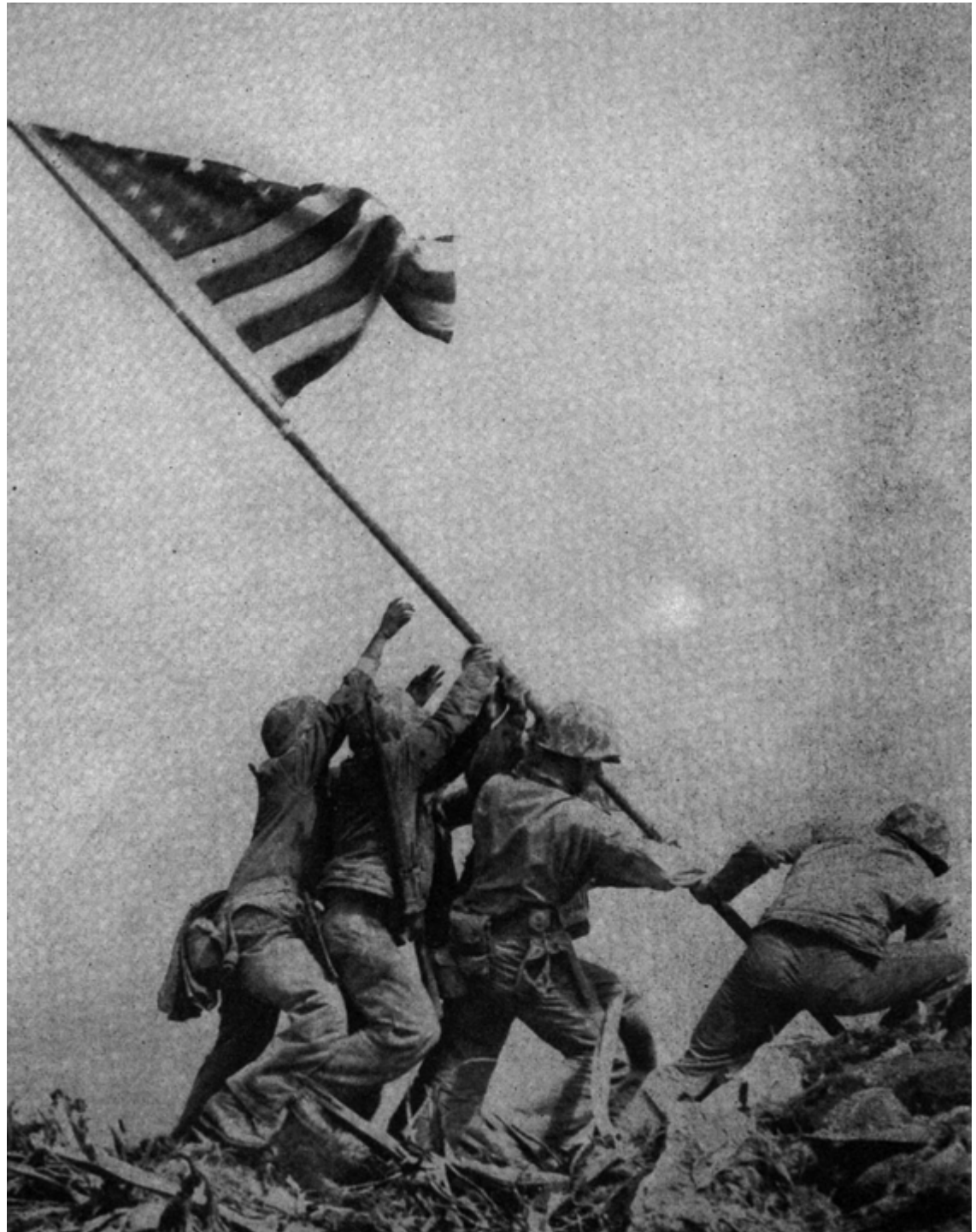


The 'Cold War':

