



# Coercive Diplomacy

- Deterrence
- Intervention
- Sanctions





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  - The threat or use of force to achieve diplomatic goals.





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- Deterrence
  - A form of coercive diplomacy
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- Military Intervention
  - Overt or covert use of military forces across borders
- Sanctions
  - Punitive actions to retaliate for previous behavior





# Deterrence

- Conventional deterrence
  - Threaten retaliation with conventional weapons
  - "Conventional" means nonnuclear weapons





# Deterrence

- Conventional deterrence
  - Threaten retaliation with conventional weapons
  - "Conventional" means nonnuclear weapons
- Nuclear deterrence
  - Threaten retaliation with nuclear weapons





# Deterrence

- Deterrence theory:
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# Deterrence

- Deterrence theory:
  - Capability: makes threat of retaliation plausible
  - Credibility: belief that an actor is willing to carry through with retaliation
  - Communication: sending message of threat and willingness to carry it out
- Implication: It is more difficult to deter conventional weapons than nuclear weapons
  - "Pax atomica"





# Nuclear Deterrence

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# Nuclear Deterrence

- Compellence, 1945-1962
  - "Compellence": when U.S. was dominant nuclear power
  - Policy of Massive Retaliation
    - Brinkmanship: John Foster Dulles threatened adversaries with nuclear war
    - Countervalue targeting: Soviet industry and population (as opposed to counterforce targeting of weapons)
  - Cuban Missile Crisis





# Nuclear Deterrence

- Compellence, 1945-1962
- Mutual Deterrence, 1962-1983
  - Requires second-strike capability
  - MAD: mutually assured destruction
  - Nuclear utilization theory (NUTs): advocated by some Americans; nuclear weapons could be used in a war





# Nuclear Deterrence

- Compellence, 1945-1962
- Mutual Deterrence, 1962-1983
- From Offense to Defense, 1983-1991
  - Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars")
  - Survives as "National Missile Defense"
  - Original questions continue...
    - Can it work?
    - Will it contribute to stability?



