

## 2010-2011 Topic Overview

### Military Deployment

*Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce its military and/or police presence in one or more of the following countries: Japan, Kuwait, Afghanistan, Iraq, South Korea, Turkey.*

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- II. Country Profiles
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    - f. U.S. Military Involvement
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## Introduction

The United States global military presence has expanded dramatically over the last 100 years. Currently, the United States has a military presence in over 150 countries and is in active combat in Iraq and Afghanistan. Many of the current U.S. commitments and alliances began during the cold war era. Despite the breadth of its global deployment, most troops and police forces are concentrated in South Korea, Japan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Kuwait and Turkey. These deployments are pressing issues, with stories appearing in newspapers world-wide every single day. The resolution sheds light on U.S. foreign policy strategy and asks debaters to decide whether or not these alliances best serve our interests. This overview is designed to give you a basic understanding of the major issues you will encounter on this year's topic.

Before crafting your affirmative and negative arguments, it is important to have a thorough understanding of the each resolutional country's history, geography, population, government, economy, and U.S. military involvement in the region.

## Afghanistan

**History.** Afghanistan's history is riddled with conflict and turbulence. After a series of civil wars Kabul fell to the Taliban, a hard-line Pakistani-sponsored movement, in 1996.<sup>1</sup> Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on New York City, the United States, along with a coalition of other nations, toppled the Taliban for sheltering Osama bin Laden. After the victory, a process for Afghanistan's political reconstruction was established including the

adoption of a new constitution, a presidential election in 2004, and legislative elections in 2005. In December 2004, Hamid Karzai became the first democratically elected president of Afghanistan and the new legislature was inaugurated the following December. Despite gains towards stability, continued violence and a resurgent Taliban remain serious challenges for Afghanistan.<sup>ii</sup>

**Location.** Afghanistan is located in Southern Asia neighboring Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Afghanistan has an arid climate with cold winters and hot summers. The terrain consists mostly of rugged mountain with some plains in the north and southwest.

### Map of Afghanistan



Source: CIA World Factbook

**People.** A little over 28 million people live in Afghanistan. The life expectancy is only 44 years. This is the shortest life expectancy of any of our resolutional countries and can be attributed to low living standards—shortages of housing, clean water, electricity, medical care, and jobs, as well as security threats. Afghanistan’s population is highly heterogeneous and is

made up of many different ethnic groups. Most (about 80 percent) are Sunni Muslim. Another 19 percent are Shia Muslim.<sup>iii</sup>

**Government.** Afghanistan is an Islamic republic. The legal system is a mix of both civil and Shia law.<sup>iv</sup>

*Executive.* The executive branch is led by the chief of state, currently President Hamid Karzai. Karzai has led Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban in 2001. He became the country's first directly elected president in 2004 and was re-elected in 2009 for a second 5 year term. The elections were internationally criticized for fraud and Karzai has also faced allegations of widespread corruption within his administration. The next presidential election will be held in 2014.

*Legislative.* The bicameral National Assembly consisting of the House of Elders and the House of People is the country's legislative body. The next National Assembly election has been delayed until September 2010 due to lack of funding and security concerns. There are numerous political parties in Afghanistan, but in the last election, candidates did not make use of political party slates. Most ran as independents.

*Judicial.* The judicial branch in Afghanistan consists of the Supreme Court, High Courts, and Appeal Courts. According to the constitution the judiciary is independent.

**Economy.** Afghanistan's economy is recovering from decades of conflict.<sup>v</sup> Signs of improvement have come since the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001, but Afghanistan is still largely dependent on foreign aid.<sup>vi</sup>

The worth of Afghanistan's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2008 is estimated to have been \$22.59 billion (2009 U.S. dollars), with 80 percent of the Afghan population employed in agriculture.<sup>vii</sup> In 2008, agricultural production accounted for only 31 percent of Afghanistan's

GDP, while industry and services accounted for 26 percent and 43 percent of GDP, respectively.

These statistics, however, fail to account for Afghanistan's most lucrative crop – opium.<sup>viii</sup>

Specialists estimate that Afghanistan exported nearly \$4 billion worth of opium to neighboring countries in 2007 alone.<sup>ix</sup> But because opium is a primary ingredient for heroin, it is a black market product and it is difficult to determine exactly how much is produced and sold annually.