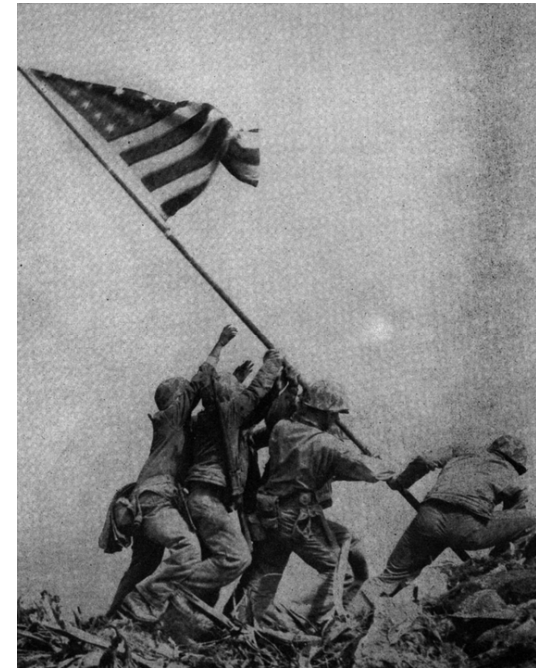
Warfare State
Welfare State
Empire State
Market State

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- *Who are these people?*
- *Where are they?*
- *What are they doing?*
- *How?*
- *Why?*

- Americans defeat Japan, why not Vietnam?
- WW2 Last substantial war won by USA
- Why is 'World's Strongest Military Power' / 'best & brightest' repeatedly frustrated in war?
 - Level of individual motivation.
 - Excess individualism?
 - Nationalism stronger motivator than imperialism
 - Unlike adversaries, not defending existence
 - 'Mode of production'—military technology and doctrines.
 - Economic power converts poorly to **effective** military power.
 - Reflect USA endowments
 - Inferior to adversaries
 - Unfit for purpose? [what is purpose?]



USA Heritage of war:

- Wars of Independence
- Civil War
- Indian Wars
- Colonial Wars: Mexico, Cuba, Philippines
- WW1, WW2, Korea, Vietnam

Outline of session

- Imperial commitments and challenges
 - United States external military posture
 - Constraints on converting economic to military power
- American peacetime war economy.
 - What for?
 - How well?
- What was impact on welfare agendas and norms?
- Thinly researched. Opportunity

Uses of power: Cold War

- USA dominant economic, financial, military power.
- What is power for?
- Containment of powerful adversary: Assumptions.
 - Existential threat? Annihilation potential. Serious.
 - USSR expansionary revolutionary power
 - Threat to Liberal economic order/corporate interests/regional hegemonies?
 - Strategy of containment rather than accommodation. Short of both war and peace.
 - Norm of ‘toughness’? [electoral advantage]
 - Means: Hard power, subversion [local allies], soft power,
- Mercantilism.
- Free trade.
- Universalist values (individualism, freedom, democracy, etc.)
- Emotional payoff – retribution for repeated frustration & humiliation₄

Defence as a public good

- Legitimate role for the state
- Psychic payoffs:
 - ‘Warm glow’ motivation:
 - Nationalism
 - Focus for communitarian cohesion
 - Self: identity, belonging, and pride
 - ‘Cold glare’: defeat generates fear, loathing, insecurity: Vietnam.
- External threat/domestic agendas:
 - ‘Fear and loathing’ – anti-communism as threat to ‘middletown values’/business hegemony
 - But war gives rise to Entitlement/ obligation/integration.
 - Veterans benefits – roots of American welfare state. [Skocpol]
 - ‘Moral Equivalent of War’ [W. James, against war...; Carter energy policy]
- Diversion strategy: from domestic to overseas threats. Achieve domestic unity against external threat.

Reality or Denial?

The aide said that guys like me were "in what we call the reality-based community," which he defined as people who "believe that solutions emerge from your judicious study of discernible reality." I nodded and murmured something about enlightenment principles and empiricism. He cut me off. "That's not the way the world really works anymore," he continued. "We're an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality. And while you're studying that reality -- judiciously, as you will -- we'll act again, creating other new realities, which you can study too, and that's how things will sort out. We're history's actors . . . and you, all of you, will be left to just study what we do." [Suskind, NYT, 17 Oct. 2004]

- What is the point of denial?

Greene, *The Quiet American* (1955)

'I would like you to meet a friend of mine. He has a story you should listen to.'

'Yes.'

'I have his name written down because I know you find it difficult to remember Chinese names. We must not use it, of course. He has a warehouse on the Quai Mytho for junk metal.'

