Lecture 3: April 6

*Credible Commitment - Costly, believable signal

* International power is relative power - relative to adversaries and allies

A. Europe – 1914 rankings

Germany = 4

Great Britain and France = 3

Russia = 2

Austro-Hungary = 1

В.



- I. Fighting the Cold War 1945- 1992 The Balance of power at credible commitment A. 1945 – The problem – Balancing to block Soviet expansion (the Polish example)
 - 1. The obvious alliance Britain, France, Germany impossible owing to Germany's defeat in WWII.
 - 2. The alternative and actual alliance- Britain, France, US (NATO)
 - B. The American Commitment
 - 1. Small but significant conventional forces (to Europe)
 - 2. Strategic nuclear shield (Global)
 - 3. Economic aid (Marshall Plan)
 - 4. U.S. accepts despite fierce domestic opposition (both parties)
 - 5. Regular substantial military spending and a mass army (unprecedented levels!)
 - C. Eisenhower's fear "the military-industrial complex" (President 1952-60)
 - 1. WWII style mass mobilization would corrupt American civilization through excessive centralization, taxation, regulation and the subordinate of the individual to a security state (not just a fear of group power).
 - D. Eisenhower's solution -
 - 1. Military strategy- massive retaliation (origins of Triad)
 - 2. Reduction of federal spending and promotion of market-led growth
 - 3. Goal deterrence of Soviet/Chinese aggression through a credible commitment to massive counter-strikes and the prevention of the development of a permanent security state.
 - a. Promotion of world stability through signaling of credible commitment to protect key allies and the use of trade to create global prosperity.
 - b. Example- the B-52 and the hydrogen bomb; tariff cuts
 - c. Credible commitment to Europe (The NATO tripwire).

- II. The Soviet Dilemma the window of strategic inferiority 1948-1970s Balancing
 - A. During this period, the USSR was at a substantial nuclear disadvantage on land, sea, and air.
 - 1. Possibility US first strike
 - B. Soviet Deterrence
 - 1. Credible commitment massive conventional forces capable of overrunning Europe
 - 2. Bluffing-claims of nuclear superiority, space technology advantage
 - 3. Support of the Third World; "revolutions" like Vietnam often fails
 - 4. Negotiation over issues like testing of bombs, use of space.
- III. Kennedy, the Missile Gap, and the Cuban Missile Crisis
 - A. 1960 Kennedy campaigns against Nixon; claims US has a real strategic *disadvantage* relative to the USSR. Nixon cannot fully counter without violating national security
 - B. Kennedy wins—dramatically increases nuclear and conventional defense spending ("We will bear any burden, pay any price..."
 - 1. Intervention on Third World (US in Vietnam)
 - C. Was Kennedy bluffing? Did he plan to win the Cold War?
- IV. The Soviet Calculation
 - A. Given that US has a nuclear advantage, why would Kennedy signal weakness and credibly commit to Arms Race?
 - 1. The possibility of a first strike nuclear capability
 - 2. The neutralization of the Soviet conventional advantage
 - 3. The shifting balance of power
 - 4. Soviet responsive missiles to Cuba (1962); the Cuban Missile Crisis
- V. Section I- IV and the balance of power
 - A. Everything discussed from 1948 to 1962 can be understood as shifts in a dynamic balance of power that operated
 - 1. Regionally (primarily in Europe)
 - 2. Globally (strategic nuclear balance)
- VI. 1968-1992 The Global Balance
 - A. This period was characterized as stable, but dynamic global balance of power constantly undermined by a long-term nuclear arms race (the Ohio Class Submarine)
 - B. Man on the Moon- 1969
 - 1. 1969 one spillover of the arms race was the moon race
 - 2. The absence of Soviets
 - C. Federal Funding of science and technology