Afghan farmers have strong economic incentives to produce opium. In 2007, GDP per capita was \$310. That same year, one hectare of wheat was worth \$546 while one hectare of opium sold for \$5,200.<sup>x</sup> The United Nations (U.N.) is actively involved in reducing Afghan opium production, but is having limited success in the Taliban prominent southwest regions of the country.<sup>xi</sup>

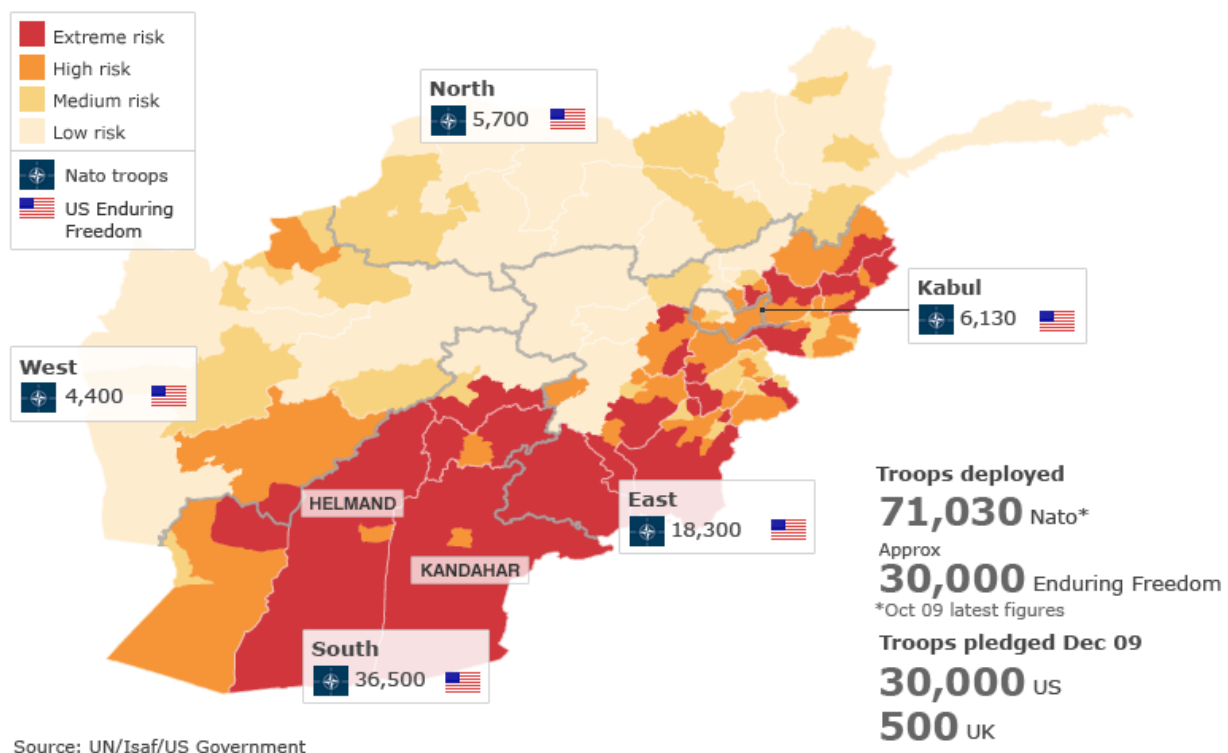
**U.S. Military Activity in Afghanistan.** The United States was first involved in Afghanistan in the late 1970s and 1980s as part of its containment strategy against communism. The United States viewed Afghanistan as an opportunity to weaken the Soviet Union. In 1979, the U.S. government began covertly funding forces fighting against the pro-Soviet government, even though some of these forces were Islamic fundamentalists. Regarding U.S. support for Islamic fundamentalism, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former U.S. National Security Advisor, said, “What is most important to the history of the world? The Taliban or the collapse of the Soviet empire? Some stirred up Moslems or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the cold war?”

The Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan 10 years later in 1989. Subsequently, the United States reduced involvement with the country until 2001. It was clear that al-Qaeda in Afghanistan posed a dangerous strategic threat to the United States. Thus, After September 11<sup>th</sup>

the American priority was to unseat the Taliban because it was providing sanctuary and operational support to al-Qaeda. The United States sent teams of CIA paramilitary officers and U.S. Army Special Forces to invade Afghanistan and to aid anti-Taliban militias culminating in the seizure of Kabul and the overthrow of the Taliban.

Currently, U.S. troops are the biggest contributors to the international force in Afghanistan. U.S. troops are sectioned in five areas of Afghanistan: West, North, South (Helmand and Kandahar), East, and Kabul.