'Important?'

'It might be.'

..... He said, 'How much do you know of your friend Pyle?'

'Not very much. Our tracks cross, that's all. I haven't seen him since Tanyin.'

'What job does he do?'

'Economic Mission, but that covers a multitude of sins.'

I think he's interested in **home-industries**—I suppose with an American business tie-up. I don't like the way they keep the French fighting and cut out their business at the same time.'

'I heard him talking the other day at a party the Legation was giving to **visiting Congressmen**. They had put him on to brief them.'

'**God help Congress**,' I said, 'he hasn't been in the country six months.'

'He was talking about the old colonial powers—England and France, and how you two couldn't expect to win the confidence of the Asiatics. **That was where America came in now with clean hands.**'

'Hawaii, Puerto Rico,' I said, 'New Mexico.'

'Then someone asked him some stock question about the chances of the Government here ever beating the Vietminh and he said a Third Force could do it. **There was always a Third Force to be found free from Communism and the taint of colonialism—national democracy he called it; you only had to find a leader and keep him safe from the old colonial powers.**'

'It's all in **York Harding**,' I said. 'He had read it before he came out here. He talked about it his first week and he's learned nothing.'

What is is hard power?



- American comparative advantage
 - Capital/knowledge
 - Labour-saving
 - Risk averse
- High explosive
 - Nuclear. [‘the singularity’]
 - Conventional [quantitative]
- Remote delivery:
 - Bombers
 - ‘Strategic’
 - ‘Tactical’
 - Missiles
 - Aircraft carriers
 - Submarines
 - ‘precision’
- Theatre superiority:
 - Armour
 - Fighters
- American hard power: Hardware + civilian drafted manpower [coerced labour]

Guns vs. butter?

Macroeconomic share of military expenditures, USA 1949-1989

(Higgs, 1994)

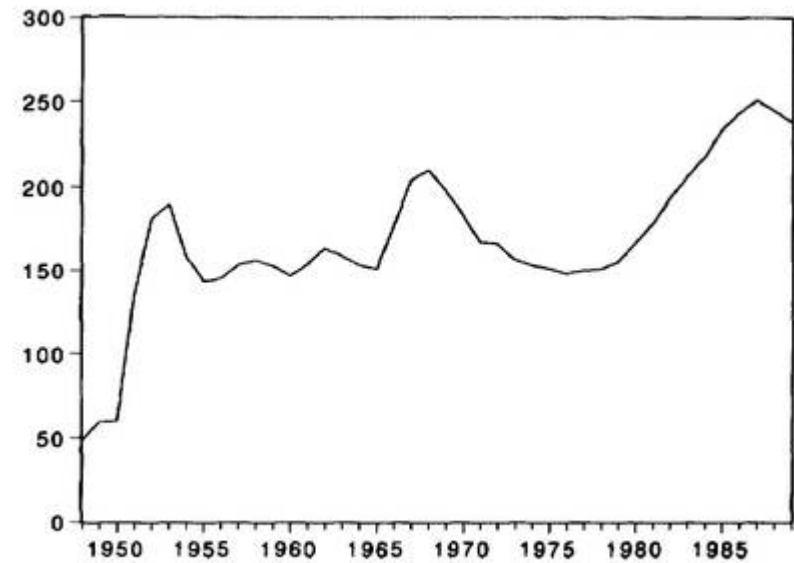


FIG. 1. Real military outlays (billions of 1982 dollars), 1948-1989.

