

Session Three

U.S. Grand Strategy in the post-Cold War World: The Case for Primacy

22 March 2017

- 1) The Causes of Primacy
- 2) The Logic of Primacy
- 3) Its Benefits
- 4) Diplomacy
- 5) Military Power
- 6) Intelligence Community
- 7) The Costs of Primacy

Argument—Causation of Primacy

- Systemic and unit level explanations are necessary to explain the causes of U. S. primacy
- Systemic: Geography and Neorealism
 - In anarchy, power creates security (Mearsheimer)
- Unit level: Ideology critical as well, desire to shape international politics along “American lines”
 - Jefferson “Empire of Liberty”
 - Wilson “Make the World Safe for Democracy”
 - Roosevelt “Atlantic Charter”

Primacy

- **Interests**
 - U.S. is Best Protected When It Dominates the World
 - U.S. Goals Are Best Advanced Through Preponderant Strength
- **Threats**
 - The Rise of Peer Competitors like China
 - Great Powers like Russia
 - Second Order Powers: Iran and North Korea
 - Terrorism
 - Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)
 - Loss of U.S. Credibility
- **Means**
 - Dominant Military
 - Large Intelligence Community
 - Strong Economy
 - Many Allies

Benefits of Primacy

- Unsurpassed military power, intelligence community provides robust deterrence capabilities
- Significant ability to compel states
 - Libya, end of A.Q. Khan network
 - but not omnipotence, e.g. Iran, North Korea
- Control of the “global commons” oceans, airspace, outer space (Posen)

Benefits of Primacy

- Countries seek to ally with the U.S.
 - 192 countries, 84 are allied with the U.S., 5 balancing (China, Cuba, Iran, North Korea, and Venezuela) against Washington
 - A ratio of about 17 to 1 (Cold War 1.8:1 in favor of U.S.)
- Stability
 - Many wars prevented
 - Great power wars
 - Small power wars, e.g. Greece v. Turkey, Egypt v. Israel, India v. Pakistan

Benefits of Primacy

- Reduced proliferation pressures due to extended deterrent
- In the right circumstances, democracy promotion
- U.S. military power is the world's "911 force" (world's police, global paramedic, and the planet's fire department)
 - October 2007 rescue of a North Korean ship from pirates off of Somalia

Benefits of Primacy

- Permits humanitarian operations
 - December 2004 tsunami
 - October 2005 earthquake in Kashmir
 - November 2007 Cyclone Sidr in Bangladesh
 - 2011 Fukushima reactor meltdown
- Stabilizes the global economy
 - Promotes globalization
 - International Trade Regime (WTO)
 - International Monetary Regime (IMF)
 - Economic Crises

