Notes: Pax Americana

**The United States Taking Control: The Use of Superior Military**

As far as we know the US possesses the most advanced weaponry on the planet. It continues to improve its nuclear submarine fleet, aircraft carrier battle groups, land forces, fighters and bombers

New weapons systems include the Predator drone aircraft fitted with anti-tank missiles called “hell-fires” the Joint Direct Attack Munitions JDAM is a satellite-guided all –weather “smart” bomb guided by GPS (the drop and forget bomb) because the GPS does the aiming and steering. The M1A Abraham tank has been upgraded as has the F18 Super hornet, they are even working on more environmentally friendly nukes

**Doctrine of the Nation-State and Principles of Intervention**

In theory nation states are sovereign within their own boundaries and outsiders are not to interfere in domestic matters. This is enshrined in the UN charter, the International Law of the Sea, even airspace, (because of the spy plane the Soviets shot down in the ‘60’s) is included, within these boundaries nation states are supposedly autonomous and free from the interference of other states. In fact the Brezhnev Doctrine was and the Monroe Doctrine is in direct confrontation with that premise. Principles of intervention have been changing States that condone or promote tribalism, gang warfare or genocide are not considered legitimate nations. The same goes for unstable states that may spread violence beyond their borders. Recently it has been determined that it is the duty of global communities to intervene in such instances and alleviate human suffering.

What qualifies as “human suffering” is under heated debate in the global community, apparently.

During the Kosovo conflict in 1998-1999, NATO intervened. They embarked on a 78-day bombing crusade of Bosnian lines, which eventually caused the combatants to cease fighting.

**The Unipolar World: the role of the United States**

The collapse of the Soviet Union left the US (for a time) as the world’s only superpower.

The US openly stated that they would act proactively on the international stage if it feels that is necessary

It intervened in civil wars in Somalia and the Balkans in the 1990’s

Declared Iraq a rouge state and invaded it on the pretext that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction

The US believes that it has a superior political, economic and social system that is desirable for all people and that its influence is therefore positive, the US justifies its foreign policy on this basis

**Taking Control**

In order to help enforce its role as the world’s police force, the US trains local military and police forces in nations where there are problems with groups that oppose Capitalism

Under the Joint Combined Exchange Training Program JCET special forces personnel are stationed in more than 100 countries

Including 19 Latin American and nine Caribbean countries

JCET trains government forces in urban and psychological warfare, and in sniper and close-quarter fighting

They have been used in many countries

Questions/Main ideas:

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Principles of Intervention**

Before the international community can intervene several considerations must take place

There must exist the ability to exert force- the military capability. The action must be morally supported by the international community

Intervention by forces from outside a nation state may occur when;

A. there is a need to rescue a group within the country from religious or ethnic persecution

B. To end the abuse of human rights and the use of torture by the state

C . to manage mass migrations with the intention of sending migrants back to their country of origin

 D. to act in response to human or natural disasters

E. to prevent pogroms or genocide

However the increasing use of intervention has brought the concept of national sovereignty into question. Intervention has successfully stopped fighting and acted to police cease-fire agreements until a political solution could be reached

During the ‘92-’95 war, Serbia wanted to include all Balkan Slavs in a Greater Serbia. Serbs had dreamed of a Greater Serbia for many years, and saw the collapse of the USSR as their big chance

State sanctioned military and paramilitary forces conducted terror campaigns against Muslims and Croats. By the time it came to a truce in the ‘95 Dayton Accord approximately 300 000 people had been killed, as Slobodan Milosevic’s attempt to establish a Greater Serbia did not include minorities

When fighting resumed in Kosovo in 1998-1999, NATO intervened. There was a fear that “ethnic cleansing in Macedonia and Albania could draw Turkey and Greece into the conflict in the Balkans

They embarked on a 78-day bombing crusade of Bosnian lines, which eventually caused the combatants to cease fighting, although it did not put an end to the political problems in the region

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Questions/Main ideas:

**International Criminal Court**

The International Criminal Court is another example of intervention. Established in 1988 the concept behind it was to bring individuals to justice for actions committed within the boundaries of their country. This is in direct conflict with the concept of the sovereign nation-state. Approximately 200 million civilians were the victims of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocidal campaigns during the 20th century. The concept to war crimes arose at the end of WWII in 1945. The Allies decided that some of the actions taken during the war were criminal and not military in nature. The decided to hold the German and Japanese government and military leaders accountable for these perceived crimes. Trials were held in Nuremberg and Tokyo and many leaders were charged with conspiring to commit crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Guilty verdicts were returned against Nazi and Japanese leaders on charges of making war (genocide was not yet an official crime). The international Criminal Court was established in response to the “ethnic cleansing“ that took place in Bosnia-Kosovo. The international community met in Rome on July17, 1998 and voted by a margin of 120 to 7 to establish the ICC to bring soldier, and political leaders charged with war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide to justice. The nations that voted against the establishment of the ICC were: The USA, Algeria, China, Israel, Libya, Qatar and Yemen. It differs from the ICJ in the Hague which can only settle disputes between nations. The US stated that it would only agree if cases were presented to the court through the Security Council of the UN, on which the US has a veto. The US claimed that it has a special status because of its global responsibilities and insisted that no action could be taken against either its soldiers or any other US nationals working outside their country without US approval

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Questions/Main ideas:

**International Criminal Court: A little more**

The American delegate stated that US interventionist policies on an international level left them particularly vulnerable to a court that can try individuals.

The ICC treaty also included rape, forced pregnancy, torture and the recruitment of children into military or paramilitary forces as war crimes

The Americans believed the court should deal only with genocide\*

Genocide: The deliberate killing of a large group of people, esp. those of a particular ethnic group or nation.

**The ICC and Bosnia**

In 2002 charges of war crimes were brought against Bosnian leaders for their part in the 250 000 + deaths in the region. The UN is collecting DNA samples from the living to try to aid the 3000 skeletons preserved in Srebrenica (there since the Muslim safe area was overrun and the horrific massacre of ‘95 occurred). The UN is also collecting DNA to compare with the corpses of Albanians massacred in Kosovo in 1999. More than 100 Serbs have been indicted by the tribunal.

Slobodan Milosevic, Biljana Plavsic, and Milan Milutinovic are charged with genocide

Plavisic was president of Bosnia from 1996-98 and broke with the extremists has since pleaded guilty

The French initially refused to sign the treaty because their troops had helped train the Hutu controlled Rwandan military during the genocide of ‘93-4. The addition of a clause exempting the signatories from war crimes charges for the first 15 years of the ICC over came their objections

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Questions/Main ideas:

**The European Economic Bloc**

The idea of a European economic bloc was first proposed by the French statesman Jean Monnet after WWII, who urged union to stop the possibility of future wars among European nations

In 1951 France’s foreign minister Robert Schumann proposed an amalgamation of French and German coal and steel resources.

The Schumann Plan became the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) which in 1951 united Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, and West Germany in a trading bloc.

The six member nations abolished trade barriers on coal , steel, iron ore, and scrap metal and allowed workers in these industries to move freely in the ECSC

In 1957, the six founding members of the ECSC signed the Treaty of Rome, which established the European Atomic Energy Community, or Euratom and the European Economic Community.

Euratom was designed to produce nuclear power for European states

The European Economic Community expanded its membership with the addition of Denmark, Ireland, and Great Britain in 1973, Greece in 1981 and later Spain and Portugal

In 1994, Austria, Finland and Sweden joined what was by then called the European Union or EU

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Questions/Main ideas:

**The EU**

The EU is the world’s largest economic unit

The European Union is composed of 27 independent sovereign states which are known as member states: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. There are three official candidate countries, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Turkey. The western Balkan countries of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia are officially recognised as potential candidates. Kosovo is also listed by the European Commission as a potential candidate but the Commission does not list it as an independent country because not all member states recognise it as an independent country, separate from Serbia. To join the EU, a country must meet the Copenhagen criteria, defined at the 1993 Copenhagen European Council. These require a stable democracy which respects human rights and the rule of law; a functioning market economy capable of competition within the EU; and the acceptance of the obligations of membership, including EU law. Evaluation of a country's fulfilment of the criteria is the responsibility of the European Council. Once admitted to the EU, countries are expected to proceed with economic development , limit any budget deficit and work to equalize living standards. This is not always easy. The EU has left Kaliningrad in an unusual position it is Russian, however it is geographically separate from Russia and entirely surrounded by EU countries

Kaliningrad has an unstable economy, poor goods, and a politically corrupt system, their trucks are not allowed to travel across EU boarders. As a result Kaliningrad is geographically and physically isolated

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Still More EU: the transition to the Euro**