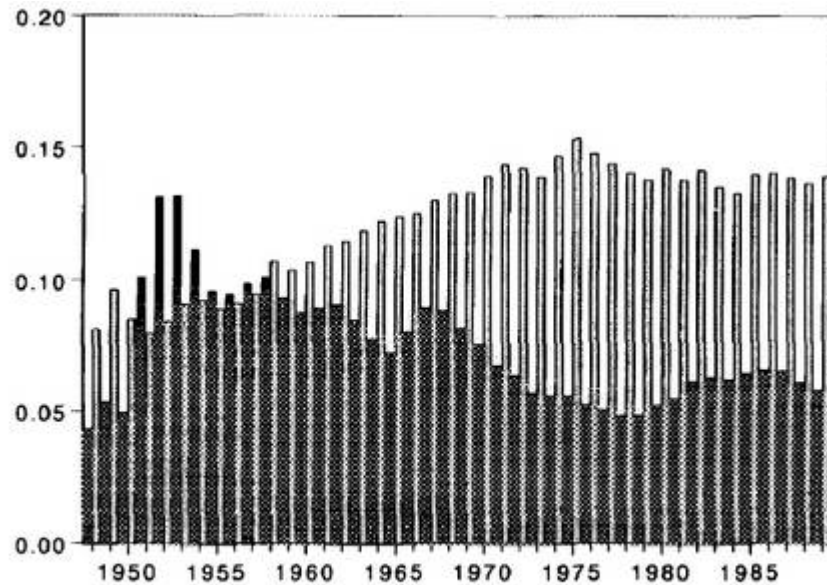


FIG. 2. Government military (dark bars) and nonmilitary (light bars) shares of GNP, 1948-1989.