### Location of Troops in Afghanistan



Currently, there are about 68,000 U.S. troops in Afghanistan. An additional 30,000 troops will be added later this year. The first wave of additional U.S. troops is expected to begin deploying to the southern part of the country in Kandahar and Helmand provinces. Currently,

the troops are mostly in the east along the Pakistan border and in the south, where the fighting is most fierce. In December 2009, Obama proposed to begin troop withdrawals 18 months after the additional 30,000 troops are added. The American commander in Afghanistan, McChrystal, cautioned that the timeline is flexible.

The United States has two strategic imperatives in the region. One is to contain and ultimately debilitate al-Qaeda, which has reconstituted its operational base and safe havens in the tribal areas of Pakistan. The other is to limit radicalization in Pakistan, staving off the country's political disintegration. Before the U.S. withdraws from the country it seeks to beat back the Taliban and train the Afghan security forces so they can take over the security of their country.

## **SIDEBAR**

### **War on Drugs in Afghanistan**

*To advance security, opportunity, and justice -- not just in Kabul, but from the bottom up in the provinces -- we need agricultural specialists and educators; engineers and lawyers. That is how we can help the Afghan government serve its people, and develop an economy that isn't dominated by illicit drugs.*

*--President Obama, March 2009*

The United States appropriated approximately \$2.9 billion in regular and supplemental counternarcotics foreign assistance and defense funding for programs designed to eradicate narcotics, largely opium, from Afghanistan from 2001 through 2009.<sup>xii</sup> However, not everyone agrees the war on drugs in Afghanistan is the best use of resources. In fact, Obama Administration Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, Richard Holbrooke, called U.S. counternarcotics efforts in Afghanistan the most wasteful and ineffective program he has seen in 40 years in and out of the government.<sup>xiii</sup>

Many argue the results from counternarcotics programs in Afghanistan have not justified the massive costs. According to Ted G. Carpenter of the CATO Institute, “these antidrug efforts may fatally undermine the far more important anti-terrorism campaign in Afghanistan.”<sup>xiv</sup> He bases his observation on a number of key observations:

- The growing of opium poppies (the source of heroin) is a huge part of Afghanistan’s economy—roughly half of the country’s annual gross domestic product.
- As long as the United States and other drug consuming countries pursue a prohibitionist strategy, a massive black market premium exists that will make the cultivation of drug crops far more lucrative than competing crops in Afghanistan or any other drug source country.
- For many Afghan farmers, growing opium poppies is the difference between prosperity and destitution. There is a serious risk that they will turn against the United States and the U.S.-supported government of President Hamid Karzai if Washington and Kabul pursue vigorous anti-drug programs.
- Regional warlords who have helped the United States combat al-Qaeda and Taliban forces derive substantial profits from the drug trade. They use those revenues to pay the militias that keep them in power.

Debaters can argue that U.S. officials should adopt a pragmatic policy in Afghanistan and look the other way regarding the drug-trafficking activities of friendly warlords. It may not be wise to become the enemy of Afghan farmers whose livelihood depends on opium poppy cultivation. As Carpenter concluded, “Even those policymakers who oppose ending the war on

drugs as a general matter ought to recognize that, in this case, the war against radical Islamic terrorism must take priority.”<sup>xv</sup>

## END SIDEBAR

### Iraq

**History.** Formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, Iraq was occupied by Britain during the course of WWI.<sup>xvi</sup> Iraq declared itself a “republic” in 1958. Saddam Hussein came to power in 1979 and controlled the country until 2003.

In August 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait over a border dispute but was expelled by U.S.-led U.N. coalition forces during the Gulf War of 1991. Following Kuwait’s liberation, the U.N. Security Council required Iraq to dispose of all weapons of mass destruction and to allow U.N. verification inspections. Iraq failed to comply with U.N. Security Council resolutions over a period of 12 years. Then, in 2003 the United States cited possible weapons of mass destruction and a potential link to al-Qaeda as reasons to invade Iraq. The United States quickly toppled Saddam Hussein’s regime. U.S. forces remained in Iraq under a U.N. Security Council mandate until 2009. Currently, U.S. troops continue work in Iraq under a bilateral security agreement with the Iraqi government.<sup>xvii</sup>

**Location.** Iraq is located in the Middle East, surrounded by Iran, Syria, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. The climate is mostly desert with mild to cool winters and hot and dry summers.<sup>xviii</sup>

## Map of Iraq



Source: CIA World Factbook

**People.** 28.9 million people call Iraq home. Life expectancy is 69 years. About 75 percent of Iraqis are Arab and 20 percent are Kurdish. The majority of the population (97 percent) are practicing Muslims.<sup>xix</sup>

**Government.** In October 2005, after the fall of Saddam Hussein, Iraqis approved a new constitution in a national referendum creating a parliamentary democracy. Iraq's new legal system is based on European civil and Islamic law.<sup>xx</sup>

*Executive.* The executive branch is made up of the chief of state, currently President Jalal Talabani and the head of government, currently Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki.