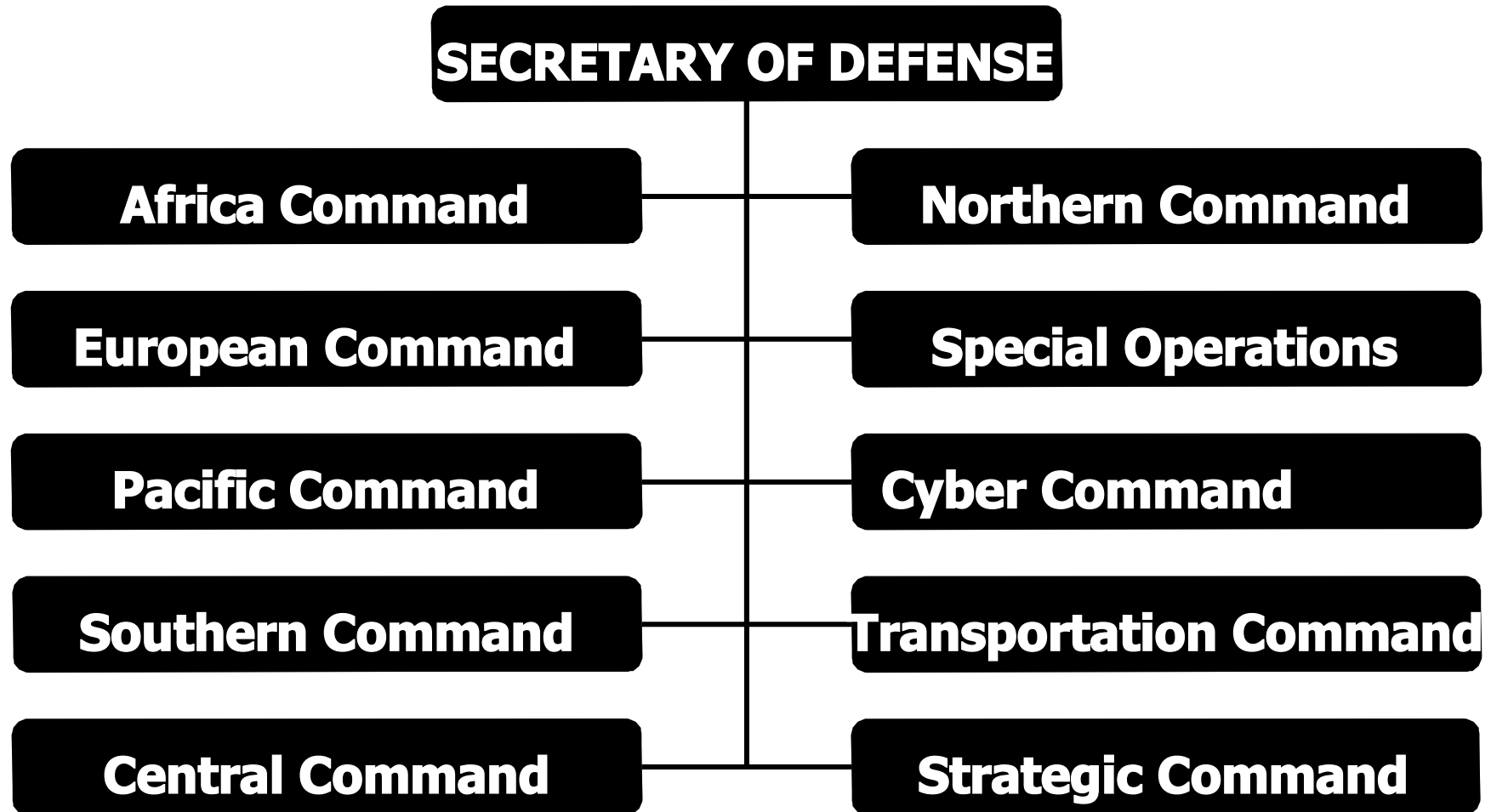
Diplomacy: The State Dept.

- Governing America's Relations with the rest of the World
- The State Department
 - Diplomacy—Key Mechanism to Advance and Protect U.S. Interests, Diplomatic Signaling
 - Works with Allies like Great Britain and Foes like Iran, and Organizations like the UN
 - About a \$36 billion budget

Military Power: The Dept. of Defense

- Governs the Defense Policy of the United States—deterrence, military signaling, war
- Conventional Forces: Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines
- Strategic (Nuclear) Systems (with Dept. of Energy) and Missile Defense
- About a \$500 billion budget

U.S. Military Power



U.S. Military Power

THE WORLD 1:60,000,000

THE WORLD WITH COMMANDERS' AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY

EDITION 8 NGA

SERIES 1107

BASED ON
UNREF CLASSIFIED PLAN
17 DECEMBER 2008



SERIES 1107
EDITION 8 NGA



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Map information as of 2008

State of Alaska assigned to USNORTHCOM's
Area of Responsibility. Forces based in Alaska
remain assigned to USARPACOM.

1:60,000,000

MILLER CYLINDRICAL PROJECTION

The 1955 Israeli proclamation that
Jerusalem be the national capital is
not recognized by the United States.