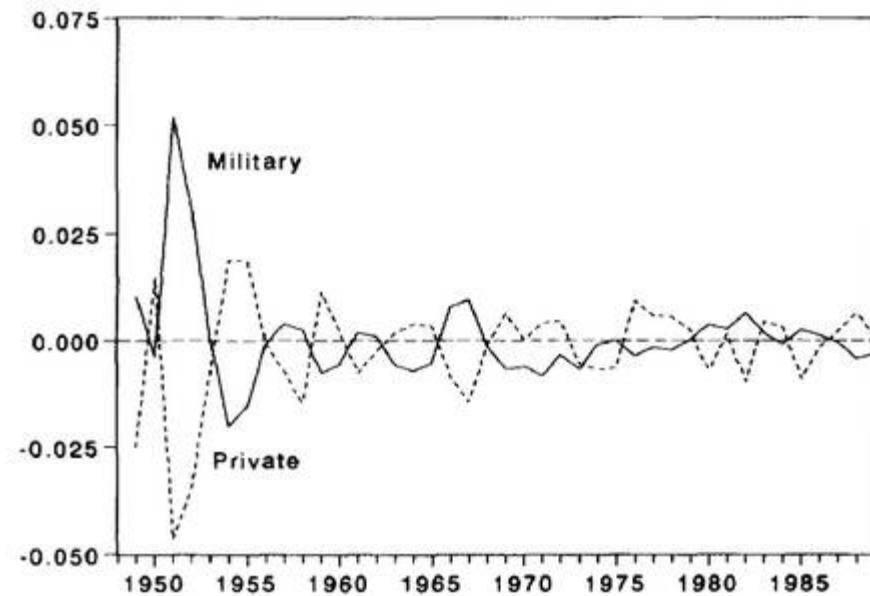
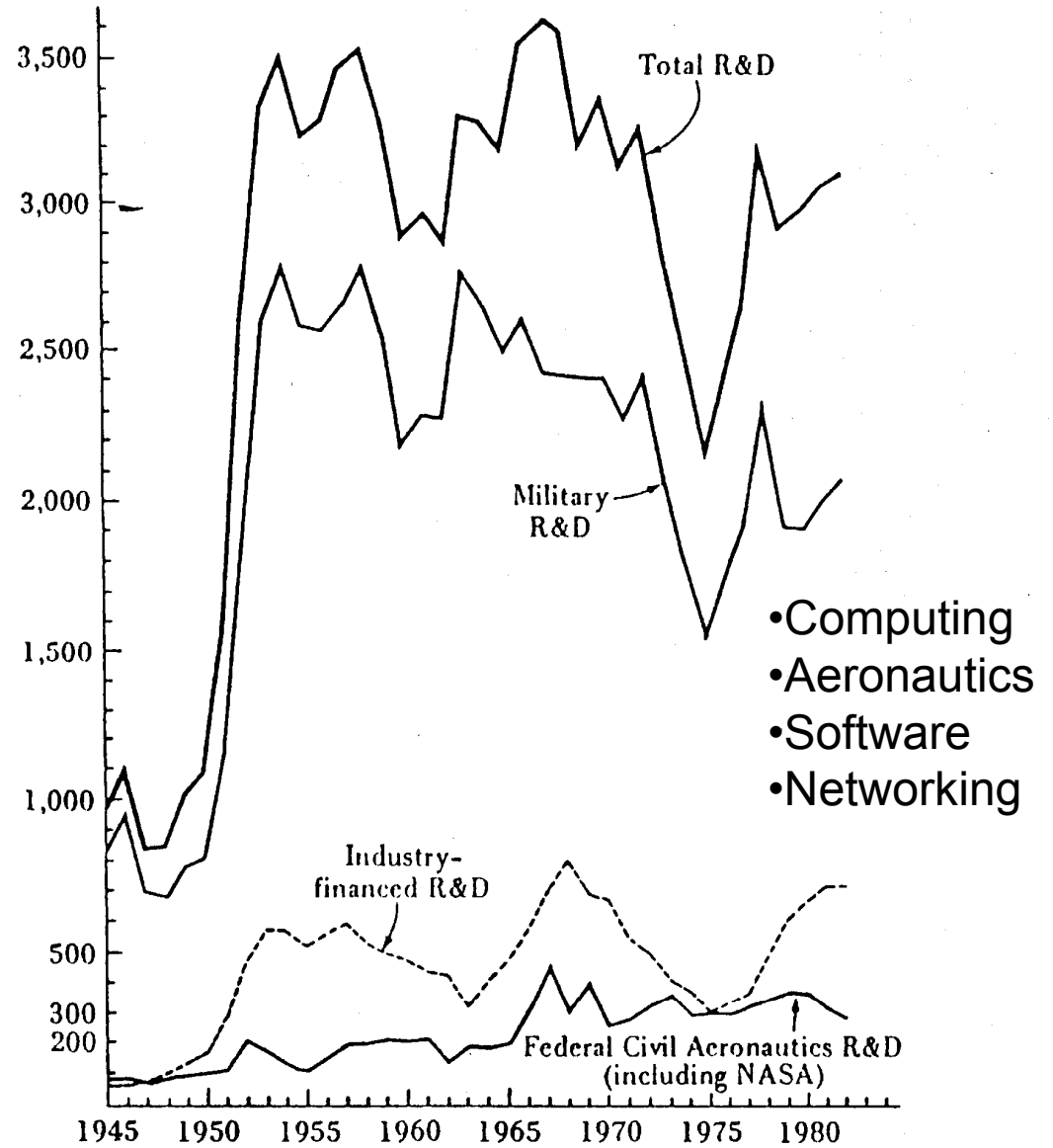
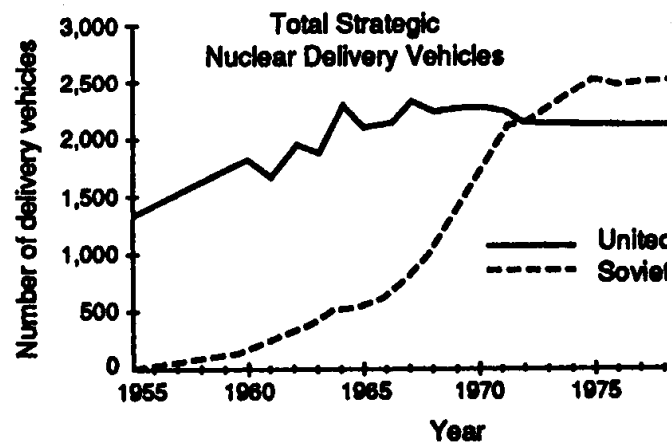
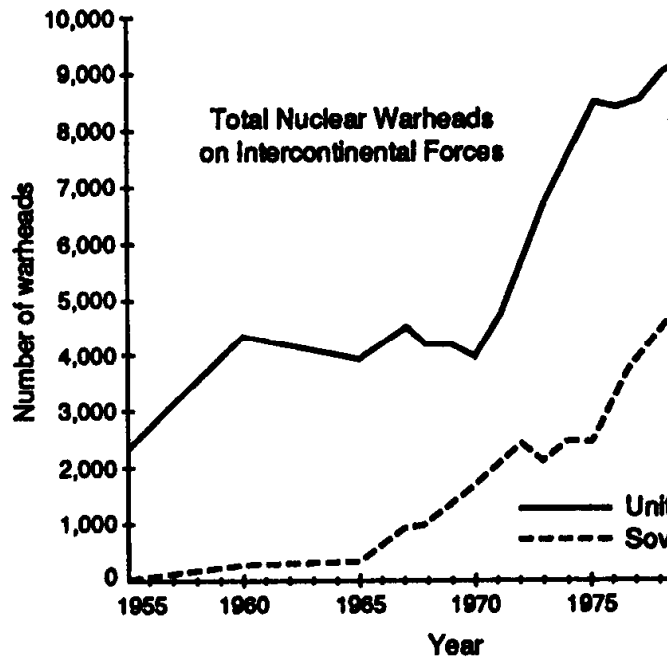