*Legislative.* The unicameral Council of Representatives is the country's legislative body. The Council is made up of 325 members. The last parliamentary elections were held on March 7, 2010. Turnout was reported to be high despite numerous violent attacks and attempts to keep people away from the polls.<sup>xxi</sup>

*Judicial.* The judicial branch is independent and is comprised of the Higher Judicial Council, Federal Supreme Court, Court of Cassation, Public Prosecution Department, Judiciary Oversight Commission, and other federal courts.<sup>xxii</sup>

**Economy.** Iraq has the third largest proven oil reserve in the world and its economy relies heavily on those reserves.<sup>xxiii</sup> Consequently, the petroleum sector of Iraq's economy is by far the largest. Due to various conflicts, however, the peak of Iraqi oil production came in 1979, just prior to the Iran-Iraq war.<sup>xxiv</sup> At that time the petroleum sector accounted for two-thirds of Iraqi GDP.<sup>xxv</sup>

From 1981 to 1983 the Iran-Iraq war reduced Iraq's GDP from U.S. \$20 billion to U.S. \$18 billion.<sup>xxvi</sup> All sectors of Iraq's economy shrunk during this period. And although the other sectors of the economy continued to deteriorate, Iraq secured the petroleum industry enough to raise its GDP to \$35 billion by 1986.<sup>xxvii</sup> Of that year's GDP, the petroleum sector accounted for nearly 34 percent of Iraqi GDP with business services accounting for 23 percent, agriculture for 7.5 percent, mining and manufacturing for about 7 percent, construction for almost 12 percent, transportation and communications for about 4.5 percent and utilities for between 1 percent and 2 percent and other nonpetroleum sectors accounting for the rest.<sup>xxviii</sup>

Although the Iran-Iraq war officially ended in 1988, political unrest has plagued Iraq's economy ever since. A Kuwait invasion in 1990 and other offensive tactics provoked the U.N. to impose economic sanctions against Iraq in 1991. These sanctions officially remained in place until Saddam Hussein was forced to step down in 2003.<sup>xxix</sup>

Since 2003, the Iraqi economy has begun to transition from centrally planned to free market principled. The petroleum sector still makes up a large portion of the Iraqi economy. In

2008, crude oil export revenues represented 75 percent of Iraqi GDP and 86 percent of government revenues.<sup>xxx</sup> But political unrest and internal conflict continue to restrict Iraq's economy from functioning at full capacity. Insurgents continually aim to cripple the country's oil production in order to wreak instability, counter stabilization efforts and increase public opposition to foreign occupation.<sup>xxxi</sup>

**U.S. Military Involvement in Iraq.** The United States first became involved in Iraq in the 1980-1988 Iraq-Iran war. The United States supported Iraq with nearly \$40 billion of weapons. Then in 1990s, the United States fought against Iraq during the first Gulf War. Shortly after beginning the war in Afghanistan following the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, President George W. Bush began to argue the case for an American-led invasion of Iraq. He cited the possibility that the country sought nuclear weapons and also sought to link Iraq to al-Qaeda.<sup>xxxii</sup>

Then, in 2002 Bush made it clear that he would use force if necessary to disarm Saddam Hussein, who he lumped with North Korea and Iran as part of an "axis of evil."<sup>xxxiii</sup> In March, the United States led an invasion from Kuwait that quickly toppled Hussein's government.

In January 2005, the United States orchestrated Iraq's first multi-party election in five decades. A new constitution was adopted at the end of the year and new elections took place in January 2006. The elections strengthened the new democracy while at the same time exposing sectarian tensions.<sup>xxxiv</sup> In the face of increasing insurgency, Bush argued for a surge in the number of troops in Iraq, then totaling approximately 130,000. The surge eventually increased the number of troops by 40,000. Many analysts characterize the surge as a success noting the sharp decline in violence that followed.<sup>xxxv</sup>

From April 2003 until December 2008, the troops in Iraq operated under the broad, permissive mandate of a series of U.N. Security Council resolutions that authorized the coalition

to “take all necessary measures to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq.”

