

Chapter 3 – The Cold War
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- 3 the cold war was a ideological, geopolitical, military and international rivalry between 2 superpowers
- 4 decolonization had greatly increased the number of states in the world, human rights had gained in popularity, global economy grew

- 5 themes that persisted until the collapse of the soviet union:
 - 6 a cyclical pattern of confrontation and cooperation**
→ cold war characterized by periods of high tension and crisis between superpowers
 - 7 nuclear stalemate**
→ each superpower was vulnerable to complete destruction by nuclear arsenal
 - 8 development of informal rules and mutual understanding**
→ superpowers established formal and informal understandings and agreements that guided relations between them
 - 9 political pragmatism vs ideological rhetoric**
→ both superpowers sacrificed the principles of their ideologies if geopolitical considerations demanded it
 - 10 superpower involvement in regional wars**
→ avoided direct warfare but both superpowers used or supported allies directed against their opponent (proxy wars)

- 11 most countries joined NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) which bound its members to come to the assistance of any member attacked
- 12 WTO (Warsaw Treaty Organization) or the Warsaw Pact, joined countries of Eastern Europe with Soviet Union in an alliance against NATO

Origins of Bipolar Era

- 13 relations between the East and the West deteriorated to open hostility and rivalry and paralyzed the security council (principal organ for conflict resolution in the UN)

Ideological Dimension

- 14 particularly in the Cold War the USSR was considered an expansionist power
- 15 Marxist-leninist ideology was a guide to Soviet actions, outlined the plans and world view of Soviet leadership
- 16 Many argued the foreign policy of Soviet Union was defensive, concerned primarily with preserving and protecting Soviet state
- 17 Ideology wasn't a guide to Soviet policy
- 18 Competition between 2 systems manifested in extreme nationalism in both countries seen in sports, science achievement, space travel

Geopolitical Dimension

- 19 in the West, Soviet Union was perceived as a security threat
- 20 Soviet Union had geopolitical advantage of the interior lines of transport and was poised to expand anywhere along a wide perimeter
- 21 The Middle East was a security concern because of the fear that this region could

have an influence in the Islamic republics of the Soviet Union

Strategic Dimension

- 22 time, money, and effort was devoted to the maintenance of these military forces and their training, equipment modernization and deployment around the world
- 23 character of Cold war was defined by nuclear weapons and nuclear arms race between US and Soviet Union
- 24 nuclear weapons were useful only for preventing their use by others, they were instruments of mutual deterrence, not fighting
- 25 deterrence is a policy of preventing or discouraging an action by confronting an opponent with risks they are unwilling to take
- 26 2 types of deterrence strategies are:

Deterrence by denial

- 27 will not start a war because its convinced it cannot achieve its objectives

Deterrence by punishment

- 28 will not start a war because of the threat that it will receive unacceptable damage in return (such as with nuclear weapons)
- 29 mutual assured destruction (MAD) was if both superpowers could destroy the other in war, neither would start such a war knowing the consequences

International Dimension

- 30 postwar US attitudes towards Soviet Union were decisively influenced by George Kennan (junior official in the US embassy), he argued that USSR regarded the US as its foremost opponent and as long as US remained strong Soviet power could not be secure
- 31 US president Harry Truman came up with the *Truman Doctrine* which was the containment of the power of the soviet union, to prevent the spread of communist ideology around the world
- 32 US launched *Marshall Plan*, a program of US financial assistance to rebuild the economies of Western Europe
- 33 Soviet Union tried to gain full control of Berlin and then East Germany built the Berlin Wall separating East and West Berlin and preventing people from Berlin from communicating or traveling across
- 34 1950 Korean War broke out when communist north Korea attacked south Korea and US with allies sent forces to south Korea
- 35 European states resented Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal , Suez Canal crisis signaled the end of European dominance in world affairs, the beginning of superpower management and introduction of modern peacekeeping
- 36 Cuban Missile crisis was precipitated by the construction of missile launch sites in Cuba, these were detected by US and John F Kennedy imposed a blockade of Cuba to prevent the landing of the missiles
- 37 USSR agreed not to station missiles in Cuba in return for a US promise not to invade the island, superpowers established closer ties
- 38 Vietnam war divided American public and compelled Nixon administration to seek an end to war
- 39 Superpowers reached new agreements such as SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) that limited the size of the superpowers nuclear arsenals