FIG. 3. Change of military and private shares of GNP, 1949-1989.

Welfare impact of warfare state

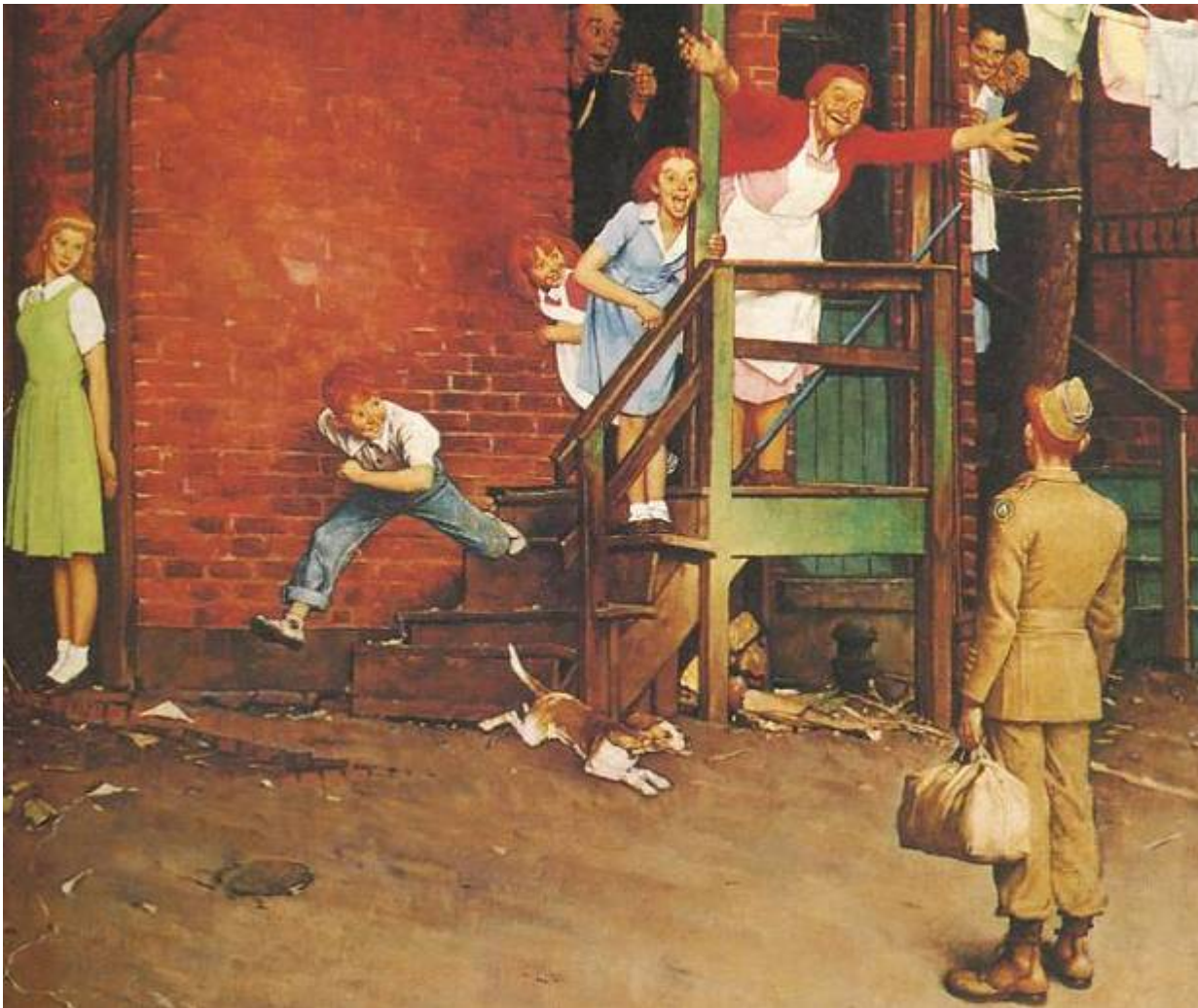
- Military participation ratio [Andreski]
- GI Bill
- Establishment of large state. High taxation.
- Vested Interests: ‘military-industrial complex’
 - Defence industries
 - Knowledge industries: Science, Technology, Academia
 - Armed services
 - ‘Strategic’ establishments: secret services, think tanks
 - Opponents of social democracy
- Psychic economics: Communitarian ‘warm-glow’/nationalism/ status enhancement/sense of security-insecurity. Fear/pride/humiliation.
- Costs: Guns vs. butter
 - Sacrifice of discretionary consumption.
 - Redistribution [?]