In 1991 European leaders met in Maastricht to hammer out details on a common currency as well as foreign and security policies. It was agreed that a common currency would come into effect in January 1999 . The new euro became the official currency of business, but national currencies were still used as well. Most shops advertised both prices. On Jan 1st 2002 the Euro became the only currencies and national currencies were phased out over the first six months of 2002. The European Central Bank was established to manage the euro, which has an exchange rate similar to that of the US dollar. Cooperation on security policies such as a common passport and some foreign policy matters have progressed to a certain degree

**NATO**

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the death of the Warsaw Pact in 1991, the original reason for NATO disappeared. Initially in the post-Cold War era, some believed that NATO would be irrelevant. However over the last two decades the alliance has been refashioned to fit the demands of new century. NATO comprises twenty-eight members: Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In addition, NATO has established partnerships with Russia, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland and many of the former Soviet republics where these countries have been invited and asked to act as observers. There has been some discussion about member nations increasing their defence spending to be more in line with the US. NATO approved a rapid deployment force of 21 000 at the Prague Summit in 2002, this was confirmed in the Riga Summit in 2006

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Questions/Main ideas:

**NATO Continued**

Other problems associated with the new NATO include corruption and the security of classified information

Former Soviet countries like Romania still retain large numbers of committed Communists who retain strong ties to Russia

The Czech Republic had little corruption upon entry into NATO but has since been rated one of the most corrupt states in Europe

Democracy, human rights and the rule of law are supposed to be the hallmarks of NATO, however there are no provisions for dealing with violations

Hungary is an example of a new member that fails to meet these principles, Hungary’s anti-Semitism and long-standing ethnic conflict with Romania and Bulgaria are clear violations of NATO principles

NATO is eager to gain the advantages of seaports and additional military specialties, however this may come at a high price

**Russia**

Russia’s military problems have a global impact

The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Central Europe and Ukraine created security problems that affect the rest of the world. The final deployment of Russia’s Weapons of Mass Destruction –nuclear, biological and chemical- was very important

The likelihood that some of these weapons might fall into the hands of unstable states or terrorists seemed fairly real. Nuclear weapons were to be re-deployed inside Russia or destroyed. The Status of Black Sea fleet near Odessa was less clear and there is enough uranium in the missiles and power plants to make several thousand nuclear bombs. In 2002, the ships and subs lay rusting alongside jetties

Apart from potential sale (maybe to someone not so stable) there is the question of radioactive leakage in the absence of any maintenance. Russia’s chemical and Biological weapons are equally insecure

**The Soviet Response**

In 1977 the USSR led the US 3 to 2 in mega tonnage ( the explosive yield of bombs measured in tonnes of TNT) however, it lacked missile accuracy.

Between 1971 and `84 defence spending in the USSR grew by 5% per year.

Estimates suggest that this was the equivalent of between 13 and 17% of their GNP (compared to 5.5% of the US GNP)

In the late 1970`s Soviet accuracy improved an d technology they imported from Japan allowed Soviet Submarines to move more quietly

In the 1980`s the quality of Soviet aircraft, submarines, warships and missiles all improved significantly

However by 1985 the money committed to the defence sector of the economy had created serious problems in the domestic economy and unrest and discontent among the Soviet citizens

Between 1979 and 1985 the arms race escalated, as the US and USSR argued about the Soviets in Afghanistan and NATO`s nuclear policy, among other issues

In 1981 Reagan proposed the Zero option according to which the Americans would not deploy missiles in Europe if the USSR would dismantle their SS-20`s there. The USSR refused fearing the remaining bombs of the French and British

In November of `81 Reagan puts forth the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START)

This involved the destruction of missiles on both sides, however left the US in a position of superiority regarding cruise missiles and bombers

The Soviets were not interested

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Russia: what to do with those pesky WMDs?**

The withdrawal of Russian troops to positions inside Russia occurred so hasty that plans for receiving them in an orderly fashion did not work as intended.

The Russian army and air force, apart from the elite units, became dysfunctional

Abandoned without pay, supplies or anywhere to live many units became marauding bands living off the land (well the people on the land, they still had big guns) Under these conditions discipline vanished and the loyalty of military forces became cost negotiable

Putin has acted to reassert central control and plans to develop reorganized armed forces since becoming president in 2000.

His Defence Minister was given the task of reorganizing Russia’s military

It is intended to have 126 000 professional soldiers by 2007 and there are hopes for it to reach 1.1 million by 2011.

Collapse of military discipline after 1991 added to the situation in relation to Russia’s WMD’s. The US offered to help

Under the American Threat Reduction Agency, by 2003 the US had paid $19 billion to help secure the stockpiles of WMD, a rare example of Russian-American cooperation

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Questions/Main ideas:

**WMD’s**

Modern technology has led to the development of weapons that could potentially do anything from destroy the planet physically to wipe human life from the face of the earth. This has caused some nations to become concerned therefore, nations of the world are turning their attention to the issue of weapons of mass destruction. Nukes are easiest to monitor. Equipment, uranium, massive delivery systems, and high energy costs of maintenance are detectable. It is feared that some components of weapons-grade uranium along with nuclear scientists may have made their way to Iran, Iraq, North Korea, or China. There have bee a number of confirmed attempts to smuggle uranium out of Russia. Obviously this was true at least in the case of North Korea, which has recently tested a nuclear weapon. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 did not stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Both India and Pakistan have nuclear weapons, and both state that they will use them if necessary. India claims they need nukes to defend themselves from Russia, Pakistan claims they need to defend themselves from India because of the conflict in the Kashmir. China asserts they need nukes to defend themselves from USA. North Korea has nukes, cause they wanted them. Both Russia and US said they ended their biological weapons programs in 1980, and promised to end their chemical warfare by 2007. Chemical weapons are inherently unstable. Used originally in WWI When both sides used chlorine and mustard gas on the Western Front (approximately 100 000 dead). Japan used chemical and biological weapons during the campaign in China from ’32-’45. They kept detailed logs of the lingering deaths of 250 000 prisoners. The scientists and lab technicians were granted amnesty after the war in exchange for their logs. The US used Agent Orange in Vietnam

 Iraqis used nerve gas against Iran and on its own Kurdish population, in 1988

In 2001 terrorists released nerve gas in an attack on a Japanese train.

Biological weapons are the most difficult to contain. Smallpox, plague, and anthrax can be carried in small, undetectable containers.

Being contagious and all, they can be released into air and water supplies and wreak havoc.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Still more WMD’s**

Iraqis used nerve gas against Iran and on its own Kurdish population, in 1988

In 2001 terrorists released nerve gas in an attack on a Japanese train.

Biological weapons are the most difficult to contain. Smallpox, plague, and anthrax can be carried in small, undetectable containers.

Being contagious and all, they can be released into air and water supplies and wreak havoc.

In 2001, five people were killed in an anthrax incident in Washington DC (sent through the mail)

The US continues to toy with the idea of vaccinating its population against small pox (just in case)

At the height of the Cold War, Russia employed some 60 000 scientists and workers in 50 regions in its chemical and biological labs.

Since 1989 many have dispersed, some to Pakistan, some to Iraq and North Korea.

They left their laboratories abandoned and unsecured

Inspectors at the vector lab in Novosibirsk found plague vials stored openly on shelves and refrigerators held closed with thread

There was an accident in ‘79 with some anthrax that left 68 people dead in Sverdlovsk

To date, the entire inventory of biological weapons has not been accounted for.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Iraq**

The US was quite convinced that some of the missing WMD made their way into Iraq.

After the Gulf War, UN inspectors found WMD’s in Iraq and destroyed them.

Apparently by 1999, Iraq hadn’t destroyed all their WMD.

2002 the US was prepared to invade Iraq and forcibly change the government to try to inject democracy into a Middle East country. They did not seem very interested, the US agreed not to invade if Iraq readmitted inspectors

Re-admission of UN inspectors was voted in with unanimous support of the Security Council, at the Arab states (explained their position by stating they were attempting to save Iraq from a worse fate, i.e. a war with the US)

It didn’t work, and as we all know the US was involved with a war with Iraq until 2011.

The economic sanctions placed on Iraq at the end of the Gulf War in 1991 were more inclusive than any UN sanctions ever to the great suffering of the Iraq people and the loss of millions in trade due to looking for “dual use” items which have potential to be diverted to the manufacture of weapons.

Interestingly enough, a lot of “dual use” items sold to Iraq were from American companies like BDM corps, Hewlett Packard, and Kennametal.

As well as biological agents like Bacillus Anthraces, Clostridium Botulinum, Histoplasma Capsulatam, Brucella Melitensis, Clostridium Perfringens, Clostridium tetani, all whose side affects include death.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Iraq and the Kurds**

The Kurds form the largest ethnic group in Iraq, but constitute less than ¼ of Iraq’s population

They are located in the northeast and want self-rule within Iraq. They have not declared any desire to unite with the 15 million ethnic Kurds in Turkey, Syria, and Iran but that is what those nations fear

Middle Eastern states worry that such a unification would destabilize the entire region and place critical oil pipelines in jeopardy i.e. In the hands of the Kurds. In 1980, Saddam Hussein razed 90% of the Kurdish villages in Iraq in a punitive strike which ,as previously mentioned, included the use of poison gas. Approximately 180 000 Kurds were killed

A million more fled after the Gulf War as the US had encouraged them to rebel against Iraq, but did not provide them with support for that rebellion

The US did establish a no-fly zone to help protect the Kurds after the war. They also established a Shiite no-fly zone south of Basra. Any Iraqi plane overflying these zones was shot down

The US remains in Iraq

**Terrorism: The argument against freedom**

Terrorism is a world wide phenomenon, we tend to focus on the recent activities in the Middle East, however terrorism has been used by many other groups

The recent reaction to terrorism has led to some governments choosing to re-examine the relationship between the individual and the state

How many rights should the government be allowed to take away to provide security for its population?

There is now a debate about the balance between the rights of society as a whole and the rights of the individual

Some people on the right and increasingly the middle believe that individual freedom needs to be limited to obtain security

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Terrorism: the impact of 911**

The US declared war on terrorism after the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center (which cost the lives of approximately 3000 people; including rescue workers who died at the scene) The US took this attack on the continental very hard

It has driven the political dialogue of the US ever since

US and Canadian fighter planes are scrambled in exercises to be on the lookout for potential suicide missions

The US has held Afghanistan responsible for the 911 attacks

The US government traced the attacks back to a terrorist organization (al Qaeda) led by Osama bin Laden who trained some of his terrorists in Afghanistan

The UN approved action against Afghanistan and the US became involved in a war in both Iraq and Afghanistan

Canada is also part of the NATO force in Afghanistan

**Invading Afghanistan: It’s our turn**

After the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan (and the Americans withdrew their financial aid from the country) the central government in Kabul was unable to control the extremist Islamic fundamentalists in the country

These groups had been the vanguard in the resistance against the Soviets and perhaps the largest and best equipped and trained of these was the Taliban

When these groups feel threatened they disappear into the mountains. Or into neighbouring Pakistan which has a large Islamic fundamentalist population particularly along the border region

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Operation Enduring Freedom**

On October 7, 2001 in an operation named Enduring Freedom the US and some allies invaded Afghanistan. This conflict continues. After some initial success with fighting the ground forces of the Taliban the Allies have been unable to rid the country of the Taliban and its sympathisers Osama bin Laden and his followers escaped. Most of the other terrorists escaped into Pakistan or otherwise disappeared. A new government has been installed in Afghanistan, but it is divided and does not have the universal support of the population.

**Operation Enduring Freedom’s impact on Freedom**

Back inside the borders of the US the Americans established a Homeland Security Department

This department is in charge of domestic surveillance. Communication wiretaps were put in place to track down terrorists by listening to domestic conversations. Financial records were searched. Charities and other organizations which question the actions of the American government are now listed and monitored. Security at airports has been enhanced. More effective X-ray machines are in place. Homeland Security is attempting to identify everyone in the US. New requirements are in place to monitor and limit visitors. However even with these measures in place the US border is still highly penetrable, they have an ongoing problem with illegal immigration that they have been unable or unwilling to resolve. There is significant doubt as to the potential effectiveness of these limitations on personal freedom and the possible end result on the American society and culture

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Questions/Main ideas:

**End of the Chapter: Continuation of American domination of international politics**

In the post Bi-polar world the US has continued to build its military power

The US has stated that it has a responsibility to interfere in the domestic matters of other nations to maintain world security

The US maintains it does this for the good of humanity

The American Threat Reduction Agency has attempted to ameliorate the potential damage of unsecured weapons of mass destruction, however it remains unclear how successful they have been, the available information suggests that they have not been successful enough for us to feel ok about it

The European Union has become the largest unified trading block in the world

NATO has vastly increased in size and changed the nature of its mandate from an anti-Communist stance to one of collective security

And an International Criminal Court (with albeit limited scope) has been established

There is some supposition that the freedoms lost in the western world after the 911 attack will persist and if in fact we will continue now to live in a less free, more fear driven society

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