Foreign Policy Decision Making

40 foreign policy is public policy of a state implemented in the environment external to the state

as well as the concrete steps that officials of a state take with respect to events and situations abroad

external environment

-broader setting in which the decision must be made

Internal environment

41 domestic setting in which the decision must be made

perceptions of decision makers

42 see the world and the actors in it as a key determinate of actor behavior

time constraints

- amount of time the decision makers have to reach a decision is crucial

Cold War – Chapter 3

The Rational Actor Model

Rational Actor Model of Decision Making: Decisions are regarded as the product of a largely unified and purposeful process based on considerations of available alternatives, based on seeking the best option.

- decisions are the result of a rational process of choice designed to maximize the outcome

- realist perspective dominated discourse on international relations during cold war
- **EXAMPLE**: *1. Recognize and identify the problem: first step in any rational decision making process*
 - 2. Establish objectives and aims: consideration of goals and issue at stake.*
 - 3. Establish options: possible alternative decisions must be formulated and considered in context.*
 - 4. Select an option: the best option available will be selected.*
- decision making doesn't usually exist as straight forward
 - reality: decision making is impeded, constrained and bound to many different factors
 - information may be inaccurate or incomplete
 - ability of individuals to process information varies
 - time constraints (choices under pressure with out deliberation)
- decisions based on **satisficing**

Satisficing: Decision makers examine alternatives until a choice meets their minimum standards of acceptability.

- do not proceed to examine other options even though they may be better
- Seldomly make risky decisions
 - Decide on those that have fewer prospects and fewer risks in return
- rational decision making model is ideal
- liberal democracies contain 2 variables :

1. Interest groups

- individuals who share common perspective and goals on issues

- seek to influence decision on issue
 - societal interests must be accommodated
 - influence of groups varies considerably
 - interest groups : political parties, professional associations, business coalitions, labor unions, churches, senior citizens, veterans and activists groups
 - 2 levels of activities
 - *Lobbying*
 - Representatives from interest group meet with decision makers to influence decision on issue
 - Rewards offered (bribes, illicit favors)
 - take case to the public > influence attitudes
 - decision makers faced with larger public pressure
 - *Public awareness campaign*
 - Protest rally's, marches, seminars, written or electronic documents
 - EXAMPLE: non-governmental group raised awareness about landmines over the internet. (government of states to respond.)
- interest groups = counter productive, threat to reasoned decision making

2. *Public opinion*

- general reference to attitudes of people in a society

- important in democratic, not authoritarian system

- government > to win support hold information and/or propaganda campaigns
 - explain or justify actions
 - present blatant distortions, falsification
- polls
- governments go on foreign policy ventures > win popularity or distract public from domestic problems
- public opinion rarely monolithic
 - public opinion can send mixed or contradictory signals to government decision makers
 - does not have same level of influence on foreign affairs as domestic issues

Bureaucratic Politics Model

- BPM suggests that there is no rational consideration in decision making
 - Rather, competition among bureaucratic units with divergent perspectives
 - government dependant on foreign policy bureaucracies.
 - Bureaucratic units engaged in the decision making
- assumption of the BPM is that bureaucracies hold different interests than decision makers
- individuals in the foreign affairs department have different views on how the

- government should act, then the financial department
- *organization process model*
 - not rational process or competition but constraints on decision makers imposed by bureaucratic organizers
 - constraints come in the form of standard operating procedures (SOP's)
 - SOP's reflect what an organization is equipped or prepared to do
 - Limit the choices to the decision maker