FIGURE 3.3
 United States-Soviet Union Nuclear Balance **Overkill?** *The postwar system, 1940-1987*



SOURCE: The Harvard Nuclear Study Group, *Living with Nuclear War* (Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 74-75. Nye, 1990

Figure 7.1. Annual R&D investment, 1945-82 (1972 dollars, in millions). Source: See Appendix, Chapter 7. Mowery & Rosenberg, 1989



‘Homecoming GI’
(1946)

Norman Rockwell

Dilemma of Individualist Liberal state: Why should citizen risk his life for sake of ‘society’?

[*Catch-22*: You can only be released on grounds of insanity – but if you want to withdraw, that means you are sane]

Limitations of hard power

Designed to deliver remote destruction

Can deter and contain similar challenge. Fend off, deter power with similar technologies.

- a) Armour.
- b) Infantry.
- c) Atomic weapons.

But military ‘victory’ against symmetrical adversary not available

Attraction of ‘sideshows’ – victory possible.
‘Tactical’ gains.

Less effective against irregulars with small arms

- Why?
 - 1. Do not present large target. Effectively resistant to high explosive.
 - 2. To overcome them, necessary to use same weapons, get close, take a risk.
 - 3. Asymmetry of issues at stake.
 - a) Not an existential issue for Americans. Not worth:
 - 1) Sacrificing standard of living.
 - 2) Submitting to rigours of infantry combat.
 - 3) Getting killed
 - b) Existential issue for adversaries.
 - c) American firepower not a match for nationalist peasants.
- ‘Sideshow’ strategic challenges:
 - Enforcement: requires
 - Consent
 - Presence on the ground
- Fundamental weakness of draft system.
- Asymmetric firepower. Ferocity of sideshows.



Countervailing forces



- Withholding consent
 - Rejection of universalist narrative
 - Nationalism [China, Vietnam, Central America, Cuba, Iraq]
 - Communism//socialism [Cuba, China, USSR]
 - Religion [Iran, Afghanistan]
- Tactics: Guerilla, Insurgency, Terror
 - Small arms: AK-47, mortars, machine-guns, mines, rocket launchers, IED (improvised explosive device)
 - Do not present a big enough a target for American 'hard power'
 - Resistant to 'theatre superiority' weapons.
 - Effective coercers.
 - An existential threat?



Tactics are the strategic problem



Sideshow Scorecard

What are the consequences of success or failure? What was at stake?

- **Successful**

- Iran
- Malaya [British]
- Guatemala
- Chile
- Philippines
- Indonesia
- S. Korea?
- Taiwan
- Congo?
- Nicaragua/Central America
- ?Israel
- Afghanistan (1, 2)
- Gulf War (1)

- **Unsuccessful**

- Czechoslovakia (1)
- China
- ?Korea
- Palestine, Aden, Cyprus [British]
- Hungary
- Angola/Mozambique
- Lebanon
- Cuba [bay of pigs]
- Vietnam
- ? S. Africa
- Somalia
- Afghanistan (3)
- Iraq (2)
- Iran (2)?

Vietnam

- Denial of reality: ‘Who lost China?’, Korean humiliation, McCarthy, ‘tough on communism’, Bay of Pigs.
- MacNamara – stress on efficiency, but efficiency not the scarce resource.
- Threat/Leadership lose credibility
- Habituation to ‘threat’. Nixon in China.
- Cost not worth paying
- Undermines ‘warm glow’ patriotic cohesion. Disables draft.
- Social split: Coastal individualist liberals, heartland/Southern communitarians.
- Same lineup as over civil rights
- ‘Stab in the back’ myth
- Splits ‘New Deal’ coalition.
- Psychic cost: a dose of humiliation, defiance

Discrediting of warfare state?

- **Inflation. End of ‘golden age’**
- **Crisis of fiscal/monetary order. End of Bretton Woods, floating of dollar.**
- **Fiscal retrenchment. Tax revolts.**
- **‘Privatisation of war’**
 - Professionalisation of military forces
 - Attract under-educated
 - Outsourcing military services
 - Black social integration thru military
 - ‘Solves’ motivation problem
 - Doesn’t solve strategic problem.
 - Risk of dependence on ‘contractors’ – ceding state monopoly on violence

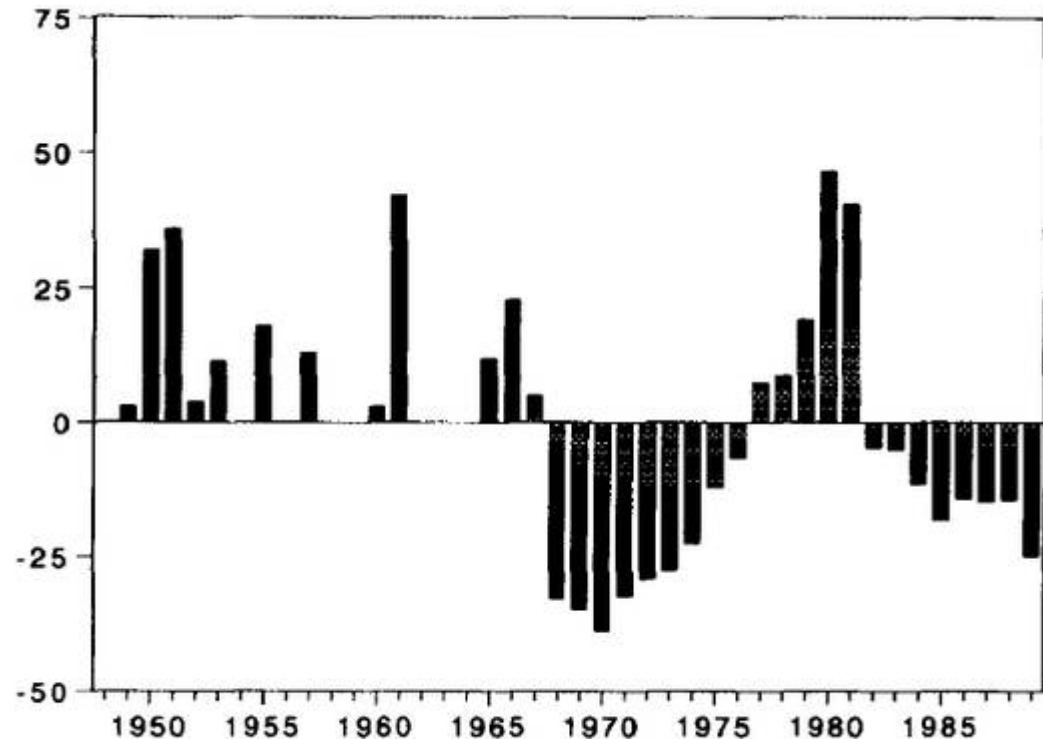


FIG. 6. Public opinion balance on defense spending, 1949–1989.

Higgs, 1994

1989: ‘End of History’ or ‘imperial overstretch?’

- Victory of ‘soft power’? Could have worked earlier? Was Cold War necessary?
- Crisis of welfare state coincides with crisis of American power.
- Reagan rearmament: Guns as alternative to welfare.
- Little ‘peace dividend’. Imperial overstretch?
- What is role of hard power after the end of the Cold War?
- Continued standoff
- ‘Threat’ as an asset?
- Legitimizes/reinforces anti-welfare coalition.
- Iraq&Afghanistan – re-run of Vietnam.
- Failure to learn? Or is warfare state functional?