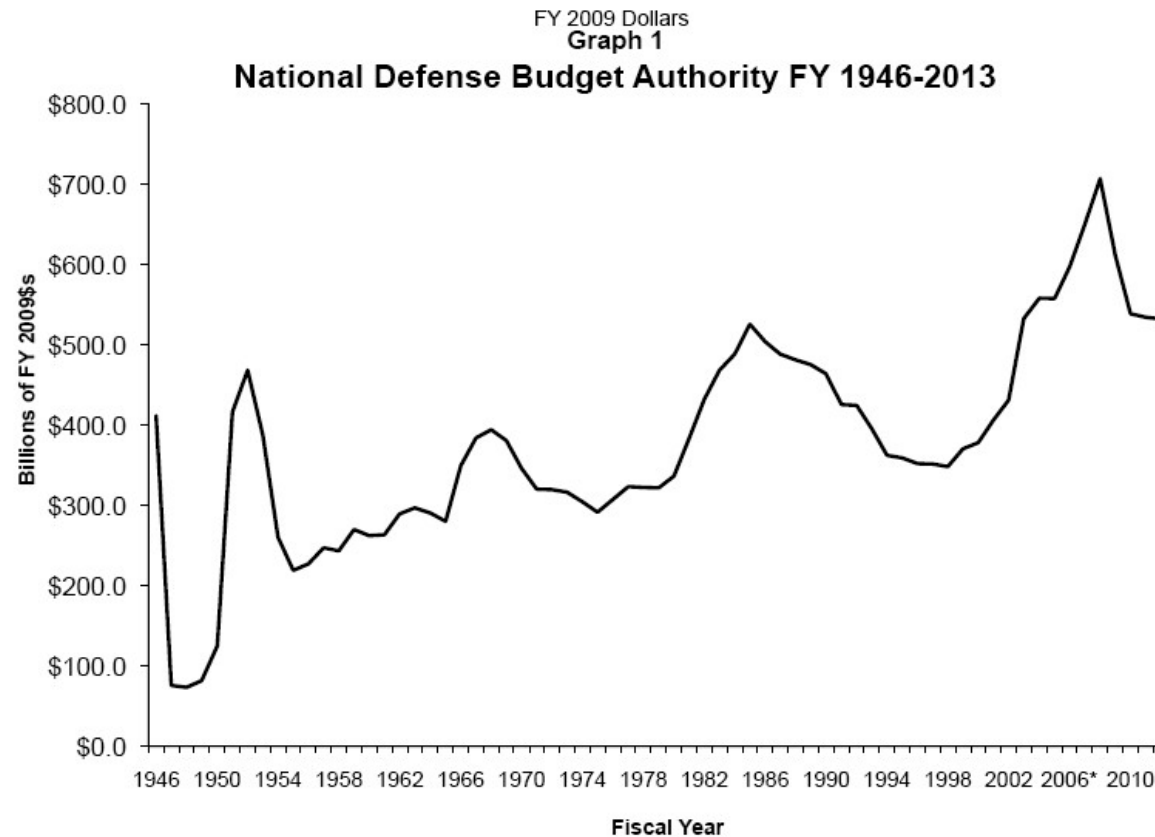
* West Bank and Gaza Strip - "territories occupied with current
status subject to the Israel - Palestinian Interim Agreement -"
permanent status to be determined through further negotiation."