The Individual, the Group, the Role of Perception

- perception plays crucial role in decision making process
 - impact on 2 levels:
 - **Individuals**
 - All decision makers have had unique life experiences, beliefs, prejudices and fear that would influence their decisions
 - Content analysis > analyze personal history
 - **Group**
 - Dynamics that take place within decision making teams, foreign policy groups.
 - Can influence decision making
 - Systematic and rigorous approach
 - promotes rationality by deliberation/debate
 - dynamics interfere with rationality
 - shared mindset
 - **Groupthink**
 - group has own culture, value system
 - models can be used to provide alternative explanations of why decisions were made

Playing the Games

- study decisions > game theory
 - derived from rational choice model
- branch of math, modeling behavior, outcomes under certain prescribed conditions
- two or more actors produced with a set of policy choices
- exception utility (gain), influenced by decisions of others
- game theory attempts to predict the outcome of the games
- each actor is provided with a set of payoffs
- some games are zero-sum
 - loss of one actor is considered gain by the other
 - possible loss or gain by both actors
- game theory implied by some scholars into relations to model behavior of states
- models with rationality, utility maximization employed by realists
- actors do not co-operate because there is no basis for trust
- Prisoners Dilemma – game (realists)

- 2 prisoners
- no communication
- require confession to get murder conviction
- on evidence is enough for possession of weapon charge
- care about self-interest
- in international relations this game demonstrates how countries find themselves in an arms race
 - expend vast sums of money and come up no more secure than they were before
- neither country can trust the other by not arming itself
- both countries arm even if it would be better to avoid arms race all together
- game2 – chicken
 - used in international relations when countries are on a collision course for war
- study of decision making became popular during cold war
 - decisions made in moscow and washington were so significant for international system
 - remains important today

End of the Cold War: Power Politics Descendant

- super power confrontation, regional wars, nuclear arms race
 - ammunition to realists
- significant trends begin to take shape during cold war
- development of increasing independent world economy, growth of international institution and organizations, raised concern for the environment, raised international communication and travel, separation between rich and poor
- end of cold war removed shadow of super power rivalry
- few international events as dramatic as end of cold war
- 1989-1991 = changed the face of global politics
 - revolution against communism
 - reunification of germany
 - fall of soviet union
- cold war ended not with hegemonic war but disintegration of one of the two poles of power
- s1985 – michael gorbachev > problems enormous
 - economy was poor
 - coal and oil more difficult to extract
- workforce suffered poor morale
 - strikes and demonstrations
- infant morality and lowered life expectancies
- food rationing
- gorbachev solution
 - openness: broaden acceptable political discussion
 - restructuring: reorganize old economic system
 - democratization: increase involvement of people in political process

- hoped to revitalize economy while communist party remained in power
- reforms fundamentally altered nature of political power in U.S.S.R
 - not a revolutionary, but a reformer – gorbachev
- required good relations with west and western aid to be able to divert military spending money to soviet economy
 - did not yield desired effects
 - living conditions began to fall
- attempt to reorganize the economy dismantled it > economic decline
- in U.S.S.R some wanted to slow reform and completely remove the old system
 - gorbachev in between
- berlin wall opened in 1989, nov 7 > the last gasp of the soviet union
- germany divided during cold war > reunified october 3 1990
- warsaw pact dissolved
- germany + eastern europe struggle with economic reform, 40 years of communist rule ended
- treaty to be signed aug 20 1991 – weakened power of center
 - aug 19 – coup attempt was mounted and power taken by 8 person council
 - based on 3 overlapping groups: state bureaucracy, military and industrial interest, security forces
- coup failed > military did not support it
- ukraine vote for independence december 1 1991
 - other republics followed
- commonwealth of independent states
 - framework for the former republics
- december 1991 soviet flag was taken down from moscow, soviet union had disintegrated and the cold war was over

Pondering the end of the Cold War

- ½ century cold war defined global politics
- everything deemed newsworthy was directly or indirectly related to cold war
- cold war had effected domestic politics
- fear of communism in democratic societies