/building)

XI. Free Labor Movement

- a. US wanted to promote labor reform in Latin America before the Communists influenced workers to follow their views

XII. US Information Service (USIS)

- a. Promotes US ideology and culture throughout the Americas

XIII. Latin American Militaries to Promote Internal Security

- a. Militaries were supposed to promote internal security
- b. The US wanted them to look around for subversives before they could get a foothold (CIA would help with this)

XIV. Goals of Ike's Programs

- a. Build democratic and progressive nations that are anti-Communist and able to meet the rising expectations of their people
- b. Prevent violent change (revolution)
- c. Promote peaceful change

XV. Alliance For Progress

- a. JFK picks up Ike's reforms, calling it the Alliance for Progress

XVI. Rafael Trujillo (Dominican Republic)

- a. Dictator of Dominican Republic for 25 years
- b. Very thorough dictatorship that was demeaning to society
- c. **Milton Eisenhower said that as long as the US supports Trujillo's dictatorship, the US is undermining its anti-Castro policy**
- d. So, the CIA with the help of the Dominican Republic military, moved to take action against Trujillo

XVII. Trujillo's Son

- a. Trujillo's son, Ramfas, was next in line to be leader
- b. He was happy to be next in line
- c. However, the military didn't like Ramfas because Trujillo made him a general, even though he didn't really attend a military school

XVIII. Rafael Trujillo Gunned Down

- a. The military gunned down Trujillo
- b. After Trujillo was overthrown, his VP too over
- c. Early 1960s – Juan Bosch is elected
- d. CIA wanted Ramfas Trujillo isolated from country – he went to Miami
- e. So, Ike administration was willing to move against a dictator
- f. CIA claimed it wasn't involved and that the people in the Dominican Republic had just gotten fed up with Trujillo

XIX. John F. Kennedy Inherits Plan to Invade Cuba

- a. November 1960 – decision is made to invade Cuba
- b. This is an election year
- c. JFK defeats Nixon
- d. JFK takes over government and inherits Ike's plan for an exile invasion of Cuba

Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons (NBC)

I. Topics

- a. Triad
- b. MAD
- c. 3 Strategies of Employment
- d. MIRV
- e. Strategic Defense Initiative (S.D.I.)
- f. 4 Tests of Deterance

II. Soviet Power

- a. Russians in Egypt as military advisers
- b. Castro invited Russians into Cuba to build his military
- d. Soviets increase their nuclear weapons systems

III. US / Ike Administration – Fairly Reliable Weapons System

- a. Could launch out of Montana
- b. Had them in Turkey so that missiles could strike across the Black Sea into the Soviet Union
- c. Could launch missiles out of Japan
- d. Then the navy created a submarine that launched ballistic missiles

IV. Triad (Bombers, Missiles, Submarines)

- a. This meant that Soviets couldn't go to war with US without being obliterated because of US weapons

V. Significance of Nuclear Weapons (missiles, bombs)

- a. Not just larger bullets – they transform the relationship between the great power and how they conduct their foreign policy

VI. 3 Dynamics of Nuclear Weapons

- a. Can create immense damage (within seconds)
- b. Speed of delivery – once an intercontinental missile is launched, the target country only has 15 minutes to react
- c. Very easy to launch – just give the computer instructions (the data is preprogrammed into launch system – all it takes is for someone to open the asylo, press a button and the missiles are on the way
 - 2 keys need to be turned to unlock the asylo
 - If one person messes up, his partner has to shoot him and take his key

VII. Nuclear War: A New Type of War

- a. A country could lose a war without ever entering a battle
- b. Traditional fighting ceases to be if there is an exchange of nuclear weapons

VIII. Nuclear Strategies

A. Precise Targeting

- a. Make sure that bombings are accurate
- b. Once satellites began orbiting the earth, along with high altitude surveillance, then targeting was no longer a problem and Triad (bombers, missiles, submarines) could shoot accurately

B. Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)

- a. Between the Soviet Union and the United States, this meant that as long as a country could retaliate, even if it were attacked first, that the opposing country could still be defeated
- b. This is why militaries have a large inventory of weapons
- c. Both the US and the Soviets feared getting wiped out, so they didn't get into situations that could result in nuclear war

IX. 3 Strategies of Employment

- A. **Counter-Value** – Cities and industries were targeted to make sure that a large portion of society was effected
- B. **Counter-Force** – Targeted opponents nuclear forces, command and control centers, and conventional (non-nuclear) forces
- C. **Mixed Strike** – Targeted a mix of counter-value and counter-force

X. MIRV (Multiple Independently Targeted Re-Entry Vehicle)

- a. Means that when big warhead went over the targeted region, it would split into smaller warheads that were independently programmed with their own target
- b. Allowed 5-6 targets to be hit within a 100 mile radius of the blast
- c. More than one missile was shot into a city to ensure that targets were hit
- d. B-52 bombers and even submarines were sent if it was an important mission
- e. So, if the main attack is effective, the city gets hit three times

XI. Initiative to Advance Offense and Defense

A. Cruise Missile

- a. US Air Force came up with the idea for this missile
- b. Missile could be launched just outside the border of a country, fly low to the ground (it understood the terrain and could navigate around it)
- c. It was difficult to defend against Cruise Missiles, which helped to extend their longevity

B. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or “Star Wars”

- a. Under the Reagan administration, the US claimed it could exploit satellite based lasers and missiles to detect an enemy’s missiles, strike those missiles down (causing them to break-up and malfunction) and then the US would be open to firing missiles at the Soviets
- b. Soviets had good intelligence within the US government that found out about all military and government plans
- c. SDI had a strong psychological effect on the Soviet Union
- d. Soviets thought that the US could do it because they were able to put a man on the moon
- e. Reagan considered letting the soviets have SDI to ease Soviet fears and continue ‘Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) so that the US wouldn’t be the only country with 1st strike capability
- f. SDI hasn’t been implemented yet (only tests off and on again)

XII. Nuclear Proliferation

- a. How many weapons are really needed to maintain inventory in a war?

NUCLEAR ARSENALS

The number of strategic, or intercontinental, nuclear arms held by the United States and Russia:

PRESENT, AS OF JULY 31, 2001

► **U.S.:** 7,013, supposed to be 6,000 by year's end.

► **Russia:** 5,858.

Warheads

	U.S.	Russia*
ICBMs	2,079	3,364
SLBMs	3,616	1,868
Nuclear bombs	1,318	626

Delivery vehicles

ICBMs	577	742
SLBMs	448	376
Bombers	274	80

GLOSSARY

- **ICBM:** Intercontinental ballistic missile
- **SLBM:** Submarine-launched ballistic missile
- **Bomber:** Plane that carries nuclear bombs

*Does not include Ukraine, which has 130 ICBM warheads, 13 ICBM delivery vehicles

HISTORY OF STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TALKS (START)

IN SEPTEMBER 1990

► **U.S.:** 10,563 nuclear arms

► **Russia:** 10,271 nuclear arms

START I

► **1991:** President George Bush and Russian President Mikhail Gorbachev sign START I.

► **Status:** Ratified by both countries.

► **Limit on warheads:** 6,000.

START II

► **1993:** President George Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin sign START II.

► **Status:** Ratified by both countries.

► **Limit on warheads:** 3,000-3,500.

START III

► **1997:** Plans discussed by President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

► **Status:** Unsigned.

► **Limit on warheads:** 2,000-2,500 by the end of 2007.

SOURCES: Arms Control Association, Council for a Livable World Education Fund, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

UNSEEN PERILS

This month's terror attacks — and reports of a hijacker looking to purchase a crop-duster — have raised concerns about a potential attack using biological or chemical weapons. Experts differ on the likelihood of such an attack. Among the potentially deadly agents:

ANTHRAX (Bio)	SMALLPOX (Bio)	SARIN (Chem)	VX (Chem)
<p>► What it is: Bacteria that normally infects sheep, horses, secondarily transmitted to humans.</p> <p>► Effects: Shuts down organs within six days. Accidental release from Soviet lab killed 66.</p> <p>► Treatment: Antibiotics available, but must be administered quickly.</p>	<p>► What it is: Highly infectious illness caused by variola virus.</p> <p>► Effects: Takes about 12 days to appear and can last for weeks, with fever, aches and vomiting followed by skin lesions. Can be fatal; can cause blindness or kidney damage.</p> <p>► Treatment: Vaccine available in small amounts. No effective treatment.</p>	<p>► What it is: Odorless nerve gas.</p> <p>► Effects: Used by Japanese terrorists in deadly 1994-95 attacks, one in subway. Kills within minutes.</p> <p>► Treatment: Various treatments, but they must be applied within one minute to be effective.</p>	<p>► What it is: Odorless agent resembling motor oil; traces found in Iraqi Scud missiles during Gulf War.</p> <p>► Effects: Organs stop functioning; muscles paralyzed; deadlier than Sarin, but takes longer to kill.</p> <p>► Treatment: Antidote, atropine, must be injected into the arm or thigh. For gaseous attacks, antidote must go directly into heart.</p>

HOW POTENT IS ANTHRAX?

If released from the air, spores could create an invisible, deadly cloud extending for miles. Some say 200 pounds could kill 3 million people.

WHO'S MAKING THEM

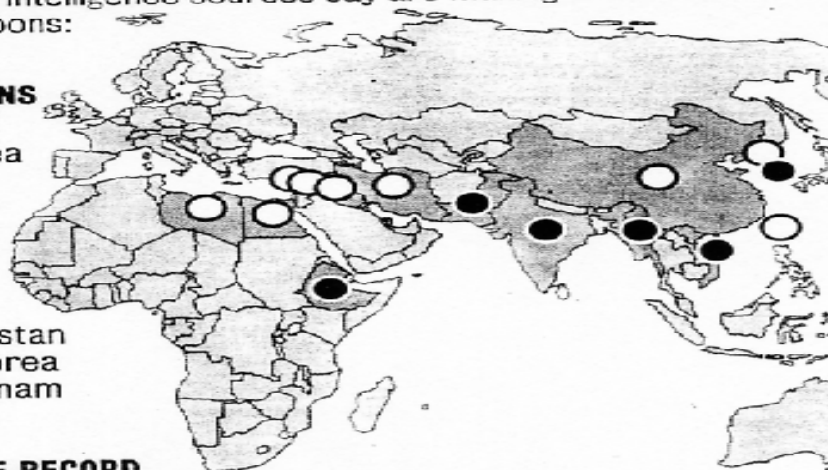
Countries that U.S. intelligence sources say are making chemical and biological weapons:

○ CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

- China
- Egypt
- Iran
- Iraq
- Israel
- Libya
- N. Korea
- Syria
- Taiwan

● CHEMICAL WEAPONS

- Ethiopia
- India
- Myanmar (Burma)
- Pakistan
- S. Korea
- Vietnam



COUNTRIES ON THE RECORD

Say they have existing or former chemical weapons production plants:

- China
- France
- Japan
- India
- U. K.
- U.S.
- Russia

Say they have a chemical weapons stockpile:

- India
- U.S.
- Russia

SOURCE: The Stimson Center, Technology Assessment, KRT

LYNN OCCHIOZZO / HERALD S

XIII. NATO Threatens Force If Soviets Enter West Germany

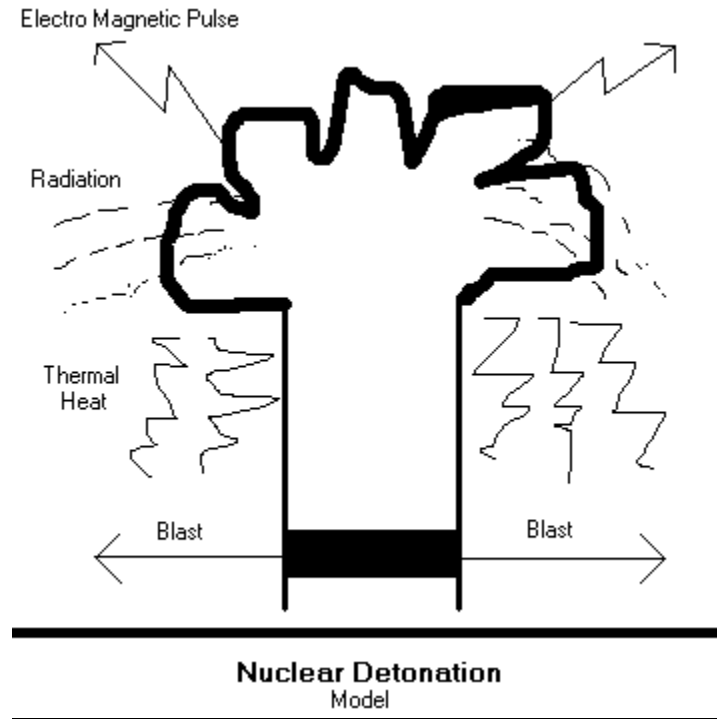
- a. At the end of Ike's administration, there was a US/NATO policy in play that the Soviets knew about (because of their intelligence inside the US)
- b. If the Soviet Army advances into West Germany through the Western Corridor and NATO failed to halt the Soviet advance before they reached the Rhine River, then nuclear weapons would be brought into play to stop the Soviets
- c. US had missiles and knew how to use them, but US hoped that Soviets wouldn't do anything stupid, like invade Western Europe

XIV. Force De Frape

- a. 1959-60, France left the NATO alliance because it didn't want to be locked into an alliance
- b. The French developed *Force De Frape* with the same mission as NATO, but not bound by NATO actions
- c. This plan called for the French to launch missile at Moscow if the Soviets cross the Rhine River
- d. The French were prepared to wipe out Moscow
- e. This compounded the Soviet military problem
- f. French contributed to deterrent aspect of Soviets

XV. 4 Tests of a Deterrent

- a. Survivability – Some of your nuclear forces have to be able to survive an attack in order for your enemy to know that you can retaliate (US had plenty of weapons)
- b. Credibility – If you launch a missile would it hit its targets? US missiles have been tested have been shot overseas (If 1 missile fails its mission, others sent along with it would make up for it)
- c. Clarity – Make clear at what point in time you would use your nuclear capability
- d. Safety – System needs to be controllable and safe to maintain (one person shouldn't be able to go take a weapon and then launch it)
- e. Controlling nuclear weapons and warheads is important



XVI. 4 Components to Nuclear Detonation

- a. **Blast** – (50% of nuclear effect) goes out in all directions (350 miles/hr) – The further away you are from the blast, the safer you will be
 - b. **Thermal Heat** – (35% of nuclear effect) – incinerates you at the blast sites, leaves burns a little further away from blast site
 - c. **Radiation** – (14% of nuclear effect) – 350 Rads = death, 150-200 = serious problem, throwing up, getting incapacitated within the next few minutes (Being inside an armored vehicle reduces radiation by 90% b/c hatches are closed)
 - d. **Electro Magnetic Pulse** – (Remaining 1% of nuclear blast) – can interrupt radio signals because it has gamma rays
- When the military is talking about nuclear detonation, it usually keys in on the blast effect
 - Radiation is fickle
 - Win can move radiation down field (so it can turn against you)
 - Trenobel – nuclear accident deforms generations of people within a few hundred miles

XVII. Lethal Weapons

- c. Chemical Weapons (mustard gas)
- d. Riot Control (tear gas)
- e. Biological Weapons (Germ Warfare)

XVIII. Chemical Weapons

- a. Can come in solid, liquid, or gaseous state
- b. There are several lethal types of chemical weapons:
 - Those that attack the nervous system
 - Those that attack the blood stream
 - Those that create a blistering internal effect (mustard gas)
- c. Military saw chemical weapons for short-term incapacitation use (so that the enemy could lose control of their ability to function)

XIX. Riot Control

- a. Tear Gas

XX. Biological Weapons

- a. Germ Warfare (Anthrax...)

XXI. Handling/Storing Chemical and Biological Weapons

- a. Fortunately, Chemical and Biological weapons are very difficult to work with
- b. Takes proper storage for them to be effective
- c. You have to handle them properly otherwise you would become infected by them and die

XXII. Soviet/US Intelligence

- a. Intelligence operations by the US and the Soviets were so good that each power was able to scare the other

Kennedy's Foreign Policy

I. John F. Kennedy (Topics)

- a. McGeorge Bundy (NSC)
- b. Dean Rusk
- c. Fidel Castro
- d. Nikita Khrushchev
- e. Robert Kennedy
- f. Flexible Response
- g. Alliance for Progress

II. Book

- a. *JFK and Vietnam* by John Newman

III. Vietnam (Topics)

- a. Ngo Dien Giem
- b. Viet Cong
- c. General Paul Harkin

IV. Shaping JFK's Foreign Policy Style

- a. When JFK became President in January 1961, he inherited Ike's approach to Foreign policy
- b. However, he wasn't sure if he wanted to use this plan (Policy Hill)
- c. He was given the pros/cons on Ike's administration's foreign policy style

V. Cons of Policy Hill

- a. Ike's foreign policy approach was extremely ponderous and bureaucratic
- b. JFK felt that Policy Hill impeded initiative and flexibility
- c. So,
- d. JFK had been a Congressman and knew how Congress functioned (slow-moving)

VI. What Foreign Policy Style Does JFK Want?

- a. Kennedy wanted a close-knit structure that could cope with changes in the foreign arena
- b. He wanted a small group of advisors to make recommendations
- c. He wanted task forces (small groups) to study various problems in the world (SE Asia task force, Berlin task force)
- d. JFK wanted a fast moving approach

VII. White House Situation Room

- a. JFK wanted a situation room in the White House where he could walk in and be immediately briefed on news and crises around the world

VIII. JFK's Foreign Policy Style – Collegial Model

- a. President organizes foreign policy advisors as a team to work together to analyze and solve problems as a closely knit group
- b. President is at the center of all of his advisors (tends to be informal)
- c. Information flows in to each advisor from each office organization
- d. Advisors serve as a debate team
- e. President listens to what they have to say and expects that all advisors will act as generals (will way in on all aspects of policy)
- f. President can also reach out for independent advice

IX. Advantages of Collegial Model

- a. Seeks both optimal solutions and one that is doable
- b. Stresses teamwork over competition
- c. In a crisis situation, it is relatively fast

X. Disadvantages of Collegial Model

- a. Places a great deal of demand on decision makers time (President has to be in the center of the action to get information/input in order to make decisions)
- b. Short-term solutions tend to be where this program takes you
- c. Long-term solutions tend to be ignored
- d. Requires an unusual skill from the President to mediate difference (and sort out good/bad advice)
- f. Biggest disadvantage (Tendency to conform to President's View) – Teamwork that is so desired will essentially degenerate into a closed system of mutual support
- g. (In the effort to be a team member, an individual will support the position the President wants supported – “group think”)

XI. JFK's Inaugural Address

- a. JFK says that he will defend any friend's interests against Communist (This goes further than NSC-68)

XII. Bay of Pigs, April 17, 1961

- a. JFK inherited Ike's plan to overthrow Castro in Cuba
- b. Geographic location of American Plot to oust Fidel Castro from Power in Cuba
- c. Half-Heartedly, JFK supported the invasion of Cuba
- d. A force of Cuban exiles had been trained and deployed into the Bay of Pigs
- e. CIA/JCS told JFK that the plan to overthrow Castro would work and that it would be so covert that nobody would know the US was involved – they would just believe that the Cuban people rose up against Castro
- f. Kennedy Okayed ground troops going into Cuba, but didn't send an Air Force for fear that it would be discovered that American Government was behind plot
- g. However, Castro was ready for the invasion
- h. Ground Troops were captured and 140 killed
- i. Castro had a few planes that sank the ammunition and supplies of the liberators
- j. US Navy fighter planes flew from aircraft carriers over the beach, flew wing-tip to wing-tip w/ Castro's planes (but they didn't do anything)
- k. Cuban pilots reported this to Castro, giving him further evidence of America's involvement
- l. Some captured troops were not released for 30 years, but most were released within 2 years in exchange for food and medicine
- n. Khrushchev condemned Bay of Pigs
- n. Leads to growing Soviet presence in Cuba and the installation of Soviet Missiles

XIII. Castro: A Hero in Cuba and in Latin America

- a. As a result of this failed invasion, Castro is perceived as a hero inside Cuba and to other revolutionary groups around Latin America
- b. They praised that Castro took the best the US had to offer and defeated them

XIV. Failure Leads to Embarrassment for JFK

- a. JFK had CIA/JCS telling him that it was a good plan, but it failed
- b. When the sneaky, covert act became public knowledge, it became an embarrassment
- c. So, right off the bat, JFK has a failure, causing him to lose confidence in the JCS and CIA
- d. When JFK went back and looked at the plan, he realized that he had been sold a bill of goods

XV. JFK Inherits TRIAD (bombers, missiles, submarines)

- a) By the time JFK took over, the amount of US weapons increased tremendously, so JFK was in good shape

XVI. E. Berliners flock to W. Berlin, 1961

- a. E. Germans and E. Berliners followed Soviet model of economic building, so life was tough
- b. Prior to 1961 – East Germans could easily leave to go to West Berlin, which was part of W. Germany
- c. They only had to walk to the other side of the city
- d. Identity papers were easily exchanged in W. Berlin
- e. 1961 – 1 million people walked out of E. Germany and went to W. Germany
- f. Those who left were called the **“Brain Drain”** b/c they were the people who could make E. Germany into a strong country
- g. East German officials asked Moscow to intervene b/c it was an embarrassment
- h. Khrushchev wanted to absorb all of Berlin in E. Berlin, but the West wanted to keep their capitalist sector in W. Berlin

XVII. Berlin Wall, August 1961

- a. Since there was no solution to get the US out of W. Berlin, Soviets authorized East Germany to close border in E. Berlin and build a wall
- b. Wall was constructed around W. Berlin, but on E. Berlin territory
- c. Wall prevented more Cold War tension from building
- d. Berlin Wall helps to discredit Communist b/c if Communism was so great, they wouldn't have to lock people into the city
- e. Construction of the Berlin Wall is a success for capitalism
- f. Wall was not the kind of solution Khrushchev wanted b/c he knew it was an embarrassment
- g. E. Germany began to prosper after wall was put up
- h. Khrushchev didn't like wall, but he endorsed it