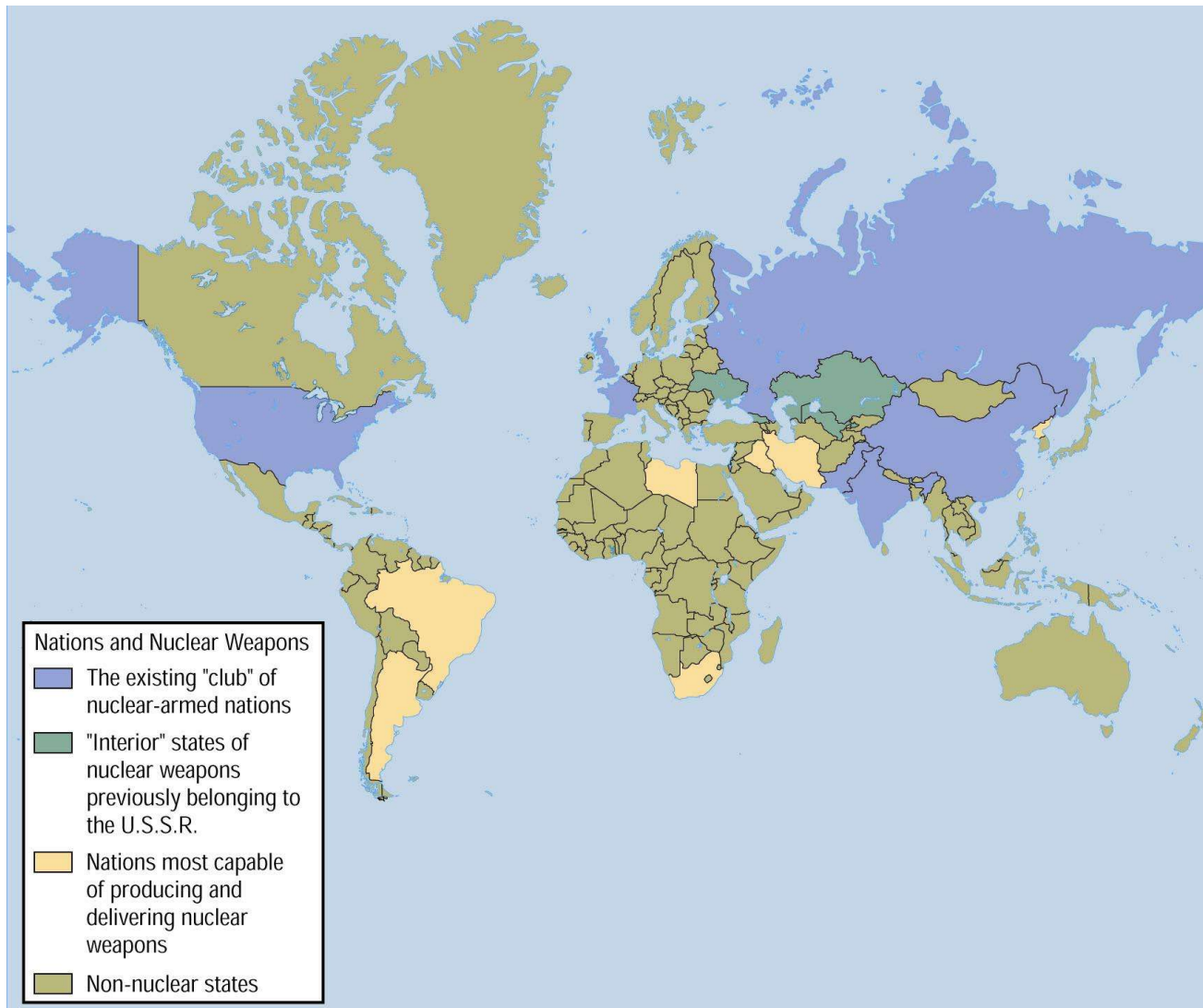


# Nuclear Deterrence

- Compellence, 1945-1962
- Mutual Deterrence, 1962-1983
- From Offense to Defense, 1983-1991
- Contemporary Nuclear Strategy
  - War between great powers unlikely in near future
  - Return to "nuclear utilization" with mini-nukes, etc.
  - "Threatend less by conquering states than failing ones..."



# Nuclear States, Today and Tomorrow





# Deterrence and the Bush Doctrine

- Bush Doctrine

- United States will

- Behave globally in terms of perceived national interest
- Act without approval of others, if necessary
- Use unilateral military action to prevent attacks on U.S. or allies.





# Deterrence and the Bush Doctrine

- Bush Doctrine
  - United States will
    - Behave globally in terms of perceived national interest
    - Act without approval of others, if necessary
    - Use unilateral military action to prevent attacks on U.S. or allies.
  - Entails use of preventive intervention and war
    - *Preemptive* attack is striking first against an imminent, specific, near certain attack.
    - *Preventive* attack is striking first to prevent the possibility of longer term threat from developing.





# Deterrence and the Bush Doctrine

- Bush Doctrine

- Preventive attack is explicit rejection of deterrence.
- Departs from policy dating to Truman in 1948.
  - "I have always been opposed even to the thought of such a war. There is nothing more foolish than to think that war can be stopped by war. You don't 'prevent' anything by war except peace" Truman, *Memoirs*.





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  - "A preventive war, to my mind, is an impossibility. I don't believe there is such a thing, and frankly, I wouldn't even listen to anyone seriously than came in and talked about such a thing." Eisenhower interview with New York Times, 1954.





# Deterrence and the Bush Doctrine

- Bush Doctrine
  - Preventive attack is explicit rejection of deterrence.
  - Departs from policy dating to Truman in 1948.
    - "Pearl Harbor in reverse ... For 175 years we had not been that kind of country." Robert Kennedy in response to Joint Chiefs' proposal of preventive attack on Cuba during 1962 missile crisis.





# Deterrence and the Bush Doctrine

- Bush Doctrine
  - Preventive attack is explicit rejection of deterrence.
  - Departs from policy dating to Truman in 1948.
  - The future of preventive attack
    - How reliable is intelligence?
    - "Fool me once..."
    - Effect on coalition-building





# Deterrence and the Bush Doctrine

- Bush Doctrine

- Preventive attack is explicit rejection of deterrence.
- Departs from policy dating to Truman in 1948.
- The future of preventive attack
  - "Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so *whenever he may choose to say* he deems it necessary for such purpose, and you allow him to make war at pleasure.... If today he should choose to say he thinks it necessary to invade Canada to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him, 'I see no probability of the British invading us'; but he will say to you, 'Be silent: I see it, if you don't.'" Abraham Lincoln, 1848