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MAP EFFECTIVE 17 DECEMBER 2008

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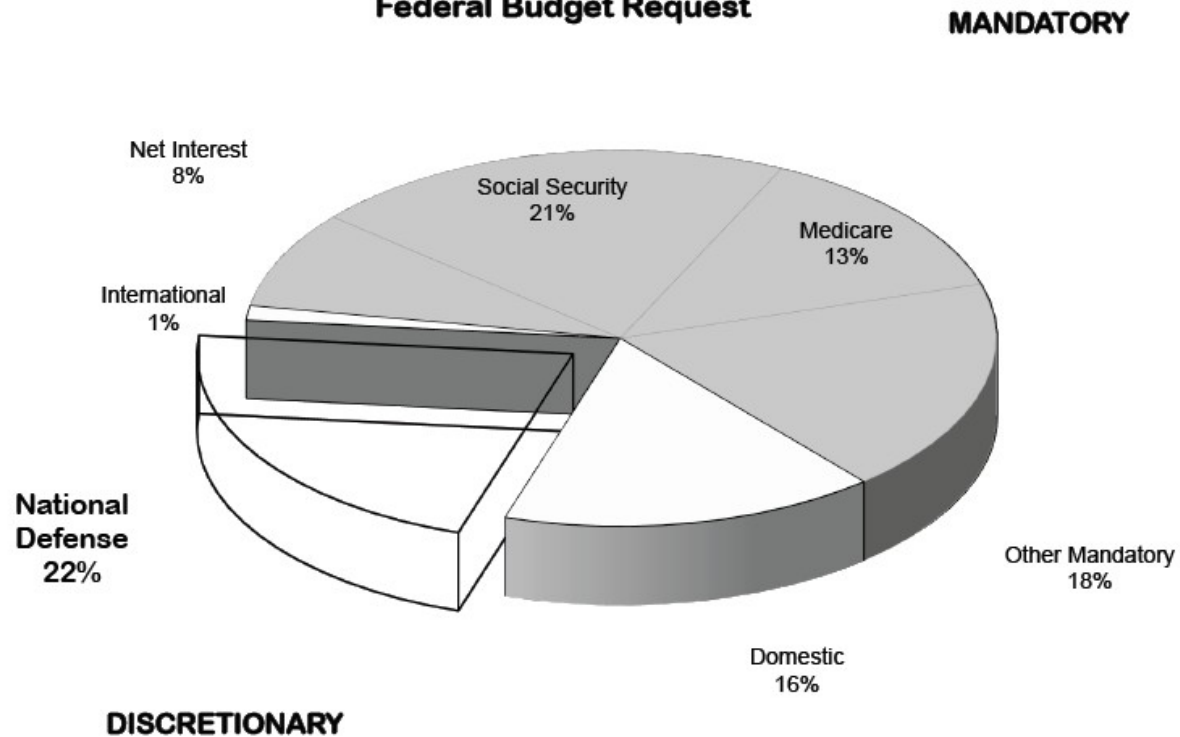
U.S. Defense Spending



Source: CSBA, March 2008. Based on OMB. Assumes Derived using GDP deflator. Congress will approve the full \$189 billion FY 2008 request for military operations (at press time, \$87 billion had been approved). Includes \$70 billion FY 2009 request for military operations.

U.S. Defense Spending

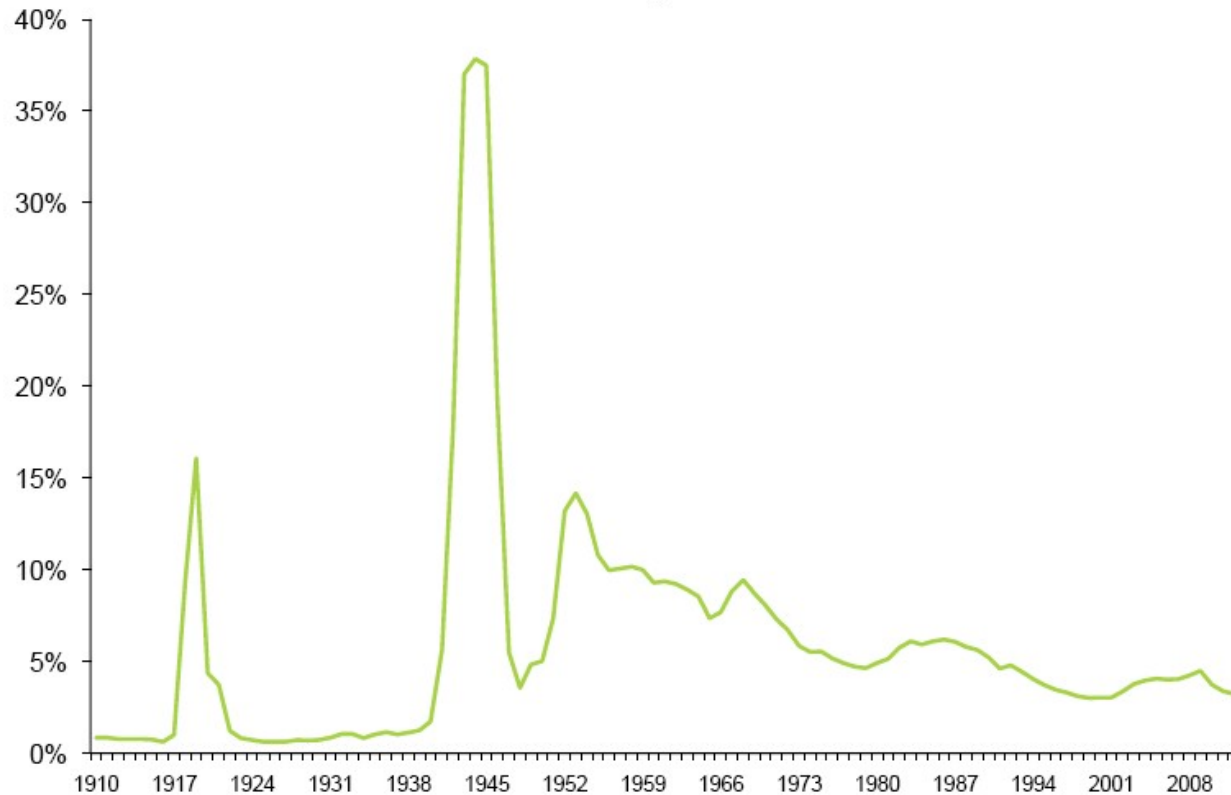
Graph 2
FY 2009
Federal Budget Request



Source: CSBA, March 2008, Based on OMB and CBO data.

U.S. Defense Spending

Graph 3
National Defense Outlays as a Share of GDP



Source: CSBA, March 2008

U.S. Intelligence Community

- Provides National Security Decision- Makers with the Information They Need to Make and Evaluate Decisions (e.g. Is the War against ISIL Working?)
- Provides Covert Action and Counter-espionage Capabilities
- \$75 billion budget
- Led by Director of National Intelligence

U.S. Intelligence Community

- Central Intelligence Agency
 - Human Intelligence (Humint), Open Source (Osint) and other forms of intel, analysis, and counter-espionage outside the United States
- Defense Intelligence Agency (Pentagon's CIA, Humint)
- National Security Agency (Code Makers and Code Breakers—the Largest Intelligence Agency By Far)
 - Communications Intelligence (Comint) and Electronic Intelligence (Elint), Cybersecurity
- FBI (Counter-espionage within the United States)
- National Reconnaissance Office (Imagery Intelligence, Imgint, aircraft or spy satellites)
- National Geospatial Agency (Map Makers and Coordinates)
- Each Service Has Intelligence Branch, and State, DHS, Energy, Treasury, Drug Enforcement Administration

Selected Costs of Primacy

- Costs (Costs of Leadership)
 - Requirement to Confront Peer Competitors like China
 - Requirement to Confront Great Powers like Russia
 - Requirement to Confront Second Order Powers: Iran and North Korea
 - Can Generate Terrorist Reaction (al Qaeda's attack on the "Far Enemy")
 - Must Stop Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction
 - Great Concern Over U.S. Credibility May Lead to Problems like Vietnam
 - Global Criticism
 - Risks of extended deterrence
 - Risks of provoking counter-balancing
 - Risks of alliances: manipulation of the U.S., and the chain gang/buck-passing problems