The resolutions gave the forces a tremendous amount of latitude. By the spring of 2008, the situation had vastly improved. Because of this and the war’s global unpopularity, analysts believed it was unlikely that the U.N. would renew the resolutions and the United States would be left without a legal basis for operating in Iraq. In light of this, the United States began working with Iraqi officials to create an agreement that would detail U.S. conditions in the country.

In June 2009 the United States withdrew from 28 bases. Currently there are 117,000 troops in Iraq (as of October 21, 2009). Obama announced his exit strategy early last year saying that the U.S. mission in Iraq will end by August 31, 2010. A transitional force of up to approximately 50,000 troops might stay until 2011 in order to train Iraqi Security Forces, conduct counterterrorism operations, and provide general support at the invitation of the Iraqis.

## **SIDEBAR**

### **Private Military Contractors (PMC)**

#### Basic Facts:

- Over 60 security firms are employed in Iraq. 200 security firms are employed worldwide.<sup>xxxvi</sup>
- In May 2009 the Pentagon reported that approximately 242,657 contractor personnel were working in Iraq.
- As of June 2008, more than 1,350 civilian contractor personnel had died in Iraq and Afghanistan. About 29,000 contractors had been injured, about 8,300 seriously. Those

statistics suggest that for every four American soldiers who die in Iraq, a contractor is killed.

- U.S. agencies spent a total of \$85 billion on contractors of all types in Iraq from 2003 through 2007 — about 20 percent of all U.S. spending for operations in the country during that period. This estimate may be below actual spending because some security costs may be undocumented because they are buried inside contracts for other services.
- Private security companies include DynCorp, Blackwater USA, Kellogg, Brown and Root, Military Professional Resources, Carlyle Group, Control Risks Group LLC, Titan Corporation, and CACI-California Analysis Center.

A 2008 report by USA Today noted that private security costs are rising and attributes this to removal of the last of the 30,000 extra troops sent to Iraq last year. “Contractors take on roles once handled by U.S. troops, such as securing Iraq’s infrastructure and guarding reconstruction supplies,” the report says.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Debaters should be aware of key criticisms regarding PMCs. Difficulty in obtaining adequate information to judge the cost and efficiency of PMCs remains the most glaring criticism. This lack of transparency and oversight makes it virtually impossible for the public to assess the practice of PMCs. A regulatory framework that guarantees adequate executive supervision and congressional oversight may be an improvement.

## END SIDEBAR

### Japan

**History.** Japanese legend holds that Emperor Jimmu, a direct descendant of the sun goddess, founded Japan in 600 BC.<sup>xxxviii</sup> The first recorded contact with the West occurred

around 1540 AD, when a Portuguese ship headed for China erroneously landed in Japan. During the next century, traders from Portugal, the Netherlands, England and Spain arrived in the region. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, Japan's leader became suspicious that the traders plotted a military conquest of Japan. As a result, he forced all foreigners to leave. Within several years, however, contact with the West was renewed.<sup>xxxix</sup>

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Japan became a regional power that was able to defeat the forces of both China and Russia. During this period Japan occupied Korea, Formosa (Taiwan), and the southern Sakhalin Island and in 1937 it launched a full-scale invasion of China. Japan attacked U.S. forces in 1941—triggering America's entry into WWII. After years of war, resulting in the loss of 3 million Japanese lives and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan surrendered to the Allied powers in 1945. Japan has recovered to become an economic power and a firm ally of the United States.<sup>xi</sup>

**Geography.** Japan is located in Eastern Asia and is made up of mostly rugged mountains. The climate varies from tropical in the south to cool and temperate in the north.<sup>xli</sup>

### Map of Japan



Source: CIA World Factbook

**People.** Over 127 million people live in Japan, most residing in urban areas.<sup>xlii</sup>

Shintoism and Buddhism are Japan's two principal religions. Many Japanese follow both faiths. Life expectancy is 82 years, one of the highest in the world and attributed to Japan's high sanitary and health standards. Japan is a largely homogenous country made up of over 98 percent Japanese with Koreans and Chinese representing less than one percent of the population.

**Government.** Japan is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary government. The country is divided into 47 different prefectures. The legal system is modeled after European civil law systems with American-English influence.<sup>xliii</sup>

*Executive.* The legislature designates the prime minister and the constitution requires that the prime minister command a majority in parliament. The prime minister must resign if the House of Representatives adopts a motion of no confidence or defeats a vote of confidence, unless the House of Representatives is dissolved within ten days. The monarch is hereditary. In practice, the emperor holds little power and is simply a symbol of national unity.