# Intervention

- Military intervention
  - overt or covert use of force by one or more states inside another state
- Reasons for intervention
  - Protect nationals and/or property (Panama 1989)
  - Humanitarian relief (Somalia 1992-1993)
  - Stabilize situation (Liberia 2003)
  - Regime change (Haiti 1994)





# Intervention

- Military intervention
  - overt or covert use of force by one or more states inside another state
- Reasons for intervention
- Is intervention legal under international law?
  - US lead coalition to evict Iraq from Kuwait clearly legal
  - NATO bombing of Kosovo authorized after the fact
  - 1998 attack on Sudan pharmaceutical plant probably illegal





# Unilateral Military Interventions, 1945-2002





# Sanctions

- Sanctions
  - punitive actions for previous objectionable behavior
  - common tool of coercive diplomacy
  - alternative to military force





# Sanctions

- Sanctions
  - punitive actions for previous objectionable behavior
  - common tool of coercive diplomacy
  - alternative to military force
- Types of sanctions
  - Diplomatic
  - Economic





# Sanctions

- Goals of Sanctions
  - **Compliance:** alter behavior of target
    - UN arms embargos:
    - Iraq following 1990 invasion of Kuwait
    - South Africa 1997-1994





# Sanctions

- Goals of Sanctions
  - Compliance: alter behavior of target
  - **Subversion:** topple leader from power
    - US freeze of Panamanian assets to destabilize Noriega
    - US trade and travel embargo against Cuba





# Sanctions

- Goals of Sanctions
  - Compliance: alter behavior of target
  - Subversion: topple leader from power
  - **Deterrence:** of objectionable behavior
    - Iraq manufacture of banned weapons
    - India and Pakistan nuclear tests





# Sanctions

- Goals of Sanctions
  - Compliance: alter behavior of target
  - Subversion: topple leader from power
  - Deterrence: of objectionable behavior
  - **International Symbolism:** send messages to other actors
    - Travel restrictions on Lybia following Pan Am 103





# Sanctions

- Goals of Sanctions
  - Compliance: alter behavior of target
  - Subversion: topple leader from power
  - Deterrence: of objectionable behavior
  - International Symbolism: send messages to other actors
  - **Domestic Symbolism:** to gain support from own populace by taking action
    - Sanctions against Cuba very popular among emigrees





# Trends in Economic Sanctions





# Sanctions

- Are sanctions effective?





# Sanctions

- Are sanctions effective?
  - Of 115 cases of economic sanctions, 1945-1990
    - 40 succeeded
    - 75 failed
    - 35% success rate





# Sanctions

- Are sanctions effective?
  - Of 115 cases of economic sanctions, 1945-1990
    - 35% success rate
  - Of 55 cases of unilateral US sanctions, 1945-1990
    - 16 succeeded
    - 39 failed
    - 29% success rate





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    - 35% success rate
  - Of 55 cases of unilateral US sanctions, 1945-1990
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- Are sanctions costly?





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  - Of 115 cases of economic sanctions, 1945-1990
    - 35% success rate
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    - 29% success rate
- Are sanctions costly?
  - Research by Institute for International Economics estimates cost to US of \$15 - \$19 billion in 1995.





# Sanctions

- Are sanctions effective?
- Are sanctions costly?
- Are sanctions humane?
  - A nation that is boycotted is a nation that is in sight of surrender. Apply this economic, peaceful, silent, deadly remedy and there will be no need for force. It does not cost a life outside the nation boycotted, but it brings a pressure upon the nation which, in my judgment, no modern nation could resist.

Woodrow Wilson 1919





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- Are sanctions effective?
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- Are sanctions humane?
  - 1991-2003 sanctions against Iraq became controversial





# Sanctions

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- Are sanctions costly?
- Are sanctions humane?
  - 1991-2003 sanctions against Iraq became controversial
  - In July 1989 (before the sanctions), 387 children per month under the age of five died in Iraq.
  - In July 1998 (during sanctions), 6,495 children per month under the age of five died, a 16-fold increase from before the sanctions.





# Sanctions

- Are sanctions effective?
- Are sanctions costly?
- Are sanctions humane?
  - Sanctions or Saddam?
  - "Smart sanctions" were proposed in 200-2001
    - Narrowing of embargoed goods
    - Tighter border monitoring
    - Rejected by Iraq which wanted all sanctions dropped