XVIII. Missiles in Cuba

- a. After Bay of Pigs, Khrushchev came up with a plan to install intermediate range missiles in Cuba
- b. Khrushchev thought he had nothing to lose (Khrushchev took advantage of Cuba to put some missiles in there because the US had missiles in Turkey so that each of the superpowers would have missiles pointed at each other, however, Khrushchev misunderstood Kennedy's psyche – that he would not stand for this)
- c. Missile Plans Shows Cuba that the Soviets are friends
- d. Makes Cuba a base to spread Communism and Soviet influence to Latin America
- e. If he put medium range missiles in Cuba, he would save money by closing the missile gap to give money for agriculture reforms
- f. Khrushchev planned on telling US about missiles after they were operational to get US to bargaining table to get out of W. Berlin – The US found out when they were still being built
- h. But the plan backfired b/c of photographs that were taken of missile sites by a U-2 spy plane

XIX. Cuban Missile Crisis, Oct. 1962

- a. U-2 spy plane photographed nuclear missiles in Cuba on October 14, 1962
- b. Kennedy discussed the issues with his advisors
- c. US would only have 15 seconds to react to an attack – JFK sees this as a threat to the survival of the US
- d. JFK wants to get missiles out of Cuba without losing a single American city (missiles could reach 2/3 of US, including Washington DC and Chicago)

XX. JFK's Options During Missile Crisis

- a. **Do nothing** – accomplishes Soviet objective and puts US at risk
- b. Put **Diplomatic pressure** on Soviets through the UN
- c. **Telex System to Kremlin**
- d. US offered Castro a quid pro-quo, where the US would pay Castro get missiles out of Cuba, but this wouldn't work because it was a Soviet initiative
- e. **Outright Invasion** – but that didn't mean that the US would get there in a timely manner (so this was held as a last resort)
- f. **Surgical air strikes** – take out missile sites (Air Force Chief of Staff Curtis LeMay said that the US could get 90% of the missiles, but Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara said that this would allow the Soviets to come back at the US (so this was put aside)
- g. **Blockade of Cuba** - Stop Soviet ships, which were bring missiles into Cuba

XXI. Robert Kennedy, JFK's alter ego

- a. Smartest of the Kennedy's
- b. Uncanny common sense/good judgement at the right time and place
- c. Said not to trust the military because they would get the US involved in war in a heartbeat
- d. JFK confided in Robert Kennedy a lot
- e. Robert Kennedy advised JFK to put a blockade on Soviet ships and keep communications channel with the Soviets, open

XXII. Rational Actor Model

- a. Used in Solving the Cuban Missile Crisis
- b. Get rational information that defines problems, the issues, the threats to national security, and then decides possible solutions that could be used
- c. After having a list of possible solutions that can be used, then look at the advantages/disadvantages of each solution to get the best advantage at the least cost

XXIII. Robert Kennedy Communicates with Soviets

- a. After a week of the crisis, RFK gets in touch with the Soviet contact in Washington, saying that the US would take missiles out of Turkey and pledged never to invade Cuba if the Soviets removed the missiles from Cuba

XXIV. RFK's Lessons From his Memoir on the Cuban Missile Crisis

- a. **Take time to plan** – don't go with the first impulse (Had there been an invasion, missile battery commanders would have instructed to launch short range missiles at invading force or at the blockade (this was found out in a joint study 10-15 years later)
- b. **President as a decision-maker should have a lot of options**
- c. **Listen to experts** (not just cabinet officials)
- d. **Retain civilian control of military** (beware of the narrow objectives of the military)
- e. **Pay close attention to world opinion to reinforce your position** (Adlai Stephenson at showed Reconnaissance photos of missiles at the United Nations – this was embarrassing to Soviet ambassador, who wasn't told anything)
- f. **Do NOT humiliate your opponent** – leave them a way out of the situation (let them take something back, even though it wasn't their primary objective)
- g. **Beware of inadvertence** (blundering into a situation you don't want to be involved in (JFK had been reading *The Guns of August*, where Europe fell into WWI and couldn't figure a way out)
- h. **Communicate with your adversary** – keep communication lines open (Khrushchev realized that Cuban situation had spun out of control and that if the Soviets attacked the US, Curtis Lamay would have been headed towards the Soviet Union; Khrushchev wanted to step back to untie the knot; At that moment, JFK knew that they were on the same page with each other's thinking)

XXV. Kennedy's Approach to Latin America

- a. Kennedy had two approaches to Latin America: Flexible Response Capability and the Alliance for Progress

XXV. Flexible Response Capability

- a. Kennedy came up with a plan to deal with any challenges all over the world
- b. This involved helping government quash subversives (CIA involvement)
- b. Part of this involves the creation of the Green Berets

XXVI. Green Berets

- a. JFK realizes that he has to make a major commitment in Vietnam after Berlin Wall is build b/c he wants to contain Communism
- b. Green Berets deal with guerilla warfare
- b. Green Berets go on Search and Destroy Missions in Vietnam
- c. Seek information from S. Vietnamese and if they didn't like the information they received, they would torture them and burn down villages
- d. U.S. loses peasant support as a result, but U.S. doesn't know how else to fight guerilla war
- e. Little Kids shook hands with G.I. and blew themselves up with grenades
- f. American aggression pushed people toward siding with the Viet Cong
- g. 41 Americans killed; 16,500 men in Vietnam by JFK's death

XXVII. Alliance for Progress

- a. JFK's Plan to prevent Communism from spreading throughout Latin America
- b. Seeing that Castro was going to exploit the situation in Latin America that peasants couldn't get land, JFK wanted those in power to give up some of their privileges and reform their societies
- c. JFK feared that if Latin American governments weren't reformed, revolution would be the only hope for the people at the bottom of the pyramid (and probably a Communist revolution)
- d. This was an enhanced Eisenhower approach
- e. Alliance for Progress was the centerpiece of JFK's policies

XXVIII. Conflict of Policy in Latin America

- a. While Flexible Response Capability, having the government put down subversives/insurgents was in play, the Alliance for Progress asked that the governments reform and work with those at the bottom (some of which had turned against the government/subversives/insurgents)
- b. So, the two plans started working against each other

XXIX. Laos

- a. At the same time that Kennedy is dealing with Latin America, he becomes involved in Vietnam
- b. When Kennedy takes over, he wants to find out more about Laos
- c. JFK sends VP Lyndon Johnson to Laos
- d. Johnson returns, explaining that if any country in the region falls to communism, they will all fall (domino effect) to communism and the US would be forced to evacuate the entire Pacific Ocean population
- e. LBJ's assessment caused Kennedy to think

XXX. US Troubles with Diem in Vietnam

- a. 1954 – US took control of South Vietnam from the French
- b. Diem is put in charge
- c. Elections were supposed to take place, but it was feared that free elections would have resulted in Ho Chi Minh winning South Vietnam
1956 – Diem abolishes grassroots electoral process at the village level, instead appointing officials for them
- d. This dictatorial maneuvering did not go over well with the Vietnamese in the Outback, however anybody who disagreed with Diem was put in jail
- e. After 2 years, there were 50,000 people put in jail
- f. Diem also supported Catholic interests (which were a minority in the country) over Buddhist interests (the majority)
- g. After 2-3 years (1957), a rebellion took place in the South

XXXI. National Liberation Front

- a. Ho Chi Minh ordered Buddhists who fled to North Vietnam (among others) to go back to South Vietnam and form the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong)
- b. They believed that Diem was just as bad as the French

XXXII. General Paul Harkin Relocates South Vietnamese

- a. Harkin wants to isolate guerillas from the people
- b. Takes people in rural areas and brings them to fortified villages
- c. But this relocation, had a psychological effect on the people because they had lived on their farms for centuries and had ancestor worship there (believing that their spirits were on the land)
- d. Viet Cong exploited this situation in South Vietnam, telling the people that this is why they have to fight a revolution
- e. Kennedy gets reports from Harkin in the field, saying that relocation is going great
- f. But other advisors in the field are telling Kennedy that the insurgency is increasing
- g. South Vietnamese Army attempts to fight the guerillas, but the Army is defeated

XXXIII. JFK Reconsiders Vietnam

- a. JFK saw US investment in South Vietnam and in the South Vietnamese were not winning the war
- b. He saw that South Vietnam wasn't that vital to the US
- c. JFK comes to the conclusion that getting into this war was a mistake (that it was a civil war)
- d. JFK decides in Summer 1963 to withdraw US military advisors from Vietnam

XXXIV. JFK Moves Towards Abandoning Vietnam

- a. JFK takes advantage of Harkin's reports, claiming progress in Vietnam, as a way to get US advisors out of Vietnam
- b. October 1963 – JFK says that the first advisors would be withdrawn from South Vietnam in December 1963

XXXV. Coup of Diem, November 1, 1963

- a. As JFK is going through the withdrawal process, Buddhists start revolting against Diem
- b. Buddhists even resort to suicide
- c. This makes the CIA realize that they have to get out of Vietnam
- d. November 1, 1963 – CIA kills Diem and some other of his relatives so they can't retaliate

XXXVI. Kennedy's Assassination, November 22, 1963

- a. JFK was assassinated in Dallas, Texas
- b. Conspiracy Theories: Mafia, Castro, CIA, FBI
- c. It's possible that Kennedy was killed by someone who viewed him as being weak in the face of anti-communism:
 - 1. Failed at the Bay of Pigs
 - 2. Failed to Knock Down Berlin Wall
 - 3. Failed to Invade Cuba
 - 4. Failed to get Communism out of SE Asia

Lyndon Baines Johnson

I. Topics

- a. George Ball
- b. William Westmoreland

II. LBJ – Congressional Politician

- a. Considered to be a congressional politician
- b. Innate ability to convince other that his position was correct
- c. Wheeler and dealer

III. Lack of Foreign Policy Knowledge

- a. LBJ had a lack of foreign policy knowledge
- b. Felt uncomfortable dealing with foreign policy
- c. Had an innate fear of making a mistake

IV. Inherited and used JFK's Collegial Model

- a. Inherited JFK's collegial style
- b. Adapted it because it was informal in foreign policy matters and it would allow him to control and influence foreign policy

V. Tuesday Lunch Group

- a. Every Tuesday, LBJ met with a group of advisors for lunch to discuss foreign policy issues and decisions
- b. The only problem with this was that it made LBJ vulnerable
- c. He received opinions rather than well thought out policies
- d. NSC and Defense Department experts were now denied a forum to express their views to the decision maker
- e. LBJ sought loyalty and support from Tuesday lunch group and to support his policies
- f. There was a great deal of pressure to conform – no debate on issues
- g. However, conformity and loyalty created “group think”

VI. Vietnam

- a. The main foreign policy issue that LBJ inherited from Kennedy was the Vietnam issue
- b. Kennedy, in the summer of 1963, had made the decision to withdraw from Vietnam, but then he was assassinated
- c. LBJ became president
- d. LBJ feared getting castigated by right wing groups as being soft on communism for losing Vietnam to Communism, like Truman was after he lost China

VII. LBJ Increases Involvement in Vietnam

- a. January 1964 – 1500 advisors are brought into Vietnam
- b. At this point in time, LBJ missed an opportunity to get US out of the war
- c. He could have gone to Congress and debated the issue to see if he would have support in the event of a full blown war
- d. US political objective – keep South Vietnam as a non-Communist entity

VIII. North Vietnam Enters Guerilla War

- a. At this time, the Joint Chiefs of Staff started realizing that the war in SE Asia was not only a guerilla war, but it was also being fostered by North Vietnam
- b. Through Laos and Cambodia (**Ho Chi Minh Trail**), North Vietnam had communications lines that led into South Vietnam

IX. JCS Recommendations For Dealing with North Vietnam

- a. US had to deal with North Vietnamese military
- b. North Vietnamese economy had to be effected, supplies coming into North Vietnam from the north (China and Soviet Union) had to be stopped, and the North Vietnamese leadership must be changed
- c. US had to impose its will on the enemy

X. Advisory Effort Continues

- a. LBJ wasn't looking to get more active in battle at this point
- b. He wanted to focus on the advisory effort into the South
- c. Johnson brought in **General Westmoreland to replace General Harkin** in South Vietnam

XI. Gulf of Tonkin Attack

- a. South Vietnam started bombing coast of North Vietnam
- b. Ho Chi Minh told his Navy to fight them
- U.S. Destroyer Maddox spies on N. Vietnamese and is shot at
- b. Johnson sends a 2nd Destroyer to accompany Maddox
- c. Destroyers report being shot at, but it is unknown whether they were really shot at
- d. Privately, LBJ thought that the shots were coming from fishermen
- e. Publicly, LBJ claimed Tonkin Attack by N. Vietnam was unprovoked, but it was provoked

XII. Tonkin Gulf Resolution, 1964

- a. Passed 416 – 0 in House w/ 19 not present (passed w/ only 4 hrs debate – quick decisions often lead to mistakes)
- b. Passed 88-2 in Senate after only a few days of debate
- c. Gave Johnson broad power to handle war in Vietnam
- LBJ used Resolution to orders daily sustained bombing of N. Vietnam (2/7/1965 – 3/31/1968 after attack at Pleiku)
- d. LBJ bombed along Ho Chi Minh Trail, N. Vietnam Capital – Hanoi, and Port City – Hai Phong
- e. Attacks only stopped on Christmas Day – “Christmas Truce”

XIII. Defacto War Begins

- a. US bombing officially got US involved in a war
- b. After LBJ won re-election in November 1964, he began to expand the war

XIV. US Objectives in Dealing with North Vietnam

- a. US was serious about protecting South Vietnam
- b. US prestige – didn’t want to lose another country to communism
- c. US wanted to call the shots, but wasn’t sure what, where, or when they should be made
- d. US was involved in a conflict without a plan for resolving it

XV. JCS Asks For Direction

- a. JCS asked LBJ what he wants from them
- b. LBJ insisted on retaliatory air strikes

XVI. Could the Chinese Enter the War?

- a. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara believed that Chinese could jump into the war, just as they entered the Korean war

XVII. General Earl Wheeler, June 1965

- a. JCS Chairman Wheeler is asked what it will take to do the job in South Vietnam
- b. Wheeler said it depends on what the job is (objectives)
- c. US had vague objectives (seemed like Korean war)
- d. JCS said it would take 1 million men to defend South Vietnam
- e. However, instead of going with their war winning plan, they went along with LBJ

XVIII. Vice President Hubert Humphrey Criticizes LBJ's policy

- a. VP Humphrey was involved with Tuesday Lunch group
- b. Humphrey said that Truman and Ike couldn't hold public support in the Korean War and that the public wouldn't support a war in Vietnam
- c. Concluded that Johnson's landslide win in the election would have allowed him to pull out without major implications
- d. But as a result of his disagreement with LBJ's policies, he was banned from further Tuesday Lunch Groups

XIX. George Ball, Undersecretary of State for SE Asia

- a. At Tuesday Lunch Group, told LBJ that the war was a civil war in Vietnam and as a result, the US faced a war with an uncertain outcome
- b. Told LBJ, "We can't win" a long protracted war
- c. As a result, Ball was excluded from further Tuesday Lunch Group meetings

XX. Attack at Pleiku, 2/7/1965

- a. Site in S. Vietnam where there was a major loss of American life
- b. There were 27,000 US troops in Vietnam at the time of Pleiku attack
- c. In retaliation, LBJ started **bombed along Ho Chi Minh Trail** (Laos-Camodia passage way from North to South Vietnam,
- d. Johnson also started **bombing N. Vietnam Capital – Hanoi, and Port City – Hai Phong**

XXI. Summer 1965

- a. In the summer of 1965, US military intelligence indicated that North Vietnamese were going down the Ho Chi Minh trail, along Pleiku
- b. Westmoreland called for a million men
- c. Intelligence indicated that the enemy was amassing a major force
- d. US sent 1st cavalry into Vietnam, resulting in a blood bath
- e. North Vietnamese had never met such fire power
- f. This was declared a victory because the North Vietnamese effort to divide South Vietnam into 2 was prevented
- g. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara tried to demonstrate to N. Vietnam that they wouldn't win

XXII. 1 Million Men May Not Be Enough – Wheeler to Johnson

- a. At a Tuesday Lunch Group meeting, General Wheeler told Johnson that he's not sure whether 1 million men would be enough to win the war
- b. Wheeler suggested that the US should stop and pause to decide where to go next
- c. But this advice was never followed

XXIII. Dean Rusk – S. Vietnam Must Be Vital, February 1966

- a. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said that S. Vietnam must be vital to the US b/c its important to the other side (N. Vietnam)
- b. Rusk said that there was a vital state, however vital was not defined

XXIV. North Vietnamese Objectives

- a. Kick foreigners out
- b. Defeat South Vietnamese military and unite South Vietnam with the North

XXV. US Objectives in Vietnam

- a. There are a series of different opinions on objectives in Vietnam
- b. However, nobody sat down to look at what was the national interest of the US in SE Asia

XXVI. 2 Wars in Vietnam US was faced with

- a. Insurgency within South Vietnam (Viet Cong)
- b. Full Blown war emanating out of the North

XXVII. Keep the Chinese Out

- a. US wanted to punish North Vietnam, but not bring the Chinese in to the war
- b. The war continued on

XXVIII. McNamara wants Vietnamization, end of 1966

- a. Secretary of Defense says that the "war must be won and fought by the Vietnamese – we have known this from the very beginning"
- b. However, he never said anything when LBJ initially succeeded to the presidency
- c. Now, the US was in too deep to pull out

XXIX. CIA – North Is Not Backing Down

- a. CIA reported that after 27 months of bombing, there was no sign of the North Vietnamese backing out of the war

XXX. Troubles at Home

- a. US population is getting disillusioned with the war
- b. Mid-1967, McNamara resigns
- c. ½ million people fighting in Vietnam and McNamara leaves to go to work at the World Bank

XXXI. US Pacific Fleet Asks For Directions

- a. US Pacific Fleet wants guidance about what the US war objectives are
- b. They're confused

XXXII. US Victories in Vietnam

- a. Late 1967, General Westmoreland has a ½ dozen divisions in South Vietnam
- b. Enemy is suffering Heavy losses
- c. US artillery, air strikes badly bloody the enemy to create tactical victories
- d. US was winning every single major battle
- e. By Late January 1968, this rosy picture that Westmoreland has show to president is blown apart as a result of the Tet Offensive

XXXIII. North Vietnamese Battle Plans – Look at History

- a. North Vietnam was surprised that US committed ground forces in South Vietnam in 1965 – they didn't understand why it was important to America
- b. North Vietnamese had to decide how to prosecute the war
- c. They were facing a powerful country that was at war with them
- d. North Vietnamese went back to history to see if there was ever a small country, which was able to defeat a large power
- e. North Vietnamese looked at the American Revolution
- f. UF fought outnumbered and won
George Washington was their historical example of someone who never gave up, despite all odds and won

XXXIV. Tet Offensive, 1968

- a. North Vietnamese didn't want to sacrifice North Vietnamese regulars – they wanted to push the fighting on the Viet Cong
- b. North Vietnamese were aware of the anti-war sentiment in the US
- c. Viet Cong launched an offensive inside South Vietnam
- d. Tet – Lunar month in Vietnamese Calendar
- e. January 31, 1968 – Feb. 1968 – N. Vietnamese regulars and Vietcong guerillas attack cities and US embassy in S. Vietnam
- f. Heavy loss of life on both sides
- g. Major television networks sent correspondents over to Vietnam after Tet Offensive (including CBS with Walter Cronkite)

XXXV. Vietnam after the Tet Offensive

- a. People in South Vietnam didn't rise up (they ignored the guerillas)
- b. Rosy picture of success in Vietnam stops after Tet offensive b/c 5 guerillas got into US embassy
- c. Headlines in American papers were eccentric
- d. Tet Offensive contributed to disillusionment with the war

XXXVI. "Trinity" concept

- a. Concept developed in 1830s
- b. Trinity needs to be in place for a democracy to win a long, drawn out war

XXXVII. Trinity

- a. Government = has to have good policy
- b. Military = has to be able to win (competent)
- c. Population = Moral sustenance to maintain spirit of war
- d. All 3 have to work in sync with each other
- e. If any 1 doesn't work to support the other 2, war effort would probably fall apart

XXXVIII. Trinity Unravels in Vietnam

- a. Weak policy by government results in a loss of public support, which then transfers to the soldiers
- b. Objective became to survive and hope your buddies survive

XXXIX. Government Policy (Interests Fall into 4 categories)

- a. When dealing with an area in the world, ask **does this area contribute to the security of the US, does it threaten defense, how?**
- b. **Economic** – Is the US economy going to be threatened if this area is not defended?
- c. **World Order** – (Dulles had domino effect theory for SE Asia) – In the case of SE Asia and world order, there were other countries hanging in there (avoiding communism)
- d. **Ideological Aspect** – in this area of the world, is our ideology and the way we live threatened?

XXXX. Now Calculate the Intensity of the Threat

- a. Is the fighting **vital**
- b. **Major** – If a particular area is not defended, it could have negative consequences, but the US could easily survive, although it may have to adjust some things
- c. **Minor** (Peripheral) – It might have an effect on some political groups, but not on the country at large

XLI. Defend or Ignore

- a. After calculating the intensity of the conflict, decide whether to defend or ignore the threats
- b. Not all parts of the world are vital

XLII. Analyzing Decision to Go To War in Vietnam

- a. In Vietnam, did they have the ability to reach America? NO
- b. Economy – We get rubber and rice from them – we could have gotten those things from other areas in the region
- c. World Order – There are other countries hanging in there (from communism)
- d. Ideology – Communism – not a threat to US (anti-communism was in play)
- e. You need to know what you're against, but also what you're for

XLIII. What was the purpose of engaging in war with North Vietnam?

- a. US was now engaging forces in an insignificant part of the world that posed no threat to the US
- b. Winning or losing would have changed nothing between the US and the Soviets
- c. This is what caused people in the US to rebel against the war
- d. War was seen as illogical and wasteful to lose lives and drain the treasure

XLIV. LBJ Should Have Gone to Congress

- a. LBJ's misfortune was that he didn't go to US Congress
- b. Had Congress decided to go to war, that would have forced the issue and the Trinity would have been sustained b/c the people's representatives would have voted for the war

XLV. Chinese involvement in the Vietnam War

- a. Chinese came into war in 1966
- b. Helped to setup North Vietnamese Air Defense System
- c. Chinese stayed for 3 years until 1969
- d. Trucks coming from China brought in guns into North Vietnam
- e. 700 US aircrafts were shot down during the war, but the American public didn't know this
- f. IF the CIA knew about US aircrafts that were shot down, they may have kept quiet in order to get out of the war
- g. The idea was also held that the North Vietnamese were inferior

Foreign Policy Analysis Model when dealing with a Foreign Threat
 (Most parts of the world are minor – there are very few vital interests)

<u>Area of World</u>		<u>Degree of Intensity</u>
<u>National Interest</u>		
- Defense	<u>Threat(?)</u>	- Vital
- Economic		- Important (Major)
- World Order		- Minor
- Ideological		

*** If Decision is to go to war:**

Need: US Congress (People's Representatives)
 to declare in favor (or not)

*Trinity in play: Government, population, military

Then: **Political Objectives** -----> **Military Objectives**
 (NSC and President) (JCS = strategy to win
 - ends, way, means
 I
 I
 V
 Operations and tactics
 (focus on 3 centers of Gravity)
 (1) Army
 (2) Logistical/Economic System
 (3) Opponent's Leadership

XLVI. Laos – A Neutral Country?

- a. JCS, Westmoreland said that if Ho Chi Minh trail was stopped, it would cut off supplies
- b. JCS said that 5 infantry divisions should come in from the west (Laos) and cut off the Hoc Chi Minh trail
- c. But then someone from the NSC said, isn't Laos a neutral country?
- d. B/C CIA wanted to conduct covert operations, US gave the impression that Laos was neutral
- e. There were thousands of CIA operatives in Laos

XLVII. S. Vietnam Tries to Cut Off Ho Chi Minh Trail, 1971

- a. South Vietnam tried to cut into Ho Chi Minh trail, along the 17th parallel, but a North Vietnamese spy informed North Vietnam about this plan
- b. As a result, South Vietnam was defeated
- c. Everything after that went down hill

XLVIII. LBJ Not Running For Re-election

- a. A few months after Tet Offensive, LBJ announces that he is not running for re-election
- b. This means that Johnson admits that his policy failed
- c. It also means that the North Vietnamese imposed their will on Johnson by forcing him not to run again
- d. Soldiers on the battlefield were left holding the bag of worms

II. FOR TEST

- a. Pay close attention to Threat Analysis & Trinity

LBJ: Dominican Republic, Middle East

I. Dominican Republic

- a. 2/3 of Hispaniola (Haiti is to the west)

II. Trujillo Assassinated

- a. Assassinated b/c his dictatorship was an embarrassment to the Alliance for Progress
- b. Then, an interim government took over

III. Juan Bosch, elected President, 1962

- a. anti-Trujillo die-hard
- b. As a socialist, he offered a liberal alternative to Trujillo's dictatorship
- c. Allowed any political parties to run for election
- d. But Bosch did not have a good administration
- e. He was well intentioned, but not competent
- f. Allowed cronies and relatives to take advantage of system
- g. Tried to reduce the power of the military
- h. Military had been a supporter of Trujillo to get ahead in life
- i. After military funding was cut, military wanted a coup before Bosch went too far
- j. American embassy didn't like Bosch b/c he had relations with Castro, like he had relations with every leader in Latin America
- k. Within 6 months, military coup overthrows him
- l. Interim government is established
- m. Bosch is forced into Puerto Rican exile

IV. "Constitutionalists" Overthrow Government, April 1965

- a. In April 1965, pro-Bosch Army and Navy elements who are disillusioned with the way the government was headed back to the days of Trujillo, decided to bring back Bosch
- b. Constitutionalists held Santo Domingo (capital) and held the military at bay
- c. Bosch should have flown in at this time because he would have been seen as the constitutionally elected president, who was illegally eliminated
- d. But, Bosch sat in Puerto Rico
- e. When Bosch didn't show up, rebels needed someone to run the revolt

V. US Embassy is told that Constitutionalists are Communists

- a. US embassy is told by anti-Bosch Military that the Constitutionalists had staged a Communist coup
- b. However, this was news to the Communists because no communist group ever knew about it
- c. Rebel forces opened up their forces to anyone who wanted to fight

VI. US Marines Land in Dominican Republic

- a. American citizens who want to leave are evacuated
- b. US isolates rebel forces in the SE quarter of Santo Domingo
- c. LBJ was following the advice of an advisor who said that things were looking good

VII. July 1966 Elections

- a. Elections are held
- b. Bosch comes back to run, but he has been discredited because he failed to show up during the third day of the coup
- d. Organization of American States (OAS) was running the election
- e. Anybody who wanted to run could run
- d. Bolidair won the election

VIII. Bolidair

- a. Formerly of the Trujillo administration
- b. Goes on to win seven more elections
- c. This is a constitutional dictatorship
- d. Bosch ran on an off again against Bolidair, but lost every time

IX. Lyndon Johnson

- a. What happened in the Dominican Republic, made LBJ think eh could act this way anywhere in the world

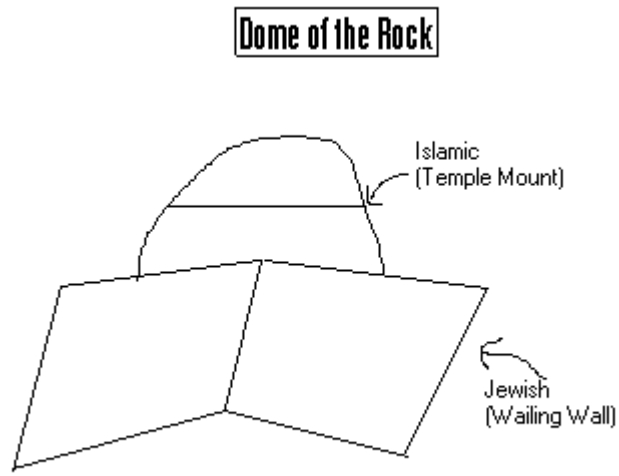
X. LBJ in the Middle East

- a. 1967 – Syria, Egypt, and Jordan planned to attack Israel
- b. Israel found out about this planned attack and made a pre-emptive strike of their own (surprise attack)
- c. Israel won a lot of territory

XI. United Nations Security Council – Resolution #242

- a. Recognized that Israel needed to have peace with its neighbors
- b. Claimed that Israel had to have access to the sea in order to prosper
- c. Recognized that the lands Israel occupied in 1948 would one day have to be returned
- d. Palestinian refugees also needed to have their own homeland

XII. Dome of the Rock



- a. 3rd most important Islamic shrine/temple
- b. Wailing Wall creates conflict
- c. If one tries to take over the other, its going to create friction
- d. This helps to understand problems that exist in the world
- e. One of the key points recognized in Johnson's time is that what is happening in the Middle East is having more importance to the US

Richard Nixon

I. Topics

- a. Kissinger
- b. Realist Approach
- c. Nixon Doctrine
- d. “Linkage”
- e. Détente
- f. “Shuttle Diplomacy”
- g. War Powers Act of 1973

II. Nixon’s Style – A variant of Ike’s

- a. Has National Security Council staff acquire information, evaluated it, determine different courses of action by weighing pros/cons
- b. After this is done, Nixon makes the final decision
- c. This process required selflessness on the staff’s part – Lots of demands on NSC staff, created a high turnover rate

III. Nixon Uses Kissinger to Distance Himself from Staff

- a. Nixon didn’t like to meet w/ staff
- b. Nixon liked Kissinger to meet with staff and collect position papers from them that Kissinger would then pass on to Nixon
- c. Nixon read these position papers in the oval office
- d. If he had questions, he wrote them in the margin, gave them back to Kissinger, who then sent them back to the NSC staff to answer
- e. This took a lot of time
- f. Nixon used Kissinger to distance himself from policymakers
- g. In all cases, Kissinger was the senior guy in all committees

IV. Realist Approach (to international relations)

- a. Nixon and Kissinger have Realist Approach to international relations
- b. Each country is considered a nation-state that is an actor on the world stage
- c. The true interest of this nation-state is to seek power
- d. Seeking power is the primary motivation of every country in the world
- e. As you relate to other countries, its how the balance of power weighs out
- f. When nation-states compete against each other, they form alliances against other similarly oriented nation-states
- g. As a result, a balance of power policies results
- h. This balance of power goes back to Napoleonic times in order to keep people from going to war against each other
- i. If no one country is more powerful than another, it would prevent a war
- j. During Napoleon's time, all countries in Europe established a balance of power against Napoleon (led by the British)
- k. After Napoleon, there developed a balance of power of nation in Europe
- l. State to state relationships are what count – doesn't matter about a country's internal politics

V. Nixon Doctrine

- a. Supposed to create a balance (or structure of peace)
- b. Had 3 fundamental points:
 - 1. US would achieve partnership with the rest of the world
 - 2. US would maintain its strength to protect its national interests (national interest based foreign policy)
 - 3. Willingness to negotiate with all states to resolve differences

VI. Nixon Doctrine Follows Kennan's Plan

- a. In a certain sense, the Nixon Doctrine follows Kennan's approach to dealing with the Soviet Union
- b. US was trying to protect US key interests, which the military protected
- c. This would determine the US role in the balance of power
- d. What had formally been assumed to be a monolithic Communism belonging to the Soviets, were just fragmented Communist states
- e. (Sino-Soviet Rift, Sino-North Vietnamese Rift, Sino-North Korea Rift)
- f. Nixon said these states were competing against each other, as well as other countries in the world

VII. Africa

- a. There was a great deal of nationalism at this time in the world
- b. Kissinger wanted to support self-determination of those trying to create their own nation-state
- c. As a result, British, French, Dutch lost control of their Empires
- d. Allowing self-determination gets Africa on the US's side

VIII. Henry Kissinger

- a. Starts as NSC Advisor
- b. Then becomes Secretary of State
- c. Powerful in Nixon administration for foreign policy making
- d. Sees the US, Soviets, and China as the principle great powers in the world
- e. Sees Japan and Western Europe as related (important for industrialism)

IX. “Linkage”

- a. Nixon's approach to foreign policy making
- b. Gets all states to accept legitimacy of rights/interests of all other states
- c. Reflects on “Realist Approach”
- d. Kissinger says that China, Soviet Union, US, Britain, France, and the rest of the world all have particular interests that must be recognized and accepted in order to work together for peace in the world
- e. Tries to break out of the we/they approach of anti-Communism
- f. Helps to relax tensions

X. Détente (French word)

- a. Kissinger's word for relaxing tensions, to merrily getting along in the world arena

XI. “Shuttle Diplomacy”

- a. Diplomacy was a key factor
- b. Nixon used Kissinger to negotiate problems
- c. This became known as the art of “Shuttle Diplomacy,” with Kissinger bouncing from state to state to create peace

XII. Kissinger's Authoritarian Approach to Foreign Policymaking

- a. Didn't want to involve Congress
- b. Wanted to negotiate problems and then present solutions to the American people
- c. Didn't want Congress to make stipulations on negotiations, just to accept them (fait accompli)

XIII. Habitat of Mutual Restraint and Co-existence

- a. Kissinger believed that US could contain Soviet power without a global war (follows Kennan's approach)
- b. The idea behind this was that if Soviets and US both had an equal amount of nuclear weapons, there would be nuclear stalemate b/c of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)
- c. The idea was to move beyond stalemate and promote "habit of mutual restraint and co-existence" and hopefully that would lead towards a system of cooperation, with the ultimate goal being, to turn the ideological conflict into constructive participation (working together to build a better world)
- d. Kennan would say that you are neutralizing the Soviet Union as a threat, so that depending on internal conflict would determine their fate
- e. However, Conservatives ridiculed Kissinger, saying that he was wasting his time – that the Soviets would never deal

XIV. Nixon's Options in Vietnam

- a. Continue Johnson's policy (not a winning policy – military bogged down without a goal in sight) – endless battles/firefight leading nowhere
- b. Withdraw unilaterally – get out fast
- c. Turn war over to Vietnamese – avoid an immediate defeat on battlefield, and hope South Vietnamese can keep a stalemate

XV. China Threat Prevents US from using Nuclear Weapons

- a. If the Chinese felt threatened by US nuclear weapons, it could cause them to go to war with the US
- b. Chinese also have nuclear weapons
- c. So, US dropped the idea of using nuclear weapons, not knowing how the Chinese would react
- d. Chinese were a balancing factor

XVI. Nixon Wants Kissinger to Evaluate Vietnam Situation

- a. Nixon told Kissinger that he wanted to get the Vietnam situation resolved
- b. Nixon wanted position papers from Kissinger
- c. Kissinger did a reappraisal of America's position in Vietnam, using a national interest based tool – looked at defense, economic, world order, and ideological situation

XVII. Kissinger's National Interest Based Evaluation of Vietnam

- a. Defense – didn't believe that winning or losing would make the US more or less secure (No threat out of SE Asia)
- b. Economy – Trade, commerce, and investments internally and externally were all intact, so there would be no economic impact from losing Vietnam on the US
- c. World Order – Did not see Vietnam one way or the other as having an impact on the international world order
- d. Ideology – Fundamental basic values of democracy were intact and well protected
- e. **Vital Interests:** In terms of vital interests, Kissinger saw free access to surrounding waterways for trade as secure; US had complete access to all natural resources it could ever need; Europe was secure
- f. Kissinger therefore said that the US made a serious mistake by making Vietnam a symbol of US power and commitment
- g. Another concluding comment was that South Vietnam was nothing more than a little peninsula on a larger continent (Realist Approach)
- h. Kissinger said that as long as the overall balance of power is kept with the Soviets, the US could leave Vietnam without losing more than a little face
- i. Getting rid of distraction in Vietnam would allow the US to focus on more relevant problems/interests in the world arena

XVIII. Nixon Analyzes Kissinger's Analysis of Vietnam

- a. Nixon looks at analysis
- b. Nixon wanted to keep credibility with allies, keep peace within the nation, and save as much face as possible
- c. Nixon's policy to get US out of the war is Vietnamization

XIX. Vietnamization

- a. Turning the war over to the South Vietnamese
- b. General Abrams is now in charge of war in Vietnam
- c. Nixon wanted Abrams to tell him about the war scenario in Vietnam
- d. Nixon told Abrams that the US was going to start withdrawing
- e. The number of advisors with the local militia forces increased so that the Viet Cong guerillas couldn't overcome the militia
- f. Militia forces throughout South Vietnam were given the same weapons the US had been using during the war
- g. It was felt that the US would increase air power in South Vietnam to sustain the war effort

XX. US Enters Cambodia, 1970

- a. General Abrams said that Saigon was the critical area – “We have to rock hem back to get breathing space”
- b. US went into Cambodia take supplies out so that the enemy wouldn’t be able to conduct attacks for 1-2 years, which would give the US breathing space to get out of the war
- c. US was in Cambodia for a month during 1970
- d. After Tet Offensive, Viet Cong went into hiding

XXI. North Vietnamese Spy in Saigon

- a. North Vietnamese intelligence had an agent in Saigon
- b. Posed as a colonel in the South Vietnamese Army, acting as an administrative assistant to the president of south Vietnam
- c. Any operations that were going to take place were told to the president and then he would tell his aides
- d. This spy informed someone in the Saigon network, radioed or used codes to inform the North Vietnamese that the South Vietnamese were crossing the border
- e. As a result of being tipped off, the North Vietnamese withdrew on a secret trail and changed their headquarters location (which was in an underground tunnel)

XXII. Anti-Communism in Cambodia, 1970

- a. Operation takes place
- b. US catches a lot of ammunition
- c. This ammunition is given to anti-Communist Cambodian government to fight their own guerillas
- d. Anti-Communist government was put in place in Cambodia

XXIII. Plan to Shut Down Ho Chi Minh Trail, 1971

- a. As time goes on, eight months later, Abrams suggests shutting down the Ho Chi Minh Trail, however, Laos had earlier been declared a neutral country (even though privately there were countless operations in the country)
- b. 1971 – South Vietnamese take a major force to shut down trail, but it was easier said than done
- c. Unfortunately, their operation was well known because of the spy in Saigon
- d. As a result, North Vietnamese successfully protected Ho Chi Minh trail (only time the Trail was ever threatened in war)
- e. For political reasons, an incompetent general was sent on this mission so that he wouldn’t outshine South Vietnam’s president
- f. The best general for the job was sent elsewhere because South Vietnam’s president didn’t want to be outshined
- g. As a result, South Vietnam failed
- h. A year later, US air power intervened and was able to fight them back

XXIV. Kissinger Negotiates Peace with North Vietnam

- a. By 1973, US was out of the war
- b. Kissinger negotiates with North Vietnamese in Paris, asking them to let the US get out of North Vietnam peacefully and then let them fight their own war

XXV. Collapse of South Vietnam

- a. South Vietnamese leader felt betrayed by the US b/c the US Congress cut off funds
- b. North Vietnamese, seeing that the US was not involved in the war, sent 16 divisions into South Vietnam in 4 different directions
- c. These divisions overran Saigon and divided Saigon into 2 or 3
- d. Soon after, South Vietnam collapsed through the use of conventional warfare means

XXVI. War Powers Act, 1973

- a. Reflection by US Congress to prevent what happened in Vietnam from happening again
- b. Congress tries to reduce president in his role (Passed b/c of Cambodian Killing Fields and Vietnam)
 - 1. President may commit military forces overseas as long as he informs Congress within 48 hours as to why it's necessary to put US men at risk
 - 2. Military may stay in Combat for 60 days, with an additional 30 day extension without a declaration of war as long as Congress is informed
 - 3. If Congress doesn't approve of a war after 60-90 days, troops are brought home
 - 4. This law was vetoed by President Nixon, but overridden by Congress
 - 5. All US presents since have griped about War Powers Act

XXVII. Reasons South Vietnam Lost

- a. Incompetence by South Vietnamese general who failed to shut down Ho Chi Minh Trail
- b. North Vietnamese spy in Saigon

Nixon's Peace Talks

I. Topics

- a. War Powers Act, 1973
- b. Linkage – Détente
- c. SALT
- d. Nuclear non-proliferation
- e. Anwar Sadat
- f. Shuttle Diplomacy

II. Nixon's National Security Council

- a. Nixon had already formulated his NSC before he was sworn in

III. Why Did Congress Pass the War Powers Act, 1973 ?

- a. Congress was confused as to how Johnson saw Vietnam as vital and how Kissinger just believed that it was a small peninsula on a larger continent
- b. Congress saw that it got mouse trapped
- c. So, Congress saw that the people had turned against the war, breaking the TRINITY and leaving the country divided
- d. Congress failed to do its duty in 1965 when LBJ first escalated the war
- e. At that time, Congress should have debated the issue to decide whether to fight or not fight
- f. But, Congress just followed the Tonkin Gulf resolution it passed for a limited attack, making them just as guilty as Johnson
- g. Congress passed the War Powers Act, 1973 to repossess the foreign policy arena in terms of going to war

IV. War Powers Act, 1973

- a. Congress wanted to control the issue of when and where the US would go to war, but reasonably so that it would not handcuff the President in an emergency
- b. President must notify Congress of the intention to send troops, 48 hours prior to going into a conflict situation
- c. President can employ military forces for 60 days – after that, Congress must approve the action via a declaration of war or disapprove the action
- d. If Congress disapproves, all forces must be withdrawn immediately (within the next 30 days)
- e. This act was passed because Congress was trying to address the wrongs of the Vietnam War

V. Soviet Union

- a. Nixon wanted to reach out to the Soviets, known as “**linkage**” to lessen the tensions, known as **détente**, but short term objectives were for an arms control agreement, to increase trade, lower tensions in the Middle East over competition for oil
- b. Kissinger wanted to see the Soviets use their political weight to create peace in Vietnam so that the US could get out without losing much face

VI. SALT I Agreement

- a. Goes back to TRIAD (bombers, submarines, missiles)
- b. Under SALT, each country would have a TRIAD
- c. US and Soviets would almost have the same amount of ICBMs (with a slight edge for the Soviets)
- d. US would have an advantage in sea-launched ballistic missiles
- e. Agreement represented the capabilities of the US vs. Soviet Navy at the time
- f. Fundamental purpose of SALT was cap the arms race and leave the nuclear standoff where it was (to ensure MAD) and because nuclear war was destructive, so neither wanted to go to war

VII. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Agreement

- a. Keep other countries from getting nuclear weapons
- b. It aimed to keep the world simple
- c. China, France, British, Pakistan (was developing nuclear weapons)
- d. It was designed so that countries wouldn't share their nuclear capabilities with other countries

VIII. Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs)

- a. Nixon was interested in what the US scientific community was developing b/c he was worried that the Soviets would renege on the SALT agreement and threaten the US
- b. Nixon saw developments in the scientific community that could now place 2, 4, or 6 warheads on a missile rather than just 1 – where it would break up when it reached its destination and hit multiple targets (so it was more efficient)
- c. These were known as MIRVs
- d. This development made Nixon feel good
- e. He had gotten the Soviets to agree to SALT, which prevented an increase in nuclear missiles, but he was increasing his capabilities from 2 – 6 over the Soviets
- f. SALT had a certain intention, but its overall effect was not great

IX. Soviet Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense System

- a. US didn't like that the Soviets were creating a missile defense system, because it made it seem that the Soviets might be considering a first strike or else, it would be used to shield their nuclear weapons to make sure that they survived a nuclear attack
- b. As a result of US fears, to ensure MAD, both the Soviets and the US were each allowed 2 of these

X. Economic, Social, and Cultural Approaches

- a. These approaches were used parallel to the SALT approach in dealing with the Soviet Union
- b. Just to talk about trade was seen as beginning to chip away at the Iron Curtain
- c. Joint Soviet-US commercial commission was formed to increase trade (this was real contact)
- d. Medical science and public health communities began to exchange information and ideas
- e. Environmental Protection – another aspect of this approach
- f. Scientific Community wanted to exchange technology for space exploration
- g. Kennan believed that penetrating into the Soviet system was the initial opening
- h. US sold wheat to Soviets
- i. The idea was to use food and technology as non-military weapons to open the door

XI. Discussions for Nixon's Trip to China

- a. Nixon was fascinated with China
- b. He knew about the Sino-Soviet rift
- c. Nixon knew that China and the Soviets bordered on being enemies in the 1970s
- d. Kissinger said that a situation should be worked out where the US makes the first move to reach out to Communist China
- e. He ultimately wanted play China off against the Soviets and at the same time, play the Soviets off against China, so that the US could then take advantage of each country to work **linkage – détente**

XII. Nixon's Trip to China, 1972

- a. Nixon makes his trip to China to normalize relations between the 2 countries
- b. This was the opening step to the China Policy
- c. China wanted US to recognize Taiwan as part of China
- d. 6 years after Nixon's trip, Carter established full diplomatic relations with China
- e. Relationship has fostered and blossomed (Chinese have students study in American Universities and US has McDonalds restaurants in China)
- f. China policy has created modified places in China
- g. As the old guard is passing away, new Chinese are being educated in US and in Europe on western values
- h. Republicans couldn't believe that the die-hard anti-Communist Nixon was willing to embrace China and the Soviet Union – they were furious

XIII. Helsinki Agreement, 1972

- a. In terms of Europe, an agreement is worked out in Helsinki, Finland
- b. Kissinger says that the Soviets won't be bothered about spheres of influence in Europe, as long as they recognize human rights in their areas of control

XIV. US Human Rights Propaganda Campaign in Eastern Europe

- a. US starts to wage a propaganda campaign, based on human rights to try to undermine the Soviet system from within
- b. East Germany, Poland, Hungary were all running their operation
- c. Soviets defended their territories, but to do this, they had to have local governments in power
- d. But life goes on, people are struggling, trying to make a better life for themselves
- e. Now, US propaganda talking about human rights and elections hits them subtly

XV. Middle East

- a. Israelis took Sinai Peninsula in the Six Day War
- b. At the same time, Palestinian groups created a political organization aimed at creating a Palestinian homeland
- c. Nixon and Kissinger say that the Palestinian desire for a homeland conflicts with Israeli security (policy nightmare)
- d. From strategic terms, it was important for the US to get Middle East oil, so it was important to keep a good relation with oil producing countries

XVI. Anwar Sadat (Egypt)

- a. In 1972, Sadat came to power in Egypt
- b. To get himself to power, he said that he was going to resolve the problem of the Sinai Peninsula and get it back for Egypt
- c. People weren't sure at the time what he was about
- d. Russians had offered Egypt military assistance and also assistance in building a dam
- e. But Sadat told the Russians that their help wasn't needed and kicked the Russian advisors out of Egypt
- f. Sadat also negotiated with Israel, trying to get them to give up the Sinai Peninsula
- g. Israelis didn't respect Egypt because every war they ever had against each other, Israel won
- h. So, Sadat wasn't making much progress

XVII. Yom Kippur War, October 6, 1973

- a. Egyptian engineers figured out that if they could get across the canal, they could get past the sand dune defense of the Israelis
- b. Egyptians were 50 miles into the Sinai, but then stopped
- c. Israel was shocked and surprised that Egypt got across – they couldn't figure out how
- d. After stopping 50 miles in, the Israelis counter-attack and manage to cut off the Egyptian Army that has penetrated the Sinai
- e. Sadat told Israel that there would be peace if they backed off from the canal

XVIII. Shuttle Diplomacy

- a. Kissinger goes to both sides, seeing this as a chance for peace negotiations and to negotiate leverage for the US in the Middle East
- b. US gave Israelis necessary technology to neutralize Egyptian Air Defense systems (US had been in Vietnam and had figured out how to overcome these types of defense systems)
- c. This re-establishes Israeli power in the Middle East
- d. However, the war makes Israel gain respect for Egypt

XIX. Oil Embargo on the US

- a. While the US is running Shuttle Diplomacy, the other Arab countries in the region are embargoing oil to the US
- b. Kissinger went to the Saudis, saying that they could raise their prices, but they better provide oil, otherwise, the US would take over their oil fields
- c. This made Arabs and Israel realize that they needed the US

XX. Investigating Middle East Problems

- a. Arab-Israeli confrontation is a complicated matter, so Kissinger had his staff break down their quarrels into smaller components
- b. ½ dozen different components were looked at simultaneously
 - 1. Homeland issue for Palestinians
 - 2. Who would control Jerusalem? Split up or International Control
 - 3. Security Interest – important to Israel
 - 4. Territories occupied by Israel – important to Arabs
 - 5. Israel was holding Prisoners of War (POWs) in their occupied territory

XXI. US Supports Israel and Egypt

- a. After the Six Day War, the US agreed to give Egypt and Israel, military and political support in order to create peace between the 2 powers (If either side attacks the other, they will have to deal with the US)
- b. UN gets involved
- c. Oil embargo is lifted
- d. UN is still involved in the Middle East today

Gerald Ford

I. Topics

- a. Richard Nixon
- b. Gerald Ford

- c. Salvador Allende
- d. Augusto Pinochet
- e. Augusto Pinochet
- f. Africa (Angola)
 - FNLA (Front for National Liberation) – populist group
 - MPLA (Russian backed)
 - UNITA (National Union for Total Independence)

- g. Fidel Castro
- h. Mayaguez Crisis

II. Minority Rule in Africa

- a. Nixon is concerned with Africa
- b. There were 4 million former colonial whites ruling 30 million blacks
- c. Us wanted to emphasize that they should try to make an emphasis on human rights and eliminate racial oppression
- d. Nixon feared that if they didn't remove the minority from power and allow majority rule, there would be a bloody revolution, possibly led by the Soviets or China

III. Angola

- a. Portugal was still involved in Angola and Mozambique
- b. There were several groups there that started to form in Angola
 - 1. FNLA (Front for National Liberation) – populist group
 - 2. MPLA (Russian backed)
 - 3. UNITA (Front for a United Angola)

- c. US didn't bother Portugal about remaining in Angola and Mozambique, because the US wanted to use the Portugal's strategic island base in the Azores

IV. Aparthia – in South Africa

- a. In South Africa, there was a program, called Aparthia, that kept the races separate
- b. Under this program, a white minority was suppressing a black majority
- c. US denounced the Aparthia program
- d. But while the US denounced Aparthia, it kept a business as usual approach, encouraging investment in the country

V. US Investment in South Africa

- a. US had 1/3 of its investment in the whole African continent in South Africa
- b. US had uranium resources there
- c. NASA had a tracking station there
- d. The US Navy had port facilities there
- e. So, South Africa and Africa were important, but not vital

VI. South Africans Exploit Namibia

- a. Namibia was a colony of South Africa in Southwest Africa
- b. It was given to South Africa by the League of Nations after WWI
- b. South Africans exploited Namibians for labor, putting them to work in diamond mines
- c. There developed an interest in Africa as to what was going to happen
- d. Nixon and Kissinger were the first to be concerned with Africa, believing that the Soviets or Chinese could exploit the racial oppression

VII. Salvador Allende, Chile, elected 1973

- a. Allende was a Marxist-Leninist Senator
- b. He just barely won 37% of the vote
- c. It was presented to Nixon that here was a legally constituted Marxist-Leninist government in South America and that Allende could turn into another Castro (with revolutionary potential in Latin America)
- d. Nixon took this personal that another Marxist-Leninist front was forming in Latin America on his watch
- e. Allende nationalized copper fields
- f. He was popular for one year, but then his popularity dropped as he tried to deal with economic problems in the country
- g. Then copper prices fell, making things worse

VIII. Plan to Overthrow Allende

- a. Chilean military didn't like Allende (military was anti-Communist)
- b. CIA ran a destabilization plan in Chile
- c. CIA implemented a transportation strike in Chile, by paying the workers their salaries
- d. Soon after, the military coup'd Allende out of power

IX. General Pinochet Takes Over

- a. Pinochet, Chile's military leader, takes over after Allende is overthrown
- b. The fact that the CIA had been involved didn't come out immediately – It took over 10 years to find out
- c. Many political scientists didn't believe that Allende posed a threat to Latin America
- d. As a result, Nixon was criticized
- e. It was felt that Allende would have just been replaced by another political party in Chile in the next election
- f. The CIA's involvement in the coup of Allende has been compared to Ike's anti-Arbenz policy (Nixon was VP at the time) – Neither was really a threat for spreading Communism

X. Nixon's Accomplishments

- a. Got the US out of Vietnam
- b. Opened the Door to China
- c. Began process of linkage and détente

XI. Henry Kissinger – China Negotiations were Top Secret

- a. Kissinger was National Security Advisor at the time
- b. When he was dealing with China, Secretary of State Rogers didn't know about it
- c. Rogers found out what was going on with China by reading the newspaper
- d. Kissinger was using real politick by not letting his cards be shown

XII. Scandals in the Nixon Administration

- a. Watergate, 1974
- b. Spiro Agnew – Nixon's VP was involved in a scandal and was forced to resign
- c. Nixon then appointed Gerald Ford to replace Agnew as VP
- d. After Watergate, Nixon had to resign, leaving Ford as the 1st unelected President of the US

XIII. VP Ford becomes President

- a. Ford had no idea when he was in Congress as the Republican Minority Leader that he was going to become Vice President, let alone President

XIV. Kissinger Becomes Secretary of State

- a. After becoming President, Kissinger convinces Ford to make him his Secretary of State
- b. Kissinger, with his influence, now had a virtual monopoly on foreign policy making

XV. Soviet System in Decline

- a. Ford followed up on Nixon's initial SALT talks, but it was mostly just making contact
- b. US intelligence started realizing that the Soviets were in an economic decline, even though they were building new weapons
- c. They concluded that the Soviet System was in decline because the Soviets had a Command Economy (government controlled) and not a Free Market economy
- d. Central Planning was seen as a failure (industry was bad, agriculture was not creating enough food for their population)
- e. Soviets were less competitive than the Industrial World
- f. Ford believe he could take advantage of their problems by increasing contact with the Soviets

XVI. US-Soviet Relations under Ford

- a. Ford linked trade and had technology exchanges
- b. Soviets allowed Soviet Jews to go to Israel (they had been blocked from going)
- c. Linkages were being established, but still, there was not a firm connection

XVII. Watergate on the American Psyche

- a. During the Ford Administration, Watergate was on people's minds
- b. Ford was an unelected President and American foreign policy was still in disarray
- c. South Vietnam fell to North Vietnam in 1975, so Americans had a lack of confidence in Washington
- d. Ford was looking for a way to buoy up the country so that he would be a formidable contender and win election in 1976

XVIII. Ford Looks to Angola

- a. To buoy up the country behind Ford, he looked to Angola (Africa)
- b. Angola was part of the Portuguese colonial empire
- c. Within Angola, there were three different groups fighting to gain power
 - 1. FNLA (Front for National Liberation) – populist group
 - 2. MPLA (Russian backed)
 - 3. UNITA (Front for a United Angola)
- d. The Portuguese Army was hard pressed to keep these three groups at bay
- e. Angola was becoming a stalemate (Portugal's Vietnam)

XIX. Portuguese Army Coup in Portugal

- a. Part of Portugal's Army, which had become disillusioned with the war, ran a coup against the Portuguese government
- b. The Army then granted independence to Angola and Mozambique
- c. This newfound independence creates a political vacuum between the 3 groups to determine who would end up on top

XX. Ford Administration Supports FNLA

- a. CIA sent weapons into Angola
- b. CIA recruited US Army officers to go into Angola to train up the local Army
- c. At the same time, the Soviets became interested in establishing a presence in Africa
- d. CIA worried that the Soviets would put a naval base in Africa

XXI. Soviets Contact Castro

- a. Since the Soviets would stand out in Angola, they asked Castro to send Afro-Cubans they knew he had from colonial times to serve as advisors to the MPLA
- b. 750 Cuban advisors were sent into Angola to support the MPLA

XXII. South African Involvement

- a. In October 1975, South Africa was worried that Angola was going to be established as a base to attack their white minority government
- b. The white South African government sent an Army through Namibia into Angola

XXIII. Africa Corp

- a. Toward the end of 1975, Cuba airlifts soldiers into Angola, forming the Africa Corp.
- b. South Africans came put against the Africa Corp., but didn't fare too good
- c. Cubans did good maneuvering, forcing the South Africans to withdraw
- d. MPLA with Cuban support was able to capture Angola's capital, Luanda

XXIV. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Turns Against Angola Intervention

- a. The US operation to preserve Angola from the Soviets/Cubans failed
- b. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was critical of the Ford Administration and especially critical of the CIA for not telling them what was going on in Angola
- c. There were no troops sent to Angola, so Ford was not violating the War Powers Act
- d. It was found that the more the US supported FNLA or UNITA, the more the rest of Africa turned against US policy
- e. So, the Senate formally cut off all aid to Angola, citing that the US had no national interests there

XXV. MPLA Objects to Soviet Presence in Angola

- a. Soviets seemingly had a vital interest in Angola
- b. But when the Soviets tried to show their presence, the MPLA objected
- c. The Soviets found that the money and weapons they provided didn't gain them anything
- d. The tribal mentality was different than the influence of the great powers
- e. So, the US and the Soviet Union both failed to accomplish their ends
- f. However, Cuba established relations with Angola
- g. Ford's attempt to depict himself as a decisive leader failed
- h. Ford was criticized for not deciding better what America's interests in the world are (He wasn't following the Kennan approach)

XXVI. Mayaguez Crisis, May 1975

- a. US merchant ship, *SS Mayaguez*, was seized by a Cambodian warship
- b. Secretary of State Kissinger said that the US tarnished its image in Africa, but maybe it could improve the administration's image by responding to the seizure
- c. The Marines attempted a rescue operation, land in Cambodia by helicopter
- d. However, when the Marines landed, they didn't see anybody holding hostage
- e. The Marines were involved in a firefight, which killed 18-20 Marines
- f. Marines had no idea where the hostages were
- g. Kissinger asked China for help to get the hostages released
- h. China offered to help, putting pressure on Cambodia (an ally) to release the US hostages

Congressional Role in American Foreign Policy

I. Congress

- a. The public can influence foreign policy through elections
- b. House of Representatives – 435 members, Senate – 100 members
- c. Each Congressman and Senator has their own imperatives and loyalties, depending on which state or district they are from
- d. A Senator from Idaho is going to have a different perspective on Cuba than a Senator from Florida
- e. In Congress, there is no focal point because they have so many views and do not unite unless there is a crisis

II. Congressional Impact on Foreign Policy

- a. Each Congressional Committee has a partial focus or interest in some aspect of foreign policy
- b. Congress is unable to determine a coherent set of goals for foreign policy making, except via the budget making process – “power of the purse”
- c. As long as the government is transparent in its policies, Congress can impact projects
- d. Some in the Nixon Administration wanted to fund South Vietnam’s battle against North Vietnam after the US pulled out, but Congress refused and cut off funding to South Vietnam

III. House/Senate Terms

- a. Congressmen serve 2 years before they are up for re-election
- b. Senators serve 6 years before they are up for re-election
- c. So, Congressmen and women have to keep looking over their shoulders at their constituencies because before they know it, there’s another election
- d. The short terms in the House of Representatives were intended to give the people a form of control over finance

IV. Congressional Spending

- a. Quite often, the spending by Congress (budget) is aimed to help a particular candidate’s district, such as building a Military Industrial Complex has an influence in many districts because it creates jobs
- b. There’s reciprocity on these pork barrel (wasteful spending) projects, which are only aimed at local constituencies

V. Congressional Committees and their Role in Foreign Policy Making

- a. Congress is in a secondary position in foreign policy making because they are slow and fractional
- b. There are 30 major committees and 50 subcommittees involved with Congressional foreign policy influence
- c. These committees have about 20,000 staff members
- d. Each Congressman/Senator has 15, 30, 50, 100 staff members working for him, depending on how many committees he is on
- e. These staffers do the research for the Congressman/Senator, right up bills with the correct jargon – most of these staffers enjoy their work
- f. With 80 House and Senate committees, there is no focal point, so it goes back to the budget to control foreign policy

VI. Purpose of Checks and Balances System

- a. Checks and Balances system was set up so that the Executive Branch could control foreign policy
- b. The framers of the Constitution saw how a weak executive/national government could undermine policy matters

VII. Senate Foreign Relations Committee

- a. Has formal oversight activity over government foreign affairs
- b. Advises/consents on treaties
- c. Recommends approval or disapproval for Presidential appointment, concerning international relations (Secretary of State, ambassadors)
- d. Head of National Security Council is not controlled by Congress – this is a loophole
- e. Senate Foreign Relations Committee serves as a conscience of the people
- f. It is a bipartisan committee that is highly prestigious, so Senators strive to get on this committee

VIII. House Foreign Affairs Committee

- a. Helps prepare the foreign assistance bill/program that will become law in terms of money that will be allocated for foreign policy making
- b. This could include money for Haiti to build up their infrastructure or money to Iraq/Afghanistan or any other place
- c. Makes sure that foreign affairs are accountable to the people

IX. Congressional Research Service (CSR)

- a. Every Congressman/Senator has a staff to do research for him, check the law, and write up bills with the correct jargon
- b. In addition to staff, Congress as a whole, has the Congressional Research Service
- c. This is the equivalent of the library staff at the Library of Congress that any member of Congress can reach out to for help
- d. Congressional Research Service staff gathers materials for Congress
- e. It is an extremely valuable service
- f. Any citizen in the US can take advantage of this service

X. Appropriations and Government Operations Committee

- a. Analyze the budget
- b. Investigate policy to make sure that allocated moneys in the budget are being spent as effectively and efficiently as possible
- c. Example: In the 1980s-1990s, this committee was critical of Reagan's war on drugs because there hasn't been a reduction in the numbers of drug users in the US

XI. Office of Management and Budget (OMB)

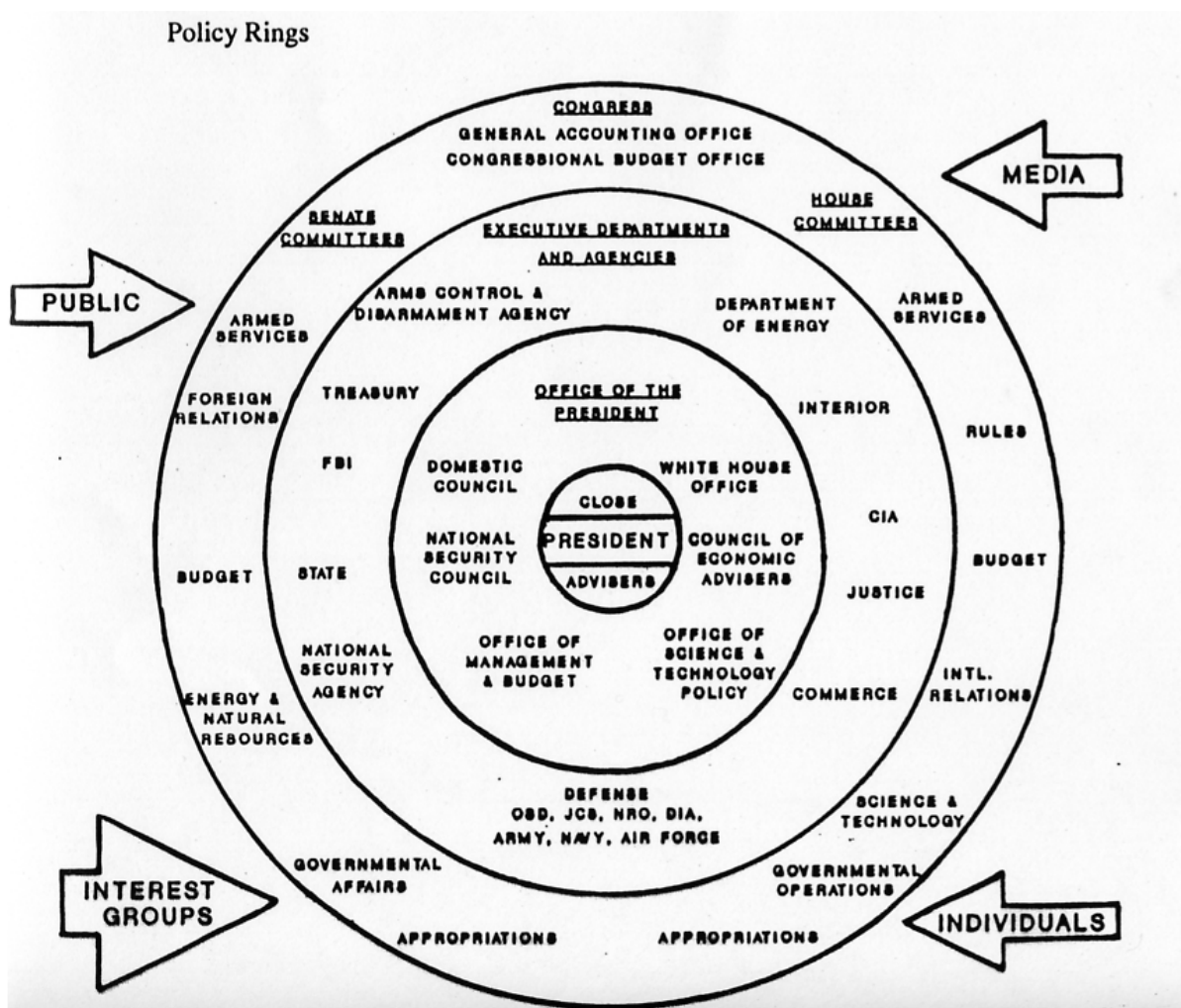
- a. Office to which the President turns to when he sets up his priorities
- b. Takes money they are getting and provides a line by line budget
- c. Involved in budget formulation and efficiency
- d. When the OMB finishes writing its budget, it gets circulated throughout committees in Congress
- e. Committees then add their input
- f. If President wants certain things not tampered with, they have to agree or otherwise, the budget will not be approved

XII. General Accounting Office (GAO)

- a. Independent operating organization, with an oversight role
- b. GAO investigates inefficiency and policies that do not achieve their stated goals
- c. Example: As part of the war on drugs in Latin America, the Department of State had a policy to wean coca leaf growers away from coca plants by substituting them for other plants that would give them an equal amount of profit
- d. In this case, soy was thought to be a good substitute for coca because it would not decay and there was a high demand for it
- e. The Department of Agriculture would not approve the State Department's initiative because it would impact American soy bean producers
- f. The State Department then tried substituting coca for oranges and bananas
- g. GAO said that the government was spending hundreds of millions of dollars and the coca growers were still growing cocaine
- h. Now they were growing oranges, bananas, and coca

XIII. Committees are Watchdog Agencies

- a. House Foreign Affairs Committee, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Office of Management and Budget, Appropriations and Government Operations Committee, and the General Accounting Office are all watchdog agencies involved with making sure that money spent on foreign policy is spent effectively and efficiently



Jimmy Carter

I. Topics

- a. James Earl “Jimmy” Carter
- b. Zbigniew Brzezinski (NSC)
- c. Idealist Model (Human Rights)
- d. Camp David
 - Answar Sadat and Menachem Begin
- e. Panama Canal
- f. Afghanistan
- g. Ayatollah Khomeini

II. Bipartisanship in Congress

- a. Congress finds that they have to operate in a bipartisan manner to accomplish many tasks
- b. This has to extend to the Executive Branch and is ideal for foreign affairs
- c. However, the amount of foreign aid money to spend is a point of contention (how much to give to the Defense Department)
- d. To create bi-partisanship, special commissions/committees work together to accomplish the ends of the government

III. 3 Factors that create bi-partisanship

- a. Desire for a strong national defense
- b. Active global involvement (to protect US interests abroad)
- c. Anti-Terrorism (crisis) since 9/11

IV. Interest Groups

- a. Influence the power to make the decisions
- b. If a group can get the government to do something other than they intended to do, then the group is successful (in terms of foreign policy)
- c. Interest groups have less influence on the executive when dealing with a matter of national security or in handling a crisis
- d. The greater the intensity of the national security issue in play, the less likely an interest group will have any influence on the government

V. Media – an interest group

- a. Media includes TV, newspaper, Internet...
- b. Newscasters read a script; It's the editor of a news station that influences the presentation of the news (this is a media influence)
- c. It can be how the information is presented, but more so, what is presented and what isn't presented
- d. Media focuses national attention of issues

VI. Iraq Insurgency

- a. Media shows pictures of dead Americans, the results of car bombs, talk about events, render their opinions, and bring in experts
- b. This presentation means that the particular aspect that they present becomes important, at least for that moment in people's minds

VII. Somalia Humanitarian Mission

- a. Media shows pictures of people starving to death
- b. Media presents images of weak children with bones sticking out – this could be an item of interest, just as general news or to play on people's sympathies
- c. This happened during the first George HW Bush administration
- d. There was a lot of pressure for a humanitarian operation at the time
- e. Starvation continues today, but its not in the news (so people don't think about it)
- f. Once US got into Somalia, the people we were trying to save from famine turned against us
- g. Somali tribal leaders convinced them that the US was there to take over their country, so they turned against the relief effort
- h. Media then shows Americans being killed and injured
- i. This is an embarrassing situation – People want to get out of Somalia
- j. US government declares victory and gets out
- k. The media, by just its presentation of images, can help set policy agenda, and force the government to react to what the public is seeing
- l. Seeing images leads people to write letters to the White House

VIII. Large Amount of Interest Groups

- a. In terms of Interest Groups, there are over 11,000 organizations and 12,000 individuals who are attempting to get the government to focus on their particular interest
- b. Labor, Religious, Ethnic, Think Tanks, Ecological Focus, Foreign Lobby groups
- c. As a result, countries that were enemies just a few years ago, we're trading with (Vietnam)
- d. Think Tanks: Heritage Foundation, Council on Foreign Relations (accused of a worldwide conspiracy to help banks worldwide)
- e. Ecological Focus: Global Warming, Oil Spills, Anti-Mines
- f. Foreign Lobby: Kuwaiti lobby, Taiwanese lobby, Cuban lobby

IX. Congress Pressured to Support Interest Groups

- a. Military Industrial Complex: If you're on an area of the East Coast where they build ships, shipping interest groups want Congress to fund this complex and Congress wants to fund it because it creates jobs
- b. Pressure is put on Congressmen in East Coast districts to support these types of things to ensure that there are new jobs continually being created
- c. Interest groups are more effective at some times than another

X. Carter's Organizational Style

- a. Carter followed Ford into the presidency
- b. Carter had to organize his administration's foreign policy
- c. He chose a policy similar to Ike's Policy Hill

XI. Zbigniew Brzezinski vs. Cyrus Vance

- a. At this time, there were two high powered individuals involved with foreign policy making
- b. These two competed for Carter's attention
- c. Over time, Brzezinski tended to dominate

XII. Idealist Model

- a. While Nixon followed realist model, Carter followed an idealist model
- b. Domestic values within a country would shape US foreign policy towards that country
- c. Carter said that human rights, as applied by a country, would determine its status in the eyes of the US
- d. This meant dictators out and reformists in (So, this was a big switch, especially from Nixon and Johnson)
- e. Carter rewarded countries who supported human rights
- f. He used America's power for humane purposes, promoting reform, but not revolution
- g. Carter wanted countries to have an open policy with no secrets and the US would be the model to follow (i.e. Open democratic system, which would be worthy of emulation)
- h. Under the human rights policy, it required all countries to demonstrate their human rights (free from torture, free from arbitrary arrest for expressions of political beliefs)
- i. He thought that the standard of living in countries should also be worked on to improve people's lives around the world
- j. In addition to free speech, he wanted there to be a free press and freedom of religion, and to allow every person to help their government decide their future
- k. Carter said that people shouldn't be afraid of change and that reform was the way to go
- l. Carter thought that problems in the Middle East, Africa, and the Soviet Union could be improved through human rights standard
- m. Carter believed that US relations around the world would improve if every country supported human rights

XIII. Human Rights and the Soviet Union

- a. In the Soviet Union, Carter's human rights emphasis caught the Politburo by surprise
- b. Soviets had an authoritarian government, so Carter challenges their system over individual freedoms
- c. Carter says that they better change their human rights approach if they want relations with the US

XIV. Congressional Question

- a. Within the National Security Council and Congress, questions were raised as to whether countries that have human rights violations should be cut off or just impose sanctions on them if they don't meet human rights regulations

XV. Human Rights Hypocrisy

- a. Military dictatorships in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Guatemala, and Nicaragua found that military aide was cut off to them
- b. But in other countries, like South Korea, Philippines, and Iran, where there were dictatorships, economic and military aide continued
- c. This created a hypocrisy.

XVI. Does Human Rights Approach Decrease US Power Abroad?

- a. Some critics argued that human rights policy, while it was well intentioned, was undermining the governments of many countries throughout the world and decreasing US influence on them
- b. In some countries, instability that was created, resulted in US-friendly governments falling and bringing unfriendly governments to power

XVII. Human Rights Approach Increases Democracy in the World

- a. In Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Honduras all initiate elections (openings) towards a more democratic society as a result of the human rights approach
- b. In Africa, Carter's policy gave many people there, especially in Southern Africa, a possibility to reverse minority white rule into majority black rule
- c. Governments in Nicaragua, Argentina, Brazil, and Iran perceived Carter's human rights policy as a direct intervention into their domestic affairs
- d. In terms of Africa, Carter's administration placed an embargo and economic sanctions on Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) for failing to abide by human rights policy
- e. As a result, in 1979, majority rule was eventually achieved in Rhodesia
- f. In South Africa, human rights policy meant that the US government was anti-Aparthia, so there was pressure to go to majority rule
- g. While Carter's policies may have been unsettling to authoritarian countries, it gave a lot of hope to people who had been oppressed for decades

XVIII. Carter and the Middle East

- a. Carter made a major effort to try and resolve problems in the Middle East, especially between the leading power in the area, Egypt and Israel

XIX. Camp David Accords, 1978

- a. Between Israel and Egypt
- b. They each agreed to recognize each other and to have no animosity towards each other
- c. Territory taken after the Six Day War of 1967 was returned
- d. There was an end to the state of war between the US and Egypt

XX. Panama Canal Treaty, 1977

- a. Carter felt sympathy for the Panamanians – their country had been bisected since 1910 (10 miles wide) by the Panama Canal
- b. Carter felt that Panamanians should have a sovereign country and that the US could train Panamanians to run the Canal
- c. Inside Panama, there was a dictator named Torrijos, who was a Panamanian nationalist, whose primary goal was to gain control of the American Panama Canal
- d. Carter was able to negotiate a treaty in 1977
- e. Carter gets just enough votes in the Senate (despite the fact that polls of the day showed that the majority of Americans were against giving it back)
- f. Senate said it would agree to the treaty as long as the transfer of power took place over a 23 year period – they didn't want to turn it over to a dictatorship
- g. Transfer would take place on December 31, 1999 and they would take control January 1, 2000
- h. Torrijos was seen as a hero in Panama because of this treaty
- i. Before free elections took place, Torrijos dies in a plane crash...Soon after, Noriega takes power
- j. Today, a democratic Panama controls the canal

XXI. Carter Turns His Back on the Somozas in Nicaragua

- a. Somoza regime had been in power for 40 years
- b. Carter demanded that Somoza step down from power and call for elections
- c. As Carter announced his policy, there was an insurgency inside Nicaragua
- d. Sandinista Guerillas turn to hostile means after their earlier reform efforts were put down
- e. Carter said that unless Somoza ended his dictatorship, military and economic aide would be cut off, which it was
- f. Somoza was purchasing weapons from Israel to battle the insurgents
- g. However, at US insistence, Israel turned its ship around

XXII. Reform Movement Grows in Nicaragua

- a. Carter's human rights approach helped the revolutionary movement against the Somoza family
- b. After the US turned against Somoza, it made the guerillas reach out to anyone who was against Somoza
- c. In El Salvador and Guatemala, civil wars took place in the late 1970s-80s
- d. Human Rights policy resulted in destabilizing these countries and provided great hope to the oppressed

XXIII. Carter Says He's Taking Troops Out of S. Korea, then Changes Course

- a. To reduce tensions between North and South Korea, Carter said that he was going to withdraw nuclear weapons from South Korea
- b. He announced this without first consulting with the Defense Department
- c. One Defense Department official, risking his job, told Carter that this wasn't a smart decision because it could lead to North Korea overrunning South Korea
- d. So, Carter reversed his policy

XXIV. Soviets Invade Afghanistan

- a. Just like North Korea, the Soviet Union didn't seem interested in responding to Carter's human rights initiative
- b. Soviets conducted an invasion of Afghanistan
- c. A lot of people at the time thought that the invasion was a Soviet response to Carter's human rights policy, but in reality, they were responding to the possibility of an Islamic uprising in Afghanistan, which could have spread to other countries
- d. Invasion was the first time that the Soviets had intervened outside their area of influence since the beginning of the Cold War

XXV. Invasion Angered Carter

- a. Carter was upset that the Soviets invaded Afghanistan
- b. Carter imposed a grain embargo on the Soviet Union and boycotted the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow

XXVI. Diego Garcia

- a. At the same time, the US started aiding Pakistan
- b. US started building up island with weapons to build up a military they could use on that part of the world

XXVII. Osama bin Laden

- a. bin Laden came out of Saudi Arabia after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan
- b. He tried to defeat the foreign invader (US) from the North
- c. As a result, he became a hero

XXVIII. CIA Wants to Check Soviet Power

- a. While Afghanistan was on the other side of the world, the CIA aided Islamic fighters (including bin Laden) who were battling the Soviets because they wanted to check the Soviet's power in this part of the world so that the US would never have to worry about that part of the world again

Ronald Reagan

I. Topics

- a. Brezhnev
- b. Evil Empire
- c. Chernoble
- d. Gorbachev
 - Glasnost
 - Perestroika

II. Carter Opens Diplomatic Relations with China

- a. Carter opened formal diplomatic relations with Mainland China
- b. To do this, the US had to tone down relations with Taiwan
- c. US terminated a defense treaty with Taiwan, but continued to give them weapons
- d. Carter was trying to take advantage of the Sino-Soviet rift
- e. Chinese wanted US technology and to learn about entrepreneurship
- f. So, there was a cultural exchange, with Chinese students coming to study in the US

III. Cambodian Government Falls After US Pulls Out of Vietnam

- a. Cambodia and China had a close relationship
- b. After the US pulled out of Vietnam, Cambodia's government fell and a new one took over
- c. The *Red Khmer's* took over, led by Khmer Rouge

IV. Khmer Rouge (Cambodia)

- a. Rouge said that Cambodia had been contaminated by western values
- b. To fix this problem, he wanted to wipe out everyone older than 13 to start a new society, based on Mao and Communism
- c. Rouge went into Cambodia's capital and moved everyone to the outback, including people in hospitals – if they didn't move, they were shot
- d. Cambodians had no idea what was happening to them
- e. They were told to begin farming, which meant opening a big trench
- f. 2 million Cambodians were subsequently murdered
- g. There weren't many media representatives around, so it was almost a non-event

V. Vietnamese Stop Cambodian Killing Fields

- a. Inside Cambodia, there were Vietnamese who reported back to Vietnam about what was going on
- b. To protect these Vietnamese inside Cambodia, Vietnam invaded and overthrew Rouge
- c. Vietnamese were liberators to Cambodians
- d. When the Vietnamese went into Cambodia, they had to contend with Cambodia ally, China
- e. However, the Vietnamese Army held their own against China

VI. Iran Hostage Crisis

- a. The Shah of Iran was a close ally of the US, despite having an authoritarian regime
- b. Inside Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini led Islamic militants in a resistance against the Shah
- c. The Shah was forced to flee Iran because he wasn't in good health, so he went to the US for treatment
- d. Khomeini wanted the US to extradite the Shah back to Iran to stand trial, but the US would not give up the Shah
- e. As a result, the US broke diplomatic relations with Iran and seized Iranian assets in the US
- f. This prompted Khomeini to encourage university students to take the US embassy in Iran hostage, along with everyone inside
- g. Hostage crisis lasted 444 days
- h. This happened during the last year of the Carter administration
- i. Carter tried to negotiate with Khomeini for the release of the hostages
- j. But Khomeini wouldn't release them unless Carter extradited the Shah back to Iran
- k. So, negotiations were going nowhere
- l. In the meantime, the Shah left the US and went to Panama

VII. Carter's Attempted Rescue Mission

- a. Since negotiations weren't working to release the hostages, Carter decided on a military operation to rescue them
- b. He planned to take helicopters into Iran to take the hostages back from the embassy
- c. However, the mission was doomed from the beginning because there were 4 commanders in charge (Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force)
- d. With 4 commanders in charge, there was no coordination of the mission – so it created chaos
- e. Helicopters were crashing into each other
- f. Military realized they didn't have enough fuel or enough helicopters for the rescue operation
- g. As a result, the rescue mission was aborted

VIII. Failed Rescue Makes Carter Look Inept

- a. The failed mission made Americans question how America, which seemed to be an invincible power, couldn't rescue people from an embassy
- b. It made people see the Carter administration as weak and as a disaster
- c. Democrats went into the 1980 election with hostages still in Iran
- d. Carter began shifting away from his human rights approach with the Soviets and began building up arms
- e. Carter administration was framed with an image of impotence in the US

IX. Business Roundtable (Interest Group Influence)

- a. Try to chart a direction for which way America ought to be going
- b. Made up of CEOs from 200 of the nation's top businesses
- c. They lobby for bills they would like to see Congress pass to help their interests
- d. For instance, these elite influences tell a university that they will provide so many millions of dollars to probe into certain issues and problems
- e. Universities then use this seed money to construct a new building or hire more professors
- f. It gets universities to open forums to begin to set the agenda for national priorities and new policy agenda
- g. Universities accept this seed money because it allows them to expand and makes them more prestigious
- h. Universities are also open minded so they accept new ideas being brought into play
- i. The business roundtable (elite interests) hope that the issues that are raised will become legislative issues
- j. These elites have total assets at around \$50 billion

X. Council on Foreign Relations

- a. Private organization, operating out of New York City, that includes top people in government, business, education...(publish *Foreign Affairs* Magazine)
- b. In 1921, Council on Foreign Relations reacted to the US not participating in the League of Nations
- c. They wanted to influence US involvement in the world, to make it more global
- d. This organization received money from elite influences
- e. Before WW2, elites wanted them to focus on creating an organization for world government
- f. This was before the US entered WW2, but it was a post-war initiative
- g. US failed to participate in the League of Nations, resulting the US not being able to thwart or contain Hitler's power
- h. Council on Foreign Relations wanted to create an organization of all countries in the world
- i. United Nations got its inception out of the Council on Foreign Relations, even writing part of the UN's charter

- j. In the 1940s, the containment policy began in this council – Kennan wrote articles for their Magazine, *Foreign Affairs*
- k. NATO, Marshall Plan, Entry into Vietnam and China linkage are all credited to the Council on Foreign Relations

XI. Brookings Institution (Think Tank)

- a. Focus on domestic and defense programs
- b. Get money from elites
- c. Elites exploit many organizations

XII. Reagan Enters the Presidency

- a. As Reagan became President, he saw that the US had lost prestige worldwide
- b. He blamed this on the Carter administration
- c. As he came in, hostages were still in Iran
- d. Reagan saw that the Soviets were building up their military, seemingly so that they would have superiority over the US

XIII. Soviets Building Up Their Military

- a. Brezhnev was building up his Navy to give him more power
- b. Joint Chiefs of Staff reported that the US Army didn't have enough money to train and that US weapons were obsolete
- c. Reagan policy
- d. Reagan policy towards the Soviet Union was a reaction to the Soviet military buildup, which was happening while the US was bogged down in the Vietnam
- e. Now, their military buildup was obvious

XIV. Reagan Reacts to Soviet Threat

- a. Reagan told NATO that the US would stand firm in Europe
- b. He extended support to Japan and reached out quietly to China
- c. This helped to check Soviet power

XV. Soviet Union in Decline

- a. Reagan saw an economic decline in the living standards within the Soviet Union
- b. Contributing to the Soviet decline, but not noticed by the US, was that the Islamic culture, which represented 50% of the Soviet's population, was beginning to unravel in terms of their support for Moscow (because the Soviet promise of utopia never came to fruition)
- c. CIA never noticed this

XVI. Reagan's 4 Pillar Policy Approach to deal with Soviets

- a. Wanted to rebuild American military strength, economically and militarily
- b. Wanted to reinvigorate allies
- c. Wanted to bolster friends in the developing world by providing economic assistance
- d. Wanted to undermine the Soviets by taking advantage of their weaknesses (uses Kennan approach)

XVII. Reagan's Psychological Warfare – Soviets are an “Evil Empire”

- a. Reagan engaged in Psychological warfare with the Soviet Union, using Carter's human rights approach
- b. Reagan verbally attacked the Soviets, calling them the “Evil Empire”
- c. At the time of Reagan's rhetoric, there was a telecommunications revolution, with the creation of videocassettes (this was a big deal in the late 1970s, early 1980s)
- d. Reagan administration tried to flood the Soviet Union with videocassettes that would depict the high standard of living in the Free World, to make it resonate with the average Russian who was living with poor conditions (Average farm family was lucky to have a 2 bedroom apartment that would fit 10 people)

XVIII. Gorbachev's Trip to France

- a. Brezhnev left power
- b. Gorbachev came to power as the Russian Premiere in 1982
- c. Gorbachev went to France with his wife
- d. He rented a car and drove all over France
- e. He was impressed that there were no check points in France, that it was an open society where people seemed to be happy and there was plenty of food to go around
- f. Gorbachev came away from France realizing that the Soviets had fallen behind

XIX. Gorbachev Questions the Soviet System

- a. After leaving France and seeing the prosperous conditions they had, Gorbachev starts to question the Soviet system
- b. At the same time that Gorbachev begins to question the Soviet system, Reagan was delivering a psychological attack with videocassettes and building up the US military

XX. B1 Bomber and Stealth (airforce) Technology

- a. Carter had begun to build up arms, moving to more of a Realist Policy in response to the Afghan invasion
- b. Reagan inherited this arms buildup program, including B1 Bomber and Stealth Technology
- c. This technology doesn't show a radar signature
- d. Ironically, Reagan publicized this ability
- e. Reagan was arrogant, saying that the Soviets wouldn't do anything about it
- f. Technology was announced and the Soviets didn't know how to counter it

XXI. Strategic Defense Initiative

- a. Reagan also announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) to the Soviets
- b. The US claimed it could exploit satellite based lasers and missiles to detect an enemy's missiles, strike those missiles down (causing them to break-up and malfunction) and then the US would be open to firing missiles at the Soviets
- c. Scientific community didn't know if it was possible, but the propaganda behind SDI had a strong psychological effect on the Soviet Union
- d. Soviets thought that the US could do it because they were able to put a man on the moon

XXII. Soviets Attempt to Create Their Own SDI

- a. Soviets went all out to create their own Strategic Defense Initiative
- b. But the Soviets couldn't really afford to create their own system – they were going broke

XXIII. Reagan's War Rhetoric Inspires Peace Movements in US

- a. Arms buildup and SDI by the Reagan administration, along with Reagan's rhetoric, made it look like Reagan was preparing to fight a war against the Soviet Union
- b. This war rhetoric inspires a number of peace movements in the US
- c. Church groups said that nuclear war was immoral
- d. These peace movements are reported back to the Soviets through espionage

XXIV. Soviets Shoot Down Korean Commercial Airliner, 1983

- a. In 1983, Soviets shoot down a Korean commercial airliner, reinforcing their lack of human rights

XXV. Chernobyl Nuclear Accident, 1983

- a. In 1983, there was nuclear meltdown at Chernobyl, one of the Soviet's nuclear facilities
- b. Winds blew radiation 50-100 miles away – everyone around the area felt it, resulting in deformities in offspring for a generation
- c. This showed that the Soviets didn't have a safety mechanism for their nuclear facilities

XXVI. Soviet Citizens Reappraise Their System

- a. At this time in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev is in power
- b. The people start to get disillusioned with the Soviet system, realizing that it has been a mockery and that all of the Communist promises were not being fulfilled and their standard of living was falling
- c. This disillusionment resulted in a reappraisal of the system

XXVII. Gorbachev's Reforms: Glasnost and Perestroika

- a. Gorbachev wanted to reform the Soviet system as well
- b. He had two policies: Glasnost and Perestroika
- c. Glasnost – Openness – people could be open and criticize the Soviet system without fearing retribution
- d. Perestroika – Change resulting from openness (Glasnost)
- e. Gorbachov felt that if Glasnost (openness) was allowed, positive change (Perestroika) would result

XXVIII. Soviets Still in Afghanistan

- a. At this time, the Soviet Army was still bogged down in Afghanistan, taking heavy casualties
- b. Islamic resistance against the Soviets was supported by the CIA and Osama bin Laden
- c. They were inflicting heavy losses on the Soviets, resulting in 4,000 Soviets deaths a year
- d. When the wounded returned home, Soviets were not happy
- e. Soviets would not use Islamics from another country to fight in the war
- f. They used Soviets from the heartland to fight the war
- g. Afghanistan was turning into the Soviet's own Vietnam
- h. At the same time, there was an unraveling of support for the communist system because life was not very good
- i. Soviets drank lots of vodka
- j. It showed that Russia needed a cease-fire in the Cold War
- k. Containment was beginning to work

XXIX. Poland, 1981

- a. SOLIDARITY, a worker's trade union wanted reform
- b. The fact that the workers were in revolt showed that there was something wrong with the Soviet system

XXX. Problems with Soviet Command Economy

- a. Bureaucratic mismanagement
- b. Corruption
- c. Censorship
- d. (Things were not going well)

XXXI. Reagan's Big Defense Spending

- a. Inside the US, Reagan increased the Defense Department's budget to \$400 billion, resulting in a \$200 billion deficit
- b. As a result, by 1986, the US was the largest debtor nation in the world
- c. Reagan invested in security at high costs

XXXII. CIA Reports that Soviet System is Strong, 1986

- a. In 1986, the CIA reported that the Soviet empire was going strong and would last until the mid-21st century (2050)
- b. The CIA didn't see what was going on in the Soviet Union
- c. They were so concerned with military buildup that they missed everything
- d. Reagan sort of sensed that the Soviets were having problems, but the CIA missed it

XXXIII. Iran-Iraq War, 1980-88

- a. Reagan wanted to keep the Soviets out of the Middle East
- b. In 1980, Iraq and Iran were getting started with their 8 year war
- c. US was providing arms to Iran (Khomeini) and intelligence to Iraq (Hussein)
- d. The idea was that by keeping them focused against each other, it was good punishment for Khomeini
- e. During the 8 year war, there were 1 million casualties suffered between the two countries

XXXIV. Reagan Gets Iran Hostages Released, January 20, 1981

- a. On Reagan's first day in office, he told Khomeini that the American hostages he was holding better be released
- b. Later in the day, the hostages were released, ending the 444 day standoff
- c. Iran's assets in the US were unfrozen

XXXV. Israeli Army Invades Lebanon

- a. In Lebanon, there were Muslims, Christians, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (headed by Yasser Arafat)
- b. While the US had to ensure Israeli security, it also had to make sure that Palestinians had a homeland
- c. Israeli Army invaded Lebanon, with the idea to crush and wipe out the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)
- d. However, the PLO was able to escape
- e. While the PLO leaves, the Lebanese continue to fight the Israeli Army
- f. So, it's chaotic in Beirut, Lebanon

XXXVI. US Marines Sent into Lebanon

- a. Reagan sends US Marines to Beirut, Lebanon to stabilize the area between the Christians, Muslims, and PLO
- b. But the US Marines couldn't figure out who was who
- c. A suicide bomber subsequently approached a Marine compound
- d. The Marines watch a truck roll by them because they were told not to carry weapons
- e. The suicide bomber in the truck killed 230 Marines
- f. This was embarrassing to the Marines and to the US
- g. Reagan was frustrated with the situation
- h. As a result, Reagan pulls the Marines out of Lebanon
- i. This mission failed because US National Purpose was not clear in the area, so the US gets its fingers burned

Reagan

I. Topics

- a. Grenada Invasion, 1983
- b. Lebanon, 1983
- c. Quaddafi – Libya
- d. Iran-Contra Scandal
- e. Causes of a Revolution

II. Lebanon Invasion, 1983

- a. Russians asked Castro to develop a forward staging area for the Soviets to get to Africa
- b. Lebanon had a change of government and they invited Castro in to help them refurbish their air fields
- c. In Lebanon, there were a number of American students on the island
- d. Reagan used this as an opportunity to invade the island
- e. Now we know that the students were not threatened, but they were restrained by where they could travel on the island

III. Problems with Lebanon Rescue

- a. There was a joint rescue operation, involving the Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force
- b. US had 20,000 troops, against Cuba's 500 troops
- c. But with the 4 military branches all operating in Lebanon, there were a lot of communications problems
- d. The Pentagon saw that it had a problem with joint operations
- e. The Pentagon saw problems with joint operations in the Iran Hostage Crisis and now, in Lebanon
- f. As a result, the Pentagon reorganized and started practicing joint operations
- g. This helped in Panama and the Persian Gulf

IV. Caribbean Initiative

- a. Reagan gave the Caribbean \$350 million to promote private sector development

V. US Bombs Libya – Quaddafi

- a. In the mid-1980s, there was a wave of terrorism throughout the world
- b. It appeared that Americans had become targets of terrorism throughout the world
- c. A lot of the terrorist activity against Americans was sponsored by Quaddafi in Libya
- d. Quaddafi lived in tents
- e. The Air Force ran an operation over Libya, dropping bombs to the left and right of him just to scare him
- f. After the US bombings, Quaddafi's bombings stopped (Quaddafi had bombed a Pan-Am commercial flight)

VI. Soviet War in Afghanistan

- a. In Afghanistan, the war had become protracted
- b. While the Soviets occupied the major cities, the guerillas played havoc with the communications lines
- c. This meant that the Soviet Union was beginning to experience more casualties
- d. Soviet families started to question the war in Afghanistan
- e. Gorbachev was running reforms
- f. Gorbachev finally decided to write off Afghanistan and withdraw

VII. Reagan Pressures Countries Towards Democracy

- a. Reagan put pressure on countries to shift away from authoritarian rule and move towards democracy
- b. This worked in the Philippines, Haiti, and South Korea where their governments became democratic

VIII. Reagan's Obsession with Nicaragua

- a. In Nicaragua, the Sandinista Revolution, which overthrew the Somozas, inspired a revolution in El Salvador in 1981 and also in Guatemala (for 10 years)
- b. Reagan's administration saw the Sandinistas as promoting revolution in Central America
- c. Reagan had an obsession with preventing Marxist expansion in Central America
- d. He believed that if El Salvador became Marxist, Honduras, and then Guatemala would be next
- e. Reagan tried to convince the public that Nicaragua was a threat, like that of Cuba and the Soviets, but not everybody agreed
- f. In Nicaragua, the Sandinistas imposed censorship on newspapers, restrained opposing political parties, and influenced labor organizations by using military tactics
- g. The expansion of Nicaragua's Armed Forces by the Sandinistas created the most conflict within the Reagan administration

- h. They saw this as a way to give Nicaragua a potent offensive capability in comparison to Honduras and El Salvador
- i. When the Sandinistas expanded their air fields, US intelligence learned that Nicaraguan pilots were being trained in Bulgaria, planning on returning to Nicaragua
- j. As time goes on, it was discovered that Nicaragua was trying to develop cells in Communist cells in Honduras and providing support to Salvadorian revolutionaries

IX. Contras

- a. The Contras were a counter-revolutionary paramilitary force, fundamentally supported by the CIA
- b. CIA supported and directed this surrogate military force that was supposed to go into Nicaragua, bomb oil storage tanks, sabotage their economy, and otherwise, exhort the Nicaraguan people to revolt against the Sandinista controlled government
- c. Reagan called these people “Freedom Fighters”
- d. They were based out of Southeastern Honduras
- e. The problem with the Contras, however, was that they were made up of ex-Somoza elements (soldiers of fortune and people the Sandinistas threw out of the country)
- f. As a result, they didn’t have credibility – They also intimidated the local population into supporting them by causing problems for the local population
- g. As a result, they were seen by Nicaraguans as equal to if not worse than the Sandinistas

X. Congress Bans Military Support For Contras, October 1984

- a. US also had a number of operations along the Nicaraguan coast, where they claimed that the Contra blew up Soviet ships in the Caribbean
- b. But people questioned how this could have happened, so it created a lot of controversy
- c. In the US Congress, members didn’t like that the Contras were abusing people who didn’t support them
- d. As a result, Congress banned military support for the Contras, defying Reagan’s stance
- e. Congress the surrogate war as illegal and unauthorized, even though there were no US troops there

XI. Confusion About US Objectives For Honduras

- a. Were the Contras just supposed to overthrow the Sandinistas?
- b. Were the Contras supposed to be a show of force to get the Sandinistas to call for elections?
- c. Were the Contras a show of force to protect Honduras?
- d. Were the Contras supposed to disrupt communications lines between El Salvador and Nicaragua? (but the Contras were in the wrong place in SE Honduras to do that)

XII. Casper Weinberger (Sec. of Defense)

- a. As Congress came on line with its law to prevent funding to the Contras, Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger said that the US was once again getting into a divisive situation, like in Vietnam
- b. Weinberger feared a convulsed population
- c. He came up with 6 tests that the US should apply before employing combat troops into war

XIII. 6 Tests US Should US Before Employing Combat Troops into War (“6 Weinbergers”)

- a. Do not commit your forces unless the occasion or engagement is vital to our national interest
- b. If you commit, make sure you commit with the full intention of winning by using overwhelming force
- c. Make sure you have a clearly defined political objective, as well as the linking military objectives, and know precisely how our forces can accomplish those military objectives
- d. Sufficient military forces must be employed to gain military objective
- e. Need to have a reasonable assurance of the support of the American people and Congress (pickup of the Remarkable Trinity)
- f. Commit US Forces as a last resort (after diplomatic means have failed)

XIV. NSC Discusses Possibility of Having to Maneuver Around Congress

- a. Within the National Security Council, there was a great deal of discussion of how Reagan would pursue the surrogate war if Congress banned funding to the Contras

XV. Oliver North (US Marine Corp)

- a. North came up with a solution to solve the problem
- b. He said that the US should sell arms to Iran (for their war against Iraq) and the profits from the arms sales should then be diverted into a secret CIA account to support the Contras
- c. US sold anti-tank missile systems and anti-air craft missiles to Iran
- d. The idea was that nobody would know about this plan, so that the Contras could continue on the battlefield

XVI. El Salvador Becomes Democratic, 1986

- a. In 1986, the Salvadorian government finally elects a democratic president
- b. This convinces Congress that Reagan is on the right track in El Salvador, so they release the ban on financing for the Contras
- c. Congress subsequently puts \$100 million in support of the Contras

XVII. Iran – Contra Scandal, 1986

- a. However, after Congress lifts the ban on financing the Contras, a Contra supply plane is shot down in Nicaragua
- b. It is found that this was a CIA controlled plane and that it was also used to sell drugs
- c. This tarnishes the US image
- d. Then, Oliver North is found out and the press discovers what has been going on, unveiling the Iran-Contra Scandal
- e. Newspapers play the issue up
- f. There are Congressional hearings, documents are shredded
- g. Oliver North is found to have ignored a law of Congress and sold weapons to a country that the US does not favor
- h. Throughout this time, Secretary of State George Schultz has not been informed about the CIA operation
- i. Within the National Security Council, the Oliver North faction supported Reagan
- j. However, Secretary of State Schultz, who is also a member of the National Security Council wasn't told about the plan
- k. The media shows that there is a lot of deception going on in the National Security Council

XVIII. Bi-partisan Investigation of Scandal

- a. There is a bi-partisan investigation conducted of the National Security Council in response to the Iran-Contra Scandal
- b. It highlights that the NSC has operated with no apparent direction, taking its own recommendations and initiatives and then implementing them

XIX. Investigation's Criticisms

- a. National Security Council was involved with contradictory policies
 1. Arms trafficking to Iran is found to hover the State Department's embargo of shipping weapons to Iran because it was a terrorist state
 2. It was also a violation of the war on terror, as it was seen at the time, by rewarding a hostile regime
- b. Decision-making process in the Reagan administration was too informal with no real agenda and no staff studies – People presented their opinions in a vacuum and then implemented their own ideas without any staffing
- c. What was implemented in terms of policy by the NSC was unprofessional
- d. No accountability or performance review in terms of NSC action
- e. Reagan had not provided proper or detailed guidance to the NSC in terms of how it would operate

XX. Lessons Learned from Iran – Contra Scandal

- a. Do not let NSC staff become the policy-making and policy executing organization
- b. President must not delegate inappropriate powers (such as someone telling Oliver North to make it happen)
- c. Responsibility for NSC activity rests with the President
- d. Don't let the NSC execute policy – there has to be an oversight/review of their recommendations, otherwise you become vulnerable to unsound and illegal policy conducted by the wrong part of the government)

XXI. Reagan – The Teflon President

- a. Throughout the scandal, Reagan said that he took responsibility
- b. He became known as the Teflon President because people attacked him, but he made it seem like none of the criticism bothered him

XXII. Iran – Contra Fall Out

- a. Iran – Contra Scandal caused Reagan's popularity to drop
- b. Democrats and Republicans in Congress became more cynical of Reagan
- c. Ultimately, two senior NSC members were indicted in court
- d. Oliver North was retired from the Marine Corp

Revolution in El Salvador

I. What is a Revolution?

- a. To overthrow a system to reconstruct something that has gone wrong, replacing it with something else
- b. Typically, revolutions are bloody and brutal

II. What Causes Revolution?

Failure of Social Contract: lack of security and safety, everybody included in politics

weakness and incompetence (including corruption) and/or
viciousness = Repression (could be a military regime)

III. 4 Components of a Revolution

- a. Just Cause (reason for a revolution)
 - People Excluded from Political Process
 - Marginal Economic Conditions (insiders have money, but outsiders live a minimal hand/mouth existence with no hope of breaking out of their economic condition – no schools, no car, no TV)
 - Aspirations Quashed (the harder people try to get some benefit out of the system, nothing seems to change – dreams don't come to fruition)
- b. Charismatic Leadership
- c. Plan to Resolve Problem
- d. Plan Acceptable to people (People accepting the plan put their lives on the line)

V. Failure of Social Contract

- a. Viciousness = Repression
- b. Students were shot at
- c. Military machine gunned people on the steps of a church
- d. People who criticized the government became suspects, were put on a list, and eventually shot

VI. People Excluded from Political Process

- a. By 1972, the Middle Class has enough leverage to call for elections
- b. In Duarte's 1972 run for the presidency as part of the opposition coalition against the military, he seems to be winning the votes
- b. The power then goes out and the military's candidate is the winner
- c. Even when the juntas were formed to ameliorate the polarized situation, people on the junta were told that they were there because the military put them there and they could be removed at any time
- d. So, people realized that they were being excluded

VII. Marginal Economic Conditions

- a. 400 families had cotton plantations
- b. For those families, who had workers pick cotton and coffee, they were well stocked
- c. The Middle Class in El Salvador began after WW2 and was further helped by the Alliance for Progress
- d. In 1972, the Middle Class supports Duarte
- e. Breaking out of their economic condition was difficult
- f. The best land was taken up by plantations (1/2 of 1% had 90% of country's wealth)
- g. El Salvador had 6 million people, like Honduras, but was only 1/6 size of Honduras
- h. Mechanization of farming had also caused many peasants to lose their jobs, causing peasants to lose their jobs and forcing them to go to cities and take menial jobs

VIII. Aspirations Quashed

- a. First Junta was supposed to reform, but folds up
- b. After the first Junta folded up, Duarte's running mate from the 1972 election gave up any hope of reform
- c. His aspirations had been quashed (his brother had been murdered)
- d. As a result, the VP candidate throws his hat into the revolutionary pot
- e. So, friends of the 1972 campaign became enemies: reformists vs. revolutionaries

IX. Robert Pastor, *National Security Council Staff Member*

- a. Pastor tries to work a solution to convince revolutionary forces to work within the system, like Duarte
- b. But Revolutionaries say that the military always prevents their reforms and so it is impossible to work within the system (they need to get rid of cancer in the system)

X. Charismatic Leadership

- a. There's not really any one charismatic leader
- b. There are 4 groups that band together to form the FMLN
- c. FMLN is still a party in El Salvador today
- d. Castro forced the 4 groups to unite into the FMLN because he said that he would only support one group, saying that they have to have unity of command to overthrow a government
- e. Students, professors, doctors, and businessmen all joined in the revolutionary effort
- f. There is also leadership from the church, which encourages the peasants to rebel against the military
- g. Sandinistas in Nicaragua also energize Salvadorian revolutionaries

XI. Plan to Resolve Problem

- a. Overthrow the government one way or another
- b. This meant that the military system would be quashed
- c. To do that, they had to defeat the El Salvador Armed Forces (ESAF)

XII. Was the Plan Acceptable to the People?

- a. Before the first junta came to power, there were 1/4 million people on the streets
- b. So, there was an acceptance
- c. Demonstrations showed the power of the masses
- d. Guerillas of the FMLN realized that Reagan might side with the military, so they speed up the revolution
- e. First Junta was supposed to reform, but didn't

XIII. Promises of Second Junta

- a. 2nd Junta was more effective under Duarte
- b. Promised elections, land reform, credit from banks, and help marketing products

XIV. Guerillas Didn't Notice Reform Efforts

- a. Guerillas don't sense what has happened
- b. They remember the 1/4 million people on the streets
- c. They fight the Army over the next few months
- d. Salvadorian Army hangs in there, but is brought to its knees

XV. El Salvador – Cuba Link Discovered

- a. Just as the Salvadorian Army is brought to its knees, documents are captured by the US embassy in El Salvador, showing links between the guerillas in El Salvador and Cuba
- b. As a result, the FMLN guerillas realize they have to speed up their revolution before Reagan takes over, believing that he would support the military government because they were anti-Communist
- c. However, when they went into action, there was no welcome for them because many of the reforms Salvadorians wanted were being implemented by Duarte and the second junta

XVI. Carrot and Stick Approach

- a. Since the Salvadorian guerillas have links to Castro, Reagan sees it as a Marxist revolution
- b. This prompts Reagan to support the Salvadorian government (military)
- c. At this time, Robert Pastor (NSC staff) says tells the military government that they have to reform from within their system
- d. Pastor says if the military continues its repression, quashing people's aspirations, excluding people from the political process, and not helping the economic conditions in the country, then the US will pull the plug on them militarily and economically and let the guerillas take over

XVII. Why Did the People Support Duarte Over the Guerillas?

- a. People respected Duarte because he was a victim of the system who continued to belief in reform over revolution
- b. As a result, the people took a wait and see approach
- c. Duarte had implemented land reform and a democratic process, so aspirations for change were no longer quashed

XVIII. Duarte's Relations with the US

- a. FMLN seized parts of El Salvador in the interior
- b. Duarte became the provisional president of the country
- c. US tells him to enter into a democratic process and to stop the military's death squads that were killing a thousand people a month, killing suspected reformists
- d. US also told Duarte to make sure that the government was legitimate and that nobody was outside the law
- e. Duarte was also told to make sure that the Salvadorian Armed Forces would prevail over the FMLN guerillas
- f. US sent advisors and economic assistance to Duarte
- g. US spent \$1 billion on the Salvadorian military and \$2 billion on the economy over the course of the 1980s

XIX. Shafik Handal

- a. One of the primary leaders of the FMLN
- b. He had a 5 point strategy to defeat Duarte's government

XX. Shafik Handal's 5 Point Strategy to Defeat Duarte's Government

1. Break the Reform Process
2. Break the Salvadorian Economy
3. Break the Government's Control of the Countryside
4. Defeat the Salvadorian Armed Forces
5. Convince US Congress to Cut Off Aide to El Salvador

A. Break the Reform Process

- a. Break the land reform process and the democratic voting structure
- b. Threaten peasants who accept government land
- c. Disrupt elections by keeping voters from voting
- d. FMLN slogan – "Vote in the morning, die in the afternoon"

US Counter-Strategy to FMLN

Agrarian Reform

- a. Duarte passed agrarian reform – any land owner who has over 650 acres must turn the rest over to the government to redistribute it
- b. 400 families resist land reform, getting lawyers by the dozens
- c. These lawyers hamstring every attempt by Duarte government to pass land on to peasants
- d. This ironically puts the land oligarchy on the guerilla side (disrupting the process)
- e. However, ¼ of peasant population receives land
- f. Government gave credits to the peasants from the banks
- g. Government owned export market to give them a market
- h. As a result, Duarte is hated by elites

Elections

- a. Over the next 10 years, there are 5 elections
- b. There is an 80% turnout for 1984 presidential election
- c. Duarte runs for president and wins
- d. This legitimizes the government in terms of social contract
- e. In 1985, there are municipal (mayoral) elections
- f. In 1989 Presidential Election – Conservative Party wins elections, further legitimizing the democratic process because there is a peaceful transfer of power between parties (although Conservatives are still aligned with the military)

B. Break the Salvadorian Economy

- a. Take away the economic base of the government
- b. Destroy crops
- c. Blow up bridges
- d. Bring down electric pylons (learned techniques from Sandinistas)
- e. Interrupt communication and transportation lines
- f. Attack and burn sugar cane and coffee
- g. This caused coffee to drop off to 1/3 of 1979 amount
- h. Keep food from getting from farms to the market
- i. FMLN shut down 1/2 of the economy, creating 50% unemployment

US Response

- a. US puts \$2 billion into the country
- b. US then gets international organization to further help their economy
- c. Brought in military tactical bridging to fix destroyed bridges
- d. Provided helicopters so that electrical repair teams could repair electrical lines – Salvadorian Air Force had to accompany them because guerillas were waiting for these teams and shooting down helicopters
- e. There was also a vaccination attempt to improve health in the country – 1/2 million people were inoculated in the mid-1980s

C. Break the Government's Control of the Countryside

Destroy Records

- a. Raid towns, go into village halls and destroy the archives
- b. FMLN destroy birth, marriage certificates and people didn't always have their own certificates – so important, original documents were destroyed

Threats to Mayors

- a. Terrorized 262 serving mayors in towns, threatening 214 with death
- b. Some mayors were forced to spend the nighttime in the garrisons with the military, fearing that they would be assassinated
- c. Some mayors that spent the night in their own city were killed

Anti-Personnel Land Mines

- a. FMLN plant mines into the ground – booby traps
- b. Anybody who steps on them gets their legs blown up, crippling them for life
- c. This backfires when kids step on land mines and get injured or killed
- d. Hundreds of people are killed by the land mines, half of which were kids
- e. Government then puts billboards up along highways, demonstrating the effects of guerilla actions – this get the people attention, showing them that the guerillas were a direct threat to them
- f. The Army became seen as more of a friend as time went on because of new humanitarian initiatives

US Counter-Strategy

Government Civil Defense Operations

- a. Government had civil defense operations to defend towns
- b. Village militias are formed to defend against guerillas and to protect mayors
- c. They build wells, schools, US brings in potable water...helping to improve life
- d. Military becomes less menacing over time
- e. Military started to treat peasants in the rural area much better, so they started to gain support from the population

D. Defeat the Salvadorian Armed Forces

US Counter-Strategy

- a. Guerillas were consistently able to defeat the military
- b. So, the American Green Berets open a training center for Salvador Armed Forces (ESAF) in Trujillo, Honduras
- c. Green Berets train people, sending battalions back into the battlefields
- d. At the same time, some guerilla commanders began to question their revolution because Duarte had already accomplished the reforms that they wanted
- e. US military aide is in play because the military was seen as more supportive of the interests of people
- f. Because of US insistence, military promotes human rights
- g. Military's human rights makes public side with the military over the guerillas
- h. As a result, military recruiting picked up, offsetting their major casualties
- i. ½ of the military force had to be replaced every year, so they were able to sustain their efforts

E. Convince US Congress to Cut off Aide to El Salvador

- a. FMLN bypassed Reagan, going to the US Congress trying to convince them to cut off aide to Duarte's provisional government and later on, the Christian Democrats government
- b. FMLN tell Congress that the military/provisional government was unredeemable and was anti-human rights
- c. However, Duarte pleads with Congress to continue aide, showing reform process and how it will play out, so he gets the aide

Function of Ambassador and NSC vs. DOS

I. Topics

- a. Functions of US Ambassador
- b. NSC vs. DOS

II. Foreign Service Officers

- a. People who work in the State Department are known as Foreign Service Officers

III. Ambassador's Status in Government

- a. US ambassador works for the State Department and is the direct representative of the President of the United States
- b. At any time, ambassador can call direct to the Oval Office and request to speak to the President during a crisis
- c. However, hopefully an ambassador doesn't have to use this privilege because it probably means there is a revolution in the country and the US embassy is in danger
- d. There is always a photo of the Ambassador and the President together in the Ambassador's home to show visitors that he is an important man

IV. Half of Ambassadors Selected by President

- a. Half of all ambassadors that work in the State Department are presidential selectees
- b. These are good boys/girls that contributed to the presidential campaign, gave advice to the president, or were pointed out by one of the president's cronies
- c. Department of State doesn't like these appointees because they don't go through the ranks of the State Department
- d. Presidential appointees are usually younger because they don't have to work their way up the ranks of the State Department

V. Half of Ambassadors Selected by State Department

- a. Half of all ambassadors are chosen by the State Department
- b. State department wants people who have come up the ranks for 20-30 years
- c. As a result, they are usually older than presidential selectees

VI. Foreign Service Officers

- a. Men and women, usually between the ages of 22-30 who have passed the Foreign Service Officer exam, have a chance to become an ambassador within their lifetime
- b. FSO exam is given 1 time a year
- c. Like an SAT exam, it goes into music, history...with a written component
- d. FSO exam can be taken between the ages of 22-50
- e. Ambassadors are provided with a home and transportation
- f. If the ambassador doesn't know the country's language, where he is sent, he is sent to language school (State Department has a very good language school)

VII. 3 Major Functions of an Ambassador

A. Observer and Reporter

- a. Ambassador is able to interact with the host country's leaders and key/important people who may or may not be in power
- b. As a result, the ambassador is able to pick up a sense about what they are thinking
- c. Ambassador is backed up by his staff, which reports on the mood of the country, its economic situation, political situation, culture, social condition, and military condition

B. Negotiator and Problem Solver

- a. From a diplomatic aspect, ambassadors negotiate to try to find common ground on issues, so that there can be an agreement
- b. In terms of solving problems, for instance, when the power grid in Honduras was blown up by guerillas, Ambassador John Negroponte was able to get them a new generator within a week (becoming an overnight hero in Honduras)

C. Representative of the US Government

- a. During the 2004 presidential election cycle, the media reported that other countries were paying attention to the outcome because what the US does, for better or worse, has an impact on the rest of the world
- b. Ambassador is a key point of interest for host country
- c. Ambassador explains US policy, eliminating misperceptions of policy
- d. Ambassador facilitates communication with other nations and builds rapport

VIII. Intelligence and Research Department

- a. Analyzes intelligence coming in from embassies around the world
- b. This is the State Department's equivalent of the CIA

IX. Consular Affairs

- a. Takes applications for visas and stamps passports

X. Country Team

- a. Term used abroad in referring to about the US embassy
- b. Embassy run by State Department has an economic, cultural affairs component, CIA office (depending on the size/importance of the country determines how big/small the CIA office is)

XI. Embassy Reports

- a. US ambassador gets to see most CIA reports, but not necessarily all
- b. Every report that leaves the embassy has to be reviewed by the ambassador
- c. If an issue is controversial, other parts of the embassy will comment on issues in order to cross check points
- d. Every report writer is encouraged to write reports honestly from their perspective

XII. State Department Ensures there is a Competent Deputy Chief of Mission

- a. If an ambassador is appointed by the President, the State Department will make sure that the Deputy Chief of Mission (Deputy Ambassador) has a lot of experience so that they can run the embassy while the ambassador is handling their duties

XIII. Drug Enforcement Agency

- a. DEA has an office in every embassy
- b. DEA works with the counter-narcotics section of the State Department

XIV. Inter-American Geodetic Survey

- a. Responsible for mapping the world
- b. They coordinate aerial shots to create maps
- c. These maps show terrain and contour
- d. They are so accurate that you could put a military grid on top of them
- e. Map products are made available to host countries, which appreciate them
- f. Now that the Cold War is over, you can request a map for any country

XV. NSC vs. DOS (6 criticisms/faults of DOS)

A. DOS Analysis is Not Always Good

- a. Sometimes the quality of the staff work from the State Department (analysis of a situation) is not always good
- b. NSC may have an advantage because they have access to more intelligence inputs (CIA doesn't send reports to the DOS)

B. DOS is too Bureaucratic and Slow

- a. Because of the bureaucratic nature of the DOS, it is slow in responding to problems
- b. NSC because of its narrow focus can take something it sees on CNN and pick up on it
- c. DOS has to wait for the ambassador to report
- d. DOS operates well in times of peace, but not in a crisis situation

C. DOS is Resistant to Change and New Approaches

- a. Once a procedure is in place to suit a particular purpose, it is hard to change the approach

D. DOS is Inadequate in Carrying Out Presidential Decisions

- a. Bureaucracy of the DOS bogs down innovative ideas, wanting to keep the status quo and follow the established rules
- b. As a result, ideas that could potentially help the president's agenda are not considered

E. DOS Fails to Lead in Foreign Affairs

- a. NSC sometimes pushes the President into following a particular position
- b. Because the DOS is too slow, they lose the leadership in the action

F. DOS is Out of Control

- a. DOS is a "foggy bottle"
- b. Groups within DOS don't know what each other is doing
- c. NSC because of its streamline approach, focusing on big issues, seems to be more efficient

XVI. Analysis of NSC/DOS Competition

- a. While they are competing against each other, NSC has a bigger impact on the president because they are first in communicating ideas to him

George H.W. Bush

I. Topics

- a. Oversight of Intelligence
 - PIOB
 - PFIAB
 - Select Committee on Intelligence (Senate and House)
- b. Manuel Noriega
- c. Operation “Blast Furnace”
- d. Andean Initiative

II. Bush’s Diplomatic and Political Background

- a. Bush was Vice President for Reagan
- b. He was a former Director of the CIA
- c. Ambassador to United Nations
- d. Ambassador to China
- e. Texas Congressman (House of Representatives)

III. Bush’s National Security Council

- a. Bush was involved in policymaking and ran his NSC as a small group
- b. He consulted widely with other if he had any questions, including calling a foreign leader
- c. Advisor in NSC was Brent Scocroft, who was a former Air Force General
- d. Bush relied on his NSC almost entirely
- e. He didn’t trust the State Department because it was too bureaucratic and too slow

IV. Issues for Bush Administration

- a. In 1989, the Soviet Union was in the midst of political turmoil, with its empire collapsing
- b. Bush was also involved in stopping the illegal flow of drugs into the US
- c. He opened the Japanese market to US products
- d. He wanted to protect South Korea
- e. He wanted stability in the Middle East

V. Soviet Union in Collapse

- a. Bush was amazed that the Soviet Union was collapsing
- b. CIA had said that Gorbachev was only putting a new face on the Soviet system and it would remain a world power until 2050
- c. Intelligence community missed the issues evolving in the Soviet Union at the time
- d. US didn't have good human intelligence in Soviet Union to know that workers were revolting
- e. As Soviet Union began failing, they had to import food because they couldn't produce enough and finally the collapse took place
- f. Now, the US had to decide how to handle the Soviets in this time of transition

VI. Soviets Transform to Free Market Economy

- a. Bush stood back to let the Soviet Union take its course of action
- b. Bush was criticized for not helping transform Soviet command economy into a Russian free market economy, but he didn't want to make it look like the collapse was a CIA operation
- c. There was lots of poverty in the country during the transition period
- d. Mafia surfaced to gain monopolies
- e. Transition created discontent

VII. CIA is Said to be a Poor Predictor of Events

- a. While events were unfolding in the Soviet Union, the CIA was having problems
- b. CIA was said to be a good analyzer of the obvious (information from newspapers), but was poor at predicting future events
- c. There was more reliance on technology and less on human intelligence
- d. The CIA's predictions were sometimes totally wrong, even though they collected a lot of data
- e. People were becoming too timid for fear of making waves and thus jeopardizing their career that people didn't report on things
- f. In 1990, CIA believed that Iraq would not invade Kuwait because it was seen as irrational
- g. However, a DIA Air Force Colonel looking at the facts, concluded that it was entirely rational
- h. Saddam Hussein was building up his forces on the Iraqi border
- i. DIA Air Force colonel was chastised and called stupid for his prediction
- j. 1-2 weeks later, Hussein invades Kuwait
- k. CIA blew it again

VIII. Select Committee on Intelligence Operations (House and Senate)

- a. CIA received so much criticism after they failed to predict the Kuwait invasion that Congress decided it needed an oversight element for intelligence, forming the Select Committee on Intelligence Operations for the benefit of the House and Senate
- b. Congress began losing confidence in the CIA
- c. Select Committee on Intelligence would obtain information from their own sources so that Congress could review foreign policy initiatives, determine improprieties, and decide how to better use the budget for policymaking

IX. Presidential Intelligence Oversight Board (PIOB)

- a. President also got involved in the oversight process
- b. Bush formed the Presidential Intelligence Oversight Board
- c. This group goes over internal procedure and the operational procedure that the CIA was involved in
- d. Bush wanted to make the CIA more efficient to produce more worthwhile information

X. Presidential Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB)

- a. Presidential Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board looks at intelligence provided and makes judgements as to its quality
- b. This is a quality control element

XI. Manuel Noriega (Panama) – in the Torrijos regime

- a. Crony of Torrijos from the 1960s
- b. Torrijos made him Director of Intelligence for Panamanian National Guard (military)
- c. Noriega knows everything that is going on
- d. If anyone gave Torrijos a problem, Noriega made sure they disappeared or went into exile
- e. Quashed opposition

XII. Noriega's Turn in Power, 1983

- a. Selected in rotation to be interim president, 1983
- b. 1st election in 1984 takes place under the Noriega regime
- c. Has Barletta elected to the presidency (ballot box is rigged)
- d. With Barletta in power, Noriega becomes the power behind the scenes
- e. 1985 – Barletta is kicked out after a disagreement with Noriega
- f. Noriega controlled Congress and put Del Valle in power

XIII. Noriega Helps the US

- a. Noriega is helped the CIA get information about Castro
- b. He is also helping the DEA target Colombian cocaine activities in Panama
- c. So, Noriega is appreciated by the US
- d. Over time, however, Noriega is found to be supporting certain cartel activities, while quashing others (a deal for my friends, the law for my enemy)

XIV. *New York Times* Articles, 1986

- a. Seamore Hirsch writes a series of articles about Noriega, saying that he's involved with narcotrafficking
- b. Says that Panamanian banks are involved in money laundering
- c. Despite reports, US government says that Noriega is helping with information on Cuba, supporting anti-communism in Nicaragua, and cooperating with the DEA, so maybe he's not such a bad guy after all

XV. US Federal Court in Florida indicts Noriega, 1987

- a. A year after the newspaper articles appeared, US federal courts in Florida indict Noriega on a series of charges
- b. This was the first time a foreign leader had been indicted by a federal court
- c. Noriega is accused of:
 - 1. Narcotrafficking
 - 2. Money laundering
 - 3. Getting kickbacks from narcotraffickers
 - 4. Providing security for the transfer of narcotrafficking funds
 - 5. Selling ether and ethanol (used to produce cocaine) to narcotraffickers
 - 6. Providing a safe haven for narcotrafficking barons
 - 7. Making illegal profits

XVI. Indictment Embarrasses Reagan Administration

- a. Indictment embarrasses Reagan and soon to be president, Bush
- b. Noriega made fools out of the Reagan administration
- c. George HW Bush says enough is enough and he no longer accepts the Noriega government
- d. US court in Florida has forced the government's hand

XVII. US Encourages a Coup against Noriega

- a. Noriega is captured by young military officers
- b. General Noriega, with a gun pointed at him, is told that he has to reform
- c. Noriega agrees to reform
- d. The young major is delighted at Noriega's reaction
- e. However, Noriega says that to reform, he has to stay in charge of the Panamanian military
- f. Noriega wanted the Major to give him his gun as a sign of loyalty
- g. The Major agrees to give Noriega his gun
- h. Noriega subsequently shoots the Major
- i. This ends the coup d'état attempt

XVIII. 1989 Elections

- a. Noriega promotes elections in 1989
- b. Duque wins, but then there is a falling out between him and Noriega
- c. Noriega then appoints Rodriguez

XIX. George HW Bush Wants to Defeat Panamanian National Guard

- a. Bush doesn't recognize Rodriguez's presidency
- b. Bush then tells JCS Chairman Colon Powell to come up with a plan to take out Noriega and defeat his National Guard
- c. Noriega's forces are on the old Canal Zone, so they could easily capture elementary schools (holding them hostage), so it had to be a surprise attack
- d. US needed an excuse as well to invade Panama

XX. Marines Killed in Panama, December 1989

- a. US Marines came out of a restaurant
- b. They turn the wrong way and are approached by guards that have been drinking
- c. The guards ask the Marines for identification
- d. But the US Lieutenant (who is driving) refuses to show ID
- e. The Marine then continues
- f. The guard shoots at the Marines and kills the driver (lieutenant)
- g. The passenger is able to gain control of the car

XXI. Noriega Says – There is a State of War with the US

- a. Two hours after the Marine was killed, the report reaches Washington
- b. At the same time they receive that news, Washington receives information that Noriega has told someone at a conference that Panama is really in a state of war with the US

XXII. Operation Just Cause

- a. George HW Bush tells JCS Chairman Colin Powell that the Panamanians are killing American citizens and they could disrupt the locks on the Panama Canal
- b. As a result, Operation Just Cause is launched at 1am
- c. Points around Panama are attacked by the US
- d. Operation is a success by 8am
- e. 90% of Panamanians support the operation
- f. Noriega is captured and is in jail to this day in Florida on narcotrafficking charges
- g. Out of this operation, Bush felt that the US was well suited to pull off an operation – this thinking leads into the Persian Gulf War

XXIII. War on Drugs

- a. Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia were heavily involved in the production of cocaine, used by drug users around the world
- b. During Reagan's administration, war on drugs in Bolivia wasn't going anywhere
- c. US government was getting frustrated by the high number of people who were pouring into hospitals as a result of cocaine

XXIII. "Blast Furnace"

- a. In the US embassy in Bolivia, they were told to quash coca growers
- b. However, they didn't go head to head with them because it could have created a Civil War
- c. Tin mining industry had collapsed and so the miners moved to narcotrafficking coca
- d. Narcotraffickers came to your doorstep to pick up coca leaves
- e. Black Hawk Helicopter force is inserted in Bolivia in areas where there are laboratories (final stage of coca production) in the rural outback
- f. There was also an aerial copter to shoot down people who tried to smuggle drugs out of Bolivia
- g. They found a couple of active laboratories, but mostly abandoned laboratories
- h. This operation caused the whole narcotrafficking system to collapse within 6 months
- i. However, after the rainy season began, US stepped back to see what happened, but because there were no follow-up mission, the narcotrafficking system re-established itself
- j. High profits and high demand drive narcotraffickers
- k. Coca growers moved outside the 200 mile radius of the helicopters

XIV. Narcotraffickers Move to Colombia

- a. In Hawaii, they experimented with a fungus to kill coca bushes
- b. This was introduced in Peru, where cocaine grows well
- c. As narcotraffickers began seeing they were coming under fire, they began moving their operations into Colombia
- d. 500 metric tons of cocaine pass through Colombia every year
- e. Coca growers produce between 7-900 metric tons of coca bushes/year
- f. So, George HW Bush goes all out to do something about this
- g. 5 major cartels have broken down into 60

XV. Andean Initiative, Early 1990s

- a. In early 1990s, President George HW Bush comes up with *Andean Initiative*, a \$2.2 billion program designed to try and quash narcotrafficking in Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia, but it doesn't work
- b. US criticizes Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia for growth of narcotrafficking, but the US gave up trying to quash marijuana production in California (highest producer of marijuana in the world)
- c. Admiral Crow of the JCS estimated that 3,000 aircrafts and 5,000 ships move towards the US and other parts of the world each year
- d. Bush administration also established a system to pick up narcotraffickers communications in the US
- e. All this was brought into play after the Civil Wars in Latin America ended and the Soviet Union collapsed, so that the US could stay focused on fighting drugs
- f. In Colombia, 1/4 million people are involved in narcotrafficking

XVI. US Considers Soy Bean as Substitute for Coca Leaves

- a. US tried to get coca growers in Bolivia to accept alternate crops
- b. Soy beans was offered as an alternate crop, but the US Agriculture Department opposed because US had 1/3 of the world's market
- c. So, the best idea to deal with crop substitution was quashed by US bureaucracy
- d. US established artificial markets in Bolivia and purchased apples and oranges from the farmers, but after a while Congress didn't want to fund this anymore

XVII. Life in Colombia

- a. Bush initiatives were well met in Colombia
- b. In Colombia, there was plenty of corruption – narcotraffickers forced people to take bribes or to take a bullet
- c. Judges served as judges and as the investigator of cases
- d. US suggested that they split the responsibilities of investigating and judging to two different people – this was done
- d. 30,000 people die from homicide in Colombia, mostly from narcotraffickers
- e. One of Colombia's problems is that Eastern Colombia has no real infrastructure, little schools, no roads, poor communication lines
- f. Government disregarded the outback, so it allowed narcotraffickers to flourish in the outback
- g. There were 2 major guerilla groups and a paramilitary organization that vie for power in the outback and either help or participate in narcotraffickers
- h. Guerilla organizations charge a war tax to narcotraffickers to shield them from the government
- i. Today, Colombia is a major focus of the US government

XVIII. Shining Path (Peru)

- a. In Peru, Shining Path guerillas organized a civil war to bring down what they called a westernized, decadent Lima government
- b. Through the 1980s, civil war tied up Peru and its security forces
- c. So, there was the guerilla insurgency on the one hand and narcotraffickers on the other
- d. Ultimately, the insurgency was quashed

XIX. Bush's New World Order (view of the world)

- a. Every country and its people ought to be free from terror
- b. Every country ought to pursue a system of justice that looked out for the interests of its respective people
- c. All countries ought to live in security and in a peaceful environment
- d. Believed that the world ought to be a harmonious group of nations, where everyone is cooperating (this was Woodrow Wilson idealism coming back into play)
- e. These ideals weren't well understood at the time, but it became clearer later on that he truly believed in these ideas

George HW Bush

I. Topics

- a. Saddam Hussein
- b. General Norman Schwarzkoff

II. US Gets 5% of Oil from Middle East

- a. Around 1990, Persian Gulf's oil assets were about ½ of the world's oil reserves
- b. But the US was only dependent for about 5% of its oil from the Middle East

III. Iran-Iraq War, 1980-88

- a. Throughout the 1980s, Iraq and Iran were at war against each other
- b. Each country spent \$230 billion prosecuting the war

IV. Saddam Hussein's Pan-Arabism

- a. Saddam Hussein was the dictator of Iraq
- b. Hussein came up through the Baath party
- c. In a 1979 coup, he made himself the leader
- d. Hussein proclaimed Baathist ideology, spreading his concept of Pan-Arabism
- e. Hussein saw himself and Iraq as the leaders of a large Arab empire
- f. He was either peacefully or coercively involved in getting other countries to join his empire
- g. But Iranians were not Arabs, they were Persian
- h. So, Hussein saw himself in the war, fighting against the Ayatollah, in the name of the Arab world
- i. Iran-Iraq war was a stalemate
- j. US sold weapons to Iran and provided intelligence to Iraq, so that they would do better in battle
- k. US was trying to keep them faced off against each other to distract them from other focuses

V. Hussein Wants Forgiveness for War Loans

- a. After the Iraq-Iran war, Hussein asked all Arab countries that gave him loans to forgive them, explaining that Iraqis had sacrificed so much
- b. Every country came through, except for Kuwait, who demanded that all \$12 billion owed to them be returned
- c. This angered Saddam

VI. Trouble with Kuwait

- a. Kuwait was involved in slant drilling – a pipe went into sands that were in Iraqi territory
- b. Kuwait was also flooding the oil market, resulting in relatively low gas prices
- c. Hussein wanted a \$10 increase per barrel, but other oil countries in the region wanted to keep it low
- d. So, Saddam developed a bitter hatred for Kuwait

VII. Hussein Contemplates Invading Kuwait

- a. Hussein thought that Kuwait should be a part of Iraq because in earlier times, it had been united with them – he wanted to make it the 19th province of Iraq
- b. Hussein also believed that Kuwait had to be punished for its disobedience
- c. US ambassador told Hussein that the US had no interest in Arab-to-Arab conflicts
- d. So, Saddam probably thought that since the US had supported him in the Iraq-Iran war and since they were traumatized from Vietnam, that he could get away with invading Kuwait
- e. Hussein had tested his chemical weapons that were given to him by the Soviets, against the Kurds
- f. They proved to be very effective, so chemical weapons were in his arsenal

VIII. George HW Bush Dislikes Hussein

- a. However, George HW Bush came to dislike Hussein
- b. He didn't like Hussein because towards the end of the Iraq-Iran war, he said that he would burn Israel to the ground
- c. Iraq had a nuclear facility in western Iraq, which Israel blew up in a pre-emptive attack, that Iraq never recovered from

IX. Hussein Invades Kuwait

- a. Saddam built up his Army, placing it in southern Basra
- b. CIA, however, didn't think that Saddam would invade, but he did
- c. When invasion took place, the Emir of Kuwait headed to Ridga, leaving the Army leader to fight the war

X. US Decides To Go To War Against Iraq

- a. US had a number of interests in the area
- b. US also wondered whether Saddam was going to stop after invading Kuwait or if he was going to keep going
- c. But he probably only wanted Kuwait
- d. Bush launched the 82nd airborne division to Iraq
- e. There was a fear that Saddam could develop nuclear weapons and become a superior power in the region
- f. Bush was upset that Saddam had the audacity to upset his New World Order (which included peace and stability in the Middle East)
- g. Bush said that Hussein's invasion would not stand

XI. Bush's Objectives in the Middle East

- a. Immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait
- b. Restore Kuwaiti government
- c. Security and stability in the Persian Gulf
- d. Protect the lives of US citizens

XII. Bush Rallies the International Community

- a. Bush made the case to the international community that Saddam was the Hitler of the Middle East
- b. As such, Bush rallied a coalition of countries, including most of the European countries and some Middle Eastern countries

XIII. How Would Bush Approach American Public About War?

- a. There was a question with the NSC about how to approach the US population about the war
- b. Bush said as president, he can make war and just leave the public with a fait accompli
- c. However, advisers told Bush this was not a good idea because it would lead to the unraveling of the TRINITY, as it did in Vietnam
- d. Congress was subsequently asked for a resolution to support the war

XIV. General Abram's Restructuring of US Army Takes Effect

- a. Towards the end of Vietnam, General Abrams, who replaced Westmorland, saw how bad torn the US population was about the war
- b. Abrams said this was in part the military's fault because they didn't have the people's support
- c. So, he restructured the US Army so that if the Army ever went to war again, it would have to call up the National Guard and reserves in order to have more professional brigades
- d. He wanted to integrate the American people into the war
- e. 798 Reserve and National Guard units are called up for this war

XV. Norman Schwarzkoff

- a. Schwarzkoff, the Central Commander in charge of the campaign had 4-5 month buildup to put everything in place before the attack
- b. He started the war with a 30 day bombing of Saddam's Army in Kuwait
- c. After 30 days, what was left of the Iraqi Army surrendered

XVI. M-1 Tank

- a. M-1 tank – can hit a target 1 mile away the size of a garbage can lid because of a thermal imager it has

XVII. Iraqi Army Retreats

- a. After 4 days, press published pictures of the retreating Iraqi Army
- b. Schwarzkoff wanted to take out the remaining 2/3 of the Army, but the press showed all the destruction along the way to Baghdad
- c. 1/3 of the original Iraqi Army is killed on the way back to Baghdad

XVIII. Schwarzkoff Wants To Go Into Baghdad, But Bush Said No

- a. Schwarzkoff wanted to go into Iraq and overthrow the government and finish the war
- b. However, in the NSC, they saw that they had accomplished their mission of getting Hussein out of Kuwait and that they didn't need to do more
- c. So, they stopped the operation
- d. Bush was worried that the US would lose support from Middle Eastern countries if it invaded Iraq

XIX. Hussein's Ruthless Police State

- a. Bush assumed that the devastating defeat would bring down Hussein
- b. But he had a ruthless police state and had the loyalty of his commanders
- c. At the same time, Bush was encouraging Shi'ite majority in Iraq to revolt

XX. Kurdish Revolt Quashed

- a. Sunnis were the minority group – Saddam’s group
- b. Majority in the country were not happy
- c. Bush believed that there would be an uprising by Kurds and Sh’ites because they weren’t happy
- d. Kurds were trying to revolt
- e. There were 30 million Kurds in the Middle East and they saw this as their chance to gain a homeland for their group and they would get US military support
- f. But support was not there
- g. Saddam’s Army crushed the revolt

XXI. Bush’s Stance After the War

- a. Bush came out of the war with an 85% popularity rating
- b. But there was concern amongst Americans that the Hitler of the Middle East was still left in power

XXII. No Fly Zone

- a. US declared a No Fly Zone in North and South Iraq

XXIII. United Nations Inspectors

- a. UN set up a group of inspectors to send into Iraq
- b. If Saddam gave them trouble, military force was supposed to return
- c. Inspectors wanted to see if Saddam had nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons in the country

XXIV. Kuwaiti Leader Returns and Gives Back to the People

- a. After the war, the Emir of Kuwait came back to Kuwait
- b. Emir put \$200 million into the Presidential Palace, but also gave some amenities to the rest of the people
- c. Emir started giving some perks to the population to keep their support since the Emir saw that his position was tenuous

XXV. Somalia

- a. Somalia was going through desperate times
- b. People there were starving with warlords vying for power
- c. Winners were well fed; Losers were starving
- d. This was portrayed on TV, as walking skeletons
- e. It was heart-wrenching
- f. This prompted Bush to begin a humanitarian effort

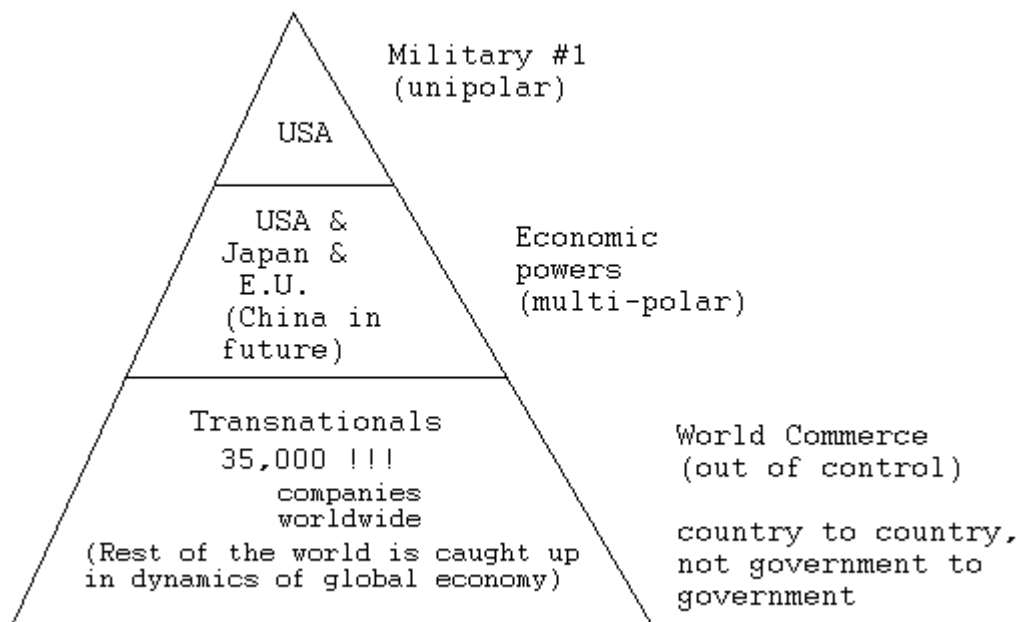
William (Bill) Jefferson Clinton

I. Topics

- a. Post Cold War World
- b. BEMS
- c. 4 Key Economic Organizations

II. Clinton's National Security Council

- a. Clinton looks at his NSC the same way as Bush, but a little more collegial
- b. Clinton also has a broader economic emphasis than bush
- c. Clinton looks at the world in terms of where we stand with the collapse of the Soviet Union



III. Post Cold War World

- a. For Clinton, this meant that the world was more complex, but not bad because commerce created jobs in the world

IV. Clinton's Priorities

1. Promotes Economic Security as his first priority
2. Strong Flexible Defense – had that because of forces that participated in Iraqi War would have been the one's that would have gone up against Soviet Union if they went to war with them
3. Free Trade and Investment Growth for US
4. Combat Nuclear Proliferation
 - Keep Control of Nuclear Weapons
 - Don't allow other countries to become nuclear powers
5. Promote Democracy and Human Rights around the world to show the US as an example, not imposed by coercive means
6. Combat Terrorism
 - In 1993, the World Trade Center was bombed, but nothing much happened
 - Car Bombing in the basement of the Trade Center became a symbol of strength because people thought that the towers were indestructible
 - The survival of the towers was looked at as a victory, instead of the opening shot by the enemy

V. UN Scientific Investigators Placed In UN

- a. In terms of dealing with Hussein, UN inserted teams of scientific investigators to work around Iraq to see what weapons they had
- b. For the remaining period of the Clinton administration, investigators are in there off and on again

VI. Hussein Dismantles Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons Program

- a. Saddam knew he was vulnerable, not being able to tell inspectors to get out because he was defeated in battle
- b. In 1992-1993-1994, Hussein dismantled his entire nuclear, chemical, and biological weaponry, believing that Clinton was looking for an excuse to take him out

VII. Somalia

- a. Clinton looked at Somalia
- b. He saw the humanitarian aid there, but he also saw something more wrong
- c. US military presence wasn't favored and the people began turning against the foreigners (the US)
- d. Warlords convinced the people that America wanted to exploit and take over the country, like the Italians had done during WW2
- e. Movie – *Black Hawk Down* details this
- f. NSC staff asked whether humanitarian effort was a success – they said yes and they pulled out
- g. **Lesson Learned:** Before entering into a situation, learn what is really going on
Somalia was not the only place where there were human rights violations

VIII. Clinton Creates Mini-Economic Council (Clinton's Dollar Diplomacy)

- a. Clinton's biggest priority was his own "Dollar Diplomacy"
- b. He set up a mini-economic council within the NSC to make recommendations about where the US should invest in
- c. Council promotes US trade worldwide

IX. Big Emerging Markets (BEM) Countries

- a. China (includes Taiwan and Hong Kong)
- b. India
- c. Indonesia
- d. Brazil
- e. Mexico
- f. Turkey
- g. South Korea
- h. South Africa
- i. Poland
- j. Argentina

X. About BEMS

- a. BEM markets were where the US should be exporting environmental technology and other technologies so that the US could dominate
- b. Over the next 6 years, it was estimated that China would spend \$560 billion on telecommunications, airports, and highways
- c. India and Indonesia over the next 10 years would spend \$100 billion
- d. Economic Security Council saw that 1/5 of the jobs in the US were tied to global trade, so the idea was to expand trade (extend contact, take advantage of transnationals)

XI. 4 Key Economic Organizations

1. Office of US Trade Representative
 - a. Head agency to develop and administer trade policy for the US government
 - b. Chief negotiator for trade activity with other countries
 - c. It has 80 staff members
2. Department of Commerce
 - a. Helps to formulate trade policy
 - b. Aides American businesses who are seeking to export abroad
 - c. Can operate in other countries within the US embassy
 - d. Has 68 branch offices in the US and 124 abroad
 - e. Tries to showcase US products and ensure fair marketing procedures are adhered to
3. US Treasury Department
 - a. Conducts international monetary policy of the US
 - b. Located in Office of International Affairs and has 200 staff economists who evaluate foreign investments in the US and US investments
 - c. Can recommend that the dollar be depreciated or appreciated in value against other countries
 - d. If the dollar is depreciated, it makes it cheaper for other countries to buy more US products
 - e. If the dollar appreciates, it makes it harder to sell products overseas
4. Agricultural Department (USDA)
 - a. Promotes Agriculture trade and aid worldwide
 - b. Has Public Law 480 – to provide food aid to needy countries, like Somalia (for free)
 - c. Has 60 economic or agricultural attaches at US embassies around the world
 - d. Deals 110 countries
 - e. Tries to promote US agriculture and trade abroad

XII. Congress Reforms CIA

- a. Congress said that if the CIA is going to run covert operations, it has to notify the Senate and House majority and minority leaders, the head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the President of the US
- b. Congress was trying to save embarrassing scandals from occurring after the fact so that only for the purposes of national security could a leader of a state be assassinated

XIII. Arafat and Rabin Peace Accord

- a. Clinton first brought Arafat and Rabin together, believing that he achieved what no other leader achieved, creating this accord
- b. For 5 years, there would be limited autonomy for PLO over Gaza, Jericho, and West Bank
- c. Any disputes between Israel and PLO would be heard by a joint committee

XIV. Dispute Over Jerusalem

- a. Palestinians wanted Jerusalem to be their capital
- b. Israel said no, but allowed them to have Jericho as their capital
- c. But Arafat walked out, saying no deal
- d. Arafat was going to take a militant approach to coerce Israel to give them the capital of Jerusalem
- e. This was Clinton's effort to resolve the Middle East situation
- f. It was well intentioned, but Israel and Palestinians didn't cooperate

XV. Ethnic Cleansing in Yugoslavia

- a. There was ethnic genocide between Serbs, Muslims, and Croats in Yugoslavia
- b. For years, this festered on with thousands dying
- c. Clinton wanted to resolve the problem
- d. A number of political scientists and anthropologists looked at the problem
- e. They concluded that it appeared that this part of Europe, created a **political fault line** (Middle East vs. Europe) with a clash of civilizations that has been ongoing for centuries
- f. Over time, virtual hatred developed between these ethnicities
- g. However, a major power in Yugoslavia, such as Marshall Tito, could control the situation

XVI. Family Building Block

- a. When groups start killing each other, people started asking the question: Why?
- b. They began killing each other because of insecurity and hatred, involving bigotry and ethnic stereotyping
- c. **Family Building Block** – hatred and bigotry is passed down from generation to generation (and it is hard to eliminate)
- d. It results in the slaughter and pillage of populations
- e. It creates ethnic civil war with one group going against another

XVII. Clinton Responds to Ethnic Cleansing

- a. In 1994, Clinton got the 3 major groups (Croats, Muslims, and Serbs) to know that the US and NATO were serious about security peace between them
- b. General Wes Clarke conducted a peacekeeping operation and was able to keep the groups separated in order to open negotiations between the groups
- c. A coalition of European powers behind him, gives the US great credibility
- d. There were clinical air strikes against precise targets
- e. War Crimes Trials against Milosovich and his cronies are still going on

George W. Bush

I. The Legacy of the Clinton Years

- a. Bush inherited a country that was highly productive and had tremendous savings
- b. There were no budget deficits and the stock market was high
- c. Russian economy was stagnating, with them having trouble becoming a capitalist economy
- d. There were no real enemies for the US
- e. There was an image that the US was immune from foreign attacks
- f. Domestic problems eclipsed foreign affairs for first time since Cold War ended
- g. Defense budget fell to its lowest level in 20 years
- h. US success in Persian Gulf I and Yugoslavia reinforced the image of invulnerability and that the US was the #1 military power

II. Bush and Soft Power

- a. When Bush came in, soft power became irrelevant
- b. There was no need to deal with other countries, so the US became arrogant
- c. If the US didn't want to be involved in ecology, it said so to the rest of the world
- d. US refused to participate in the ban on anti-personnel mines...

III. Bush's Governing Style

- a. Bush organization style was similar to that of Clinton, except that Bush didn't place as much emphasis on economics
- b. NSC and its staff were cut
- c. Bush liked a collegial approach for people around him
- d. Cabinet officials competed for president's ear
- e. Some believe that Cheney may have been pulling strings behind the scenes

IV. Government Definition of Terrorism

- a. Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience
- b. Coerce, intimidate people to get people to join your cause
- c. Disrupt functions of government
- d. Break down security and create panic
- e. "Axe of War" without war officially being declared
- f. It could be a form of revenge or backlash against an act of perceived aggression

V. Osama bin Laden

- a. bin Laden said the US putting forces into Saudi Arabia was his reason for waging war against the SU
- b. It's not what we think the problem is, it's how terrorists see it – That's their motivation

VI. 3 Objectives of Terrorists in Terms of Hitting Physical Targets on 9/11/2001

- a. Wall Street/Twin Towers, which represents capitalism
- b. Pentagon, which represents the Defense of the United States
- c. Capitol Building, which represents the government of the United States
- d. (3/4 planes were successful in hitting their targets)

VII. International Community Unites

- a. After 9/11, international community united behind America
- b. A French newspaper responded to the attacks, saying “We are all Americans” – an expression of unity
- c. For the first time, NATO invoked Article 5 on behalf of the US, citing an attack against the US, was an attack against all NATO countries

VIII. US Intelligence

- a. Intelligence system in the US was not working properly
- b. US had been confronting terrorists since the 1980s off-on
- c. 1993 bombing in the basement of the Twin Towers made the US seem untouchable
- d. Intelligence community gathered information about unusual circumstances that were going on in the country, but there was no cooperation between federal agencies, nor local and state law enforcement agencies
- e. Intelligence Community was reformed and united into the Department of Homeland Security

IX. Homeland Security Department

- a. Key is to get information to the consumers who need to be able to react
- b. Colin Powell solicited support worldwide (China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Islamic countries to rally international police intelligence effort behind anti-terrorist initiative that was being brought into play
- c. By forcing 21 federal agencies, 15 military agencies, the Department of Homeland Security got off the ground
- d. Received an \$81 million budget by Congress
- e. Had a principle staff of 750
- f. There were 2000-3000 intelligence gathering agents

X. Bush Doctrine

- a. Try to deter any further attacks
- b. Strike pre-emptively if possible (Congress gave \$100 million for this purpose)
- c. Creation of a Homeland Security department to unite intelligence functions and come up with a hard-hitting and responsive force (Congress promised \$300 million to enable this to take place)
- d. Seek out and destroy terrorists worldwide
- e. Bush said, "We shall be no distinction between terrorists and the countries that harbor them."

XI. bin Laden – a Saudi Dissident

- a. Of all of the terrorists, bin Laden was the principle enemy because he was the motivating leader
- b. After 9/11, he instructed Muslims in all countries to kill Americans and to plunder their money
- c. Saudi government looked at bin Laden as a dissident

XII. War in Afghanistan

- a. This brings the first reaction of striking back at the terrorists
- b. It took place in Afghanistan

XIII. 3 Levels of War

a. Strategic

- Executive, NSC, Congress
 - Remarkable Trinity
1. Executive articulates the need for war to the American people, presenting the just cause
 2. NSC Helps Develop Policy
 3. Congress, as the people's representatives, then supports the policy, ensuring that the Remarkable Trinity stays in tact

b. Operational

- JCS, DOD
1. After uniting Americans behind the war, the plan goes to the JCS and the DOD to carry out the war

c. Tactical

- Fire and Maneuver
1. At the tactical level, units in the field would track down, maneuver, and destroy terrorists

XIV. Taliban in Afghanistan

- a. After the Soviet Union pulled out, tribal groups rallied under a group called the Taliban
- b. The Taliban was in power since the Soviets pulled out
- c. Afghanistan was controlled by the Taliban
- d. Within Afghanistan, bin Laden had been training terrorists that were supposed to operate worldwide

XV. US Military's Mission in Afghanistan

- a. Overthrow the Taliban and put a responsive government to US interests in power
- b. Destroy the Taliban's training camps
- c. Disrupt terrorist structure inside Afghanistan and in cooperation with police forces, pursue terrorists worldwide

XVI. US Victory in Afghanistan

- a. Results of the campaign were that after Kabul was seized, the Taliban collapsed

XVII. Power Vacuum in Afghanistan

- a. After the Taliban collapsed, there was a political vacuum, reverting back to the old warlord tribal groups that controlled their own regions
- b. Afghanistan is sort of like a Yugoslavia – each group doesn't like other people infringing on their territory

XVIII. Worldwide Terrorist Captures

- a. 2000 terrorists are killed in Afghanistan and 2000 are captured
- b. 60 cells re identified worldwide
- c. Some were policed, others went into hiding

XIX. bin Laden Escapes Capture

- a. bin Laden was the big target in the Mountains of Tora Bora
- b. He didn't expect a US reaction
- c. bin Laden gave his buddy his cell phone to chit chat with his buddies
- d. So, he was off distracting the US, while Osama went into a part of Pakistan
- e. The guy on the cell phone was caught
- f. Osama was seen as a hero in Afghanistan because he fought against the Soviets
- g. So, it wasn't hard for him to get into Pakistan
- h. It's also possible that he wore a birka, covering him from head-to-toe
- i. So, bin Laden had defied efforts to capture him

XX. Karzai

- a. As time went on, by the end of 2003, Karzai became the leader of Afghanistan
- b. Karzai was up against warlords, so he has problems containing warlords
- c. Taliban resistance is also trying to reinvigorate against US elements and Karzai government

XXI. Heroine Production in Afghanistan

- a. In Afghanistan, during the Taliban's rule, since they were hardcore Islamics, the heroine industry in Afghanistan came to a standstill
- b. Now that Afghanistan is a democracy, it is the principle heroine leader of the world
- c. So, war on drugs is taking a hit
- d. US spends \$10 billion/year on Afghanistan

XXII. Iraq

- a. Over the last 6 months – 1 year, it has been discovered that since Bush became president, he was interested in taking down Hussein
- b. During Clinton administration, US controlled North and South Iraq with a No Fly Zone
- c. So, it was bottled up
- d. UN sent technical inspectors looking for weapons
- e. However, by 1993, all weapons of mass destruction were gone because Saddam thought that Clinton was looking for a reason to get him out of power

XXIII. Sh'ites and Kurds Won't Forget US Betrayal

- a. George HW Bush after the first Persian Gulf War encouraged Sh'ites in Southern Iraq and Kurds in Northern Iraq to revolt
- b. But after the revolt, Bush wasn't there to come to their rescue
- c. As a result, Hussein was able to quash the uprisings
- d. **The lesson learned on US credibility was that these people would not forget that George HW Bush had urged them to rise up and then didn't come to help them**

XXIV. George W. Bush's Decision to Invade Iraq

- a. After Afghanistan was overrun, Bush decided arbitrarily on Iraq

XXV. Bush Claims Iraq Had Weapons of Mass Destruction

- a. Bush asked the CIA to get reports to show that Hussein had been building weapons of mass destruction, where there really was nothing there