The executive branch consists of the chief of state, currently Emperor Akihito and the head of government, currently Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama of the Democratic Party of Japan. His election in 2009 was a break in over 50 years of nearly constant rule of the Liberal Democratic Party, the conservative force in Japan. BBC News reports that the vote was the culmination of years of gradually rising voter dissatisfaction with the Liberal Democratic Party's long reign.<sup>xliv</sup>

*Legislature.* Japan's bicameral parliament, or Diet, consists of the House of Representatives and a House of Councilors. The House of Representatives is made of 480 members; the House of Councils is made up of 242 representatives. The House of Councilors

will hold its next election in July 2010 and the House of Representatives will hold its next election in August 2013

*Judiciary.* The judicial system is made up of five types of courts: the Supreme Court, high courts, district courts, family courts, and summary courts.<sup>xlv</sup> In 1947, the constitution provided complete independence of the judiciary.<sup>xlvi</sup> The Supreme Court functions as the court of last resort for determining the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation, or official act.<sup>xlvii</sup>

**Economy.** After Japan's devastating defeat in WWII, reconstruction of the national economy became a top priority for the Japanese and U.S. governments. The United States aimed to prevent the infiltration and expansion of communism among the Japanese people through rebuilding a free market economy. According to the State Department, government industry cooperation, a strong work ethic, mastery of technology and a comparatively small defense allocation (1 percent of GDP) helped Japan advance with extraordinary speed to the rank of second most powerful economy in the world after the United States.<sup>xlviii</sup> The economy experienced a major slowdown in the 1990s following three decades of unprecedented growth, but recovered in the 2000s. Today, Japan's industrialized, free-market economy is one of the largest in the world.

**U.S. Military Activity in Japan.** The bombing of Pearl Harbor led to the U.S. decision to enter WWII and use the newly developed atomic bomb on the Japanese islands Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When the Japanese surrendered, the United States gained the authority to rewrite the Japanese constitution. The new constitution specifically constrained Japan's security. Article 9 of the constitution only gives the Japanese the right to collective self defense. Article 6 of the Japanese constitution deals with the U.S.-Japan security treaty and gives the United States the legal authority to operate militarily in Japan.<sup>xlix</sup>

The treaty granted the United States military base rights in return for a U.S. pledge to protect Japan's security. The deal also stripped Japan of a military. During the cold war, the Soviet threat and instability on the Korean peninsula were major security concerns and provided a fundamental rationale for the U.S.-Japan security relationship. The U.S. has remained in Japan since the end of the cold war for several reasons.

*Nuclear Proliferation.* Some scholars have noted that because of Japan's military constraints, post war Japanese society has developed a strong antimilitarist norm that has become deeply knit into legal and political institutions, public opinion, culture and the decision-making process.<sup>1</sup> But in modern day Japan, security concerns remain salient. Japan's geographical location, its limited physical endowments and the complex fabric of Asia-Pacific security environment have real security implications. Japan is a close neighbor of Russia and China and is adjacent to the Korean peninsula, traditionally a hotbed of major power conflict in Northeast Asia. Moreover, Japan is a maritime state and lacks critical resources. Secure sea lanes, therefore, continue to be vital to Japan's survival. Security concerns can never be ignored. Japan compensates for its security limitations by relying heavily on the security treaty with the United States.<sup>li</sup>

Many scholars note that if Japan were not under the "nuclear umbrella" of the United States, Japan would surely feel the need to develop its military capability to defend itself. This could have far reaching ripple effects. Other countries in the region are still not comfortable with a highly militarized, nuclear Japan and may decide it is in their interests to develop nuclear weapons to enhance their security as well.

*Trade.* The United States has also benefited from the free trade routes it can protect by its military presence in Japan.<sup>liii</sup> Japan committed to defending its sea line of communications

(SLOC) within 1,000 nautical miles from Japan in 1981 at the request of the United States.

Japan relied on U.S. offensive forces to protect the 1,000 miles beyond Japan's promise.<sup>liii</sup>

The Congressional Research Service Report on U.S.-Japan Economic Relations in 2007 reported that Japan and the United States are the two largest economic powers in the world, accounting for over 40 percent of world domestic product, large portions of the international trade of goods and services and for a major portion of international investment. Debaters that argue that because Japan is such an important player in the economic market, their economic conditions impact the rest of the world.<sup>liv</sup>

*China.* U.S. presence in Japan has also allowed us to serve as a safeguard from a rapidly growing China. China's assessment of the global structure of power is an important factor in Chinese foreign policy decision-making. As long as Chinese leaders perceive a long-lasting American preeminence, averting confrontation with the United States is likely seen as the best option. If Beijing were to perceive the U.S. position as weakening, there could be fewer inhibitions for China to avoid challenging the United States where American and Chinese interests diverge.

## **SIDEBAR**

### **Japan—China Relations**

Japan and China share economic ties, however overall their diplomatic relations have been and continue to be somewhat strained. The two countries account for almost three-fourths of their regional economic activity and over half of the region's military spending. They have doubled their bilateral trade in the past five years.<sup>lv</sup> Japan is the world's second largest economy and China is the world's third largest, so naturally they have an economic interest in each other.

In 2008, China-Japan trade grew to \$266.4 billion, a 12.5 percent rise from 2007. China is Japan's top two-way trade partner and China is Japan's second biggest export destination.<sup>lvi</sup>

However, despite their shared economic interests, relationships between the two countries remain strained for several reasons. First, tensions linger over Japanese war crimes committed in China during World War II. China accuses Japan of never apologizing for these crimes, and for downplaying them in their history textbooks. Japan has offered numerous apologies for their WWII crimes, however none of them have ever been addressed specifically to China. Moreover, China's textbooks are far from impartial.<sup>lvii</sup>

In addition, there has been a dispute between the two countries over China's exploration for natural gas in the East China Sea. In June of 2008, the two countries reached an agreement to jointly develop gas fields but there are continuing disagreements over the boundaries. Japan has even accused China of violating their agreement.<sup>lviii</sup>

Another issue between the two countries concerns the legal position of Taiwan. Japan has been concerned about the recent reconciliation between Taiwan and the mainland.<sup>lix</sup> The controversy essentially hinges on whether Taiwan should remain an independent territory of China, become unified with territories governed by China or formally declare independence and become their own republic.

There have been signs of improvement in their relationship, however. Recently, the Democratic Party of Japan took 645 members to China in an effort to restore good relations. Between 2001 and 2006 there were no leadership visits between the two countries.<sup>lx</sup>

#### **END SIDEBAR**

*Tensions and Future of Relations.* Tensions between the United States and Japan have grown in the last few decades. Recently conflict has centered on the U.S. military base in

Futenma on the island of Okinawa, which some of the Prime Minister's allies want removed.

Also, Japan recently stopped a naval mission that provided fuel to U.S. led forces in Afghanistan and has replaced it with a \$5 million aid package to Afghanistan. Another nerve was struck when the United States refused to sell F-22s to Japan.<sup>lxi</sup>

The United States is currently reducing the number of forces in Okinawa, in order to quell controversy over the U.S. presence there due to the 2008 allegations that a soldier sexually abused a 16 year old girl. There is also controversy over whether or not Japan should cover more of the cost of stationing U.S. troops in their country. They currently cover about 75 percent of the costs, and disputes within the government of Japan over the presence of U.S. troops have fueled controversy on whether they should be expected to cover more of the cost.

This year Japan elected the Democratic Party, a liberal party power, after years under the Liberal Democratic Party, the conservative force in Japan. It is unclear what kind of difficulties the alliance will face since the Democratic Party has criticized the U.S-Japan security agreement in the past. 2010 marks the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the security agreement. Both countries may want to make changes in order to enhance cooperation.

## **Kuwait**

**History.** Archeological finds suggest that Kuwait has a rich history as a market place to the ancient Greeks. The history of modern day Kuwait began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with the founding of the city of Kuwait. Threatened by the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Kuwait signed an agreement that pledged its loyalty to Britain in return for security and a yearly subsidy provided by the British government. Kuwait gained independence from Britain in 1961.<sup>lxii</sup>

In 1990, Kuwait was attacked and overrun by Iraq. Following several weeks of aerial bombardment, a United Nations (U.N.) coalition, led by the United States, liberated Kuwait in four days. Kuwait's oil infrastructure was badly damaged during the conflict and required more than \$5 billion of repairs.

In 2003, Kuwait hosted a large military presence near the Iraq border and remains an important transit route for forces moving in and out of Iraq.

**Geography.** Kuwait is a small state, roughly the size of New Jersey. It is located in the Middle East neighboring Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Kuwait is almost entirely a flat desert with intensely hot summers. The capital of Kuwait is Kuwait City.<sup>lxiii</sup>

#### Map of Kuwait



Source: CIA World Factbook

**People.** Approximately 2.6 million people reside in Kuwait. Over 90 percent of the population lives within a 500-square kilometer area surrounding Kuwait City.<sup>lxiv</sup> Of the country's total population, about 83 percent are Muslim. Kuwait's literacy rate, 93 percent, is

one of the highest in the Arab world. Its high literacy rate has been attributed to government support programs for the education system. Life expectancy at birth is 77 years.

**Government.** Kuwait is a constitutional emirate. It has a civil law system with Islamic law a significant part in personal matters.

*Executive.* The executive branch is made up of the chief of state, currently Amir Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah; the crown prince, currently Nawaf al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah; and the head of government, currently Prime Minister Nasir Al-Muhammad al-ahmad al-sabah. There are no elections. The offices of the chief of state and crown prince are hereditary. The chief of state appoints the prime minister.

*Legislative.* The elected, unicameral National Assembly serves as Kuwait's legislature. 50 seats are elected by popular vote to serve four year terms. In the most recent election in 2009, an unprecedented 4 women were elected to the National Assembly. Women have only been allowed to run for office since 2005. The next election will be held in 2013.

*Judicial.* The judiciary of Kuwait is divided into three parts: the Court of First Instance, Court of Appeal, and the Supreme Court.<sup>lxv</sup> Independence of the judiciary was guaranteed by the 1962 Constitution of Kuwait. There is a mixture of British general law, French civil law, Islamic law and Egyptian law in the legal system<sup>lxvi</sup>.

**Economy.** Kuwait has a small, rich relatively open economy with self-reported crude oil reserves of about 104 billion barrels—8 percent of world reserves. Petroleum accounts for nearly half of GDP, 95 percent of export revenues, and 80 percent of government income. Kuwait experienced rapid economic growth over the last several years on the back of high oil prices and in 2008 posted its tenth consecutive budget surplus. The drop in oil prices in 2008,

however, reduced Kuwait's fiscal surplus in 2009. Kuwait's GDP (purchasing power parity) is \$149.5 billion.<sup>lxvii</sup>

**U.S. Military Presence in Kuwait.** The United States opened a consulate in Kuwait in October 1951.<sup>lxviii</sup> Before 1986, Kuwait was hesitant to become involved with any great powers and so remained neutral on most international issues. Because of this, relations between Kuwait and America were virtually non-existent during the 1960s and 1970s. Threats from Iraq, however, led Kuwait to seek naval protection from the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain in the 1980s. The U.S. maritime protection regime was implemented in order to protect Kuwait ships in the gulf.<sup>lxix</sup>

U.S. involvement greatly increased in Kuwait with the beginning of the Persian Gulf War. Iraqi forces invaded and annexed Kuwait on August 2, 1990. The U.N. Security Council authorized the use of force to remove Iraq from Kuwait if Iraq had not withdrawn by January 15, 1991. A coalition of 31 different countries, led by the United States launched an attack on January 17. After a continuous 38 day air offensive and a four day ground campaign, Iraq surrendered.

After the war, in September 1991, Kuwait entered into a 10 year defense agreement with the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The U.S. portion of the agreement includes port access, military equipment storage, and joint training and exercises. At this point, the agreement did not allow the United States to station service personnel in Kuwait. Iraq's renewed military offensives in 1996 led to Operation Desert Strike, after which Kuwait agreed to allow a U.S. battalion to be permanently stationed in Kuwait.<sup>lxx</sup>

The U.S.-Kuwait defense pact was renewed for another ten years in September 2001 so the United States continues to have a presence in the country. There are currently 20,000 U.S.

military personnel based permanently in Kuwait and many more cycle through continually as a consequence of U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. At times there are as many as 90,000 U.S. military personnel in Kuwait.<sup>lxxi</sup>

Since the beginning of the war in Iraq in 2003, Kuwait has become an important center for U.S. military exchanges in and out of Iraq as well as for troop rotations. They have also provided military, diplomatic and intelligence support in the U.S. effort. In addition, Kuwait has supported U.S. efforts to block financing of terrorist groups. During the buildup and execution of Operation Iraqi Freedom (2002-2003), Kuwait reserved 60 percent of its land mass for coalition forces' use. The U.S.-led invasion force consisted of about 250,000 personnel as well as their equipment. Kuwait allowed the United States to use its two air bases (Ali al-Salem and Ali al-Jabir) as well as their international airport and sea ports.<sup>lxxii</sup>

U.S. officials believe that our defense relationship with Kuwait has improved the quality of the Kuwaiti military. The United States is currently the largest military supplier to Kuwait. Total U.S. exports to Kuwait amounted to \$2.14 billion in 2006. The United States provides military and defense technical assistance to Kuwait through foreign military sales (FMS program) and commercