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The Challenges of Globalization for Nation States

At the end of this session, you should be able to understand
- President Bush’s “Grand National Security Strategy” & the Response of Democratic Presidential Candidates, guest presentation by Professor Helmut Norpoth/Political Science
- Background and History of Geopolitics
- Alternative Foreign Policy Objectives and Policies

Characteristics of Geopolitical Discourses (Tuathail 2002)
- Geopolitical discourses are championed by coalitions of powerful interest groups within dominant state and across allied states
- Supported by “iron triangle” of conservative politicians (with an exclusivist ideology), military institutions & powerful corporations/defense contractors
- Discourses monopolize definition and interpretations of “threats”, “national security” and “national interest”. Suppression of damaging knowledge, i.e. pollution by defense agencies in the name of “protection”
- Discourses use simplifications & self-generated fear (Example: communist conspiracy vs. “free” world, civilization vs evil empire/terrorists, “us” vs. “them”)

Cold War Geopolitics
- Cold War was a state of permanent national insecurity b/c of technoscientific terror of mutually assured thermonuclear destruction (MAD)
- Current WMD arsenal: 8 states possess 32,000 nukes with 40,000 megatons destructive capacity=416,000 times Hiroshima-sized bombs
- Israel (100+), India (60+) & Pakistan (25?) did not sign non-proliferation treaty
- Poor states/non-state actors favor biological and chemical weapons because they are cheaper, easier to build and hide

Cold War Relationship U.S. and Russia
- U.S. hyperpower with its military-industrial complex faced Russian demodernizing power in decline
- Russia’s disintegrating WMD infrastructure was a source of danger (proliferation, blackmail, chaos, catastrophic accidents)
- Both nuclear forces remained on hair-trigger alert status
- After the end of the Cold War the U.S. funded the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program to aid disarmament & denuclearization in Soviet Union successor states

Next World Order (Lemann 2002)
- September 11, 2001 terrorist act AND Iraq’s assumed accumulation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, biological, chemical) was occasion to launch a new,
aggressive U.S. foreign policy.

- Patriotic fervor & 9/11 rage reduced the public’s resistance for U.S. military involvement overseas & increased “tolerance” to accept 30,000 dead U.S. soldiers in an Iraq war, according to prewar polls.
- In 2002 conservative strategists of President Georg Bush Sr. continued under his son G.W. Bush what they thought of as Clinton’s unfinished business => i.e., building the foundations of a global imperial U.S. foreign and military policy

Strategy goes back to "Defense Strategy for the 1990s" commissioned in 1993 by then Defense Secretary Cheney. Involved were Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Perle, Powell, Rice, Libby, Haass, Edelman and others who are now in high ranking government positions. Other hawkish regional “experts” on Middle East region are Pollack, B. Lewis, F. Ajami, Ch.Hill, RM Gerecht. Their goal is the development & maintenance of U.S. “one-power” status => U.S. should prevent any other nation or alliance becoming a great power for the indefinite future-if necessary by force. Go-it-alone strategy b/c of scepticism about equal partnerships and lack of trust in friends & alliances

“Pax Americana” Strategy

- U.S. Hegemony—"Law of Strongest" – NOT Internatl. Law/Multilateralism
- Unilateralism—with UN & allies ONLY if in U.S. national interest
- “National” U.S. interest/security supersedes international treaties, international law, global interests…
- Power politics (Divide & Rule)
- No other superpower except U.S.—no competition
- Changing alliances with satellite states depending on U.S. needs
- Pre-emptive wars, U.S. military=>cavalry on the new American frontier
- Control of trade routes and world resources (oil)
- US controls WMD of other nations or keeps them at bay with “missile shield”

New Global Strategy “Project for the New American Century”

- Steps taken toward unilateral U.S. hegemony
  - 1999: Non-ratification of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
  - 2001: Non-signature of Kyoto “Global Warming” Treaty
  - 2001: Non-signature of Biological & Chemical Weapons & Anti-Landmine Treaties
  - 2002: Unilateral abrogation of Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and building of a National Missiles Defense system
  - 2002: Non-signature of International Criminal Court membership
  - 2002: New U.S. posture to use nuclear weapons in first-strike and for tactical purposes
  - 2002: Use of torture, assassination, detention without trial (“Patriot Act”)
  - 2002: Advocacy of limits of sovereignty for other nations except U.S. Paradigm of global “regime change” (=replacing governments by force; redrawing of regional maps, pre-emptive military strikes in “self-defense”)
  - 2003: Alliance with countries who oppose terrorism & WMD’s and support free trade, market, and democracy. Those not for us are against us ➔ “axis of evil”
  - 2003: UN resolutions/vetoes are ignored – international law in many instances
considered irrelevant for U.S. foreign and domestic policy

Geopolitical Alternatives
- **Traditional geopolitics** => great power politics, “us versus them” thinking
- **Critical geopolitics**
  - challenges state-centrism, chauvinism & Darwinism of definition of “national interest & security”
  - articulates perspectives of peace movements, human rights activists, environmental orgs

A Roadmap for an Alternative Global Strategy?
- Partnership & Alliances
- Multilateralism
- Globally Binding Treaties
- Universal Human Rights as Yardstick
- Fair Trade
- Democracy
- United Nations

Alternative collective common security system (Tuathail 2002)
- Mutual security systems on global level
- International regulatory accords and agreements beyond state-centric and territorial view (“homeland security”, “national security state”)
- Support of sustainable future initiatives on all levels
- Critical assessment of technological solutions instead of faith in technology as salvation
- Critical assessment of belief in unilateral national security & protection against global threats & risks

Questions and Tasks for Class Discussion
- Has the world become a more or less dangerous place after the end of the Cold War?
- What principles should guide U.S. foreign policy? Why or why not?
- Does the U.S. need allies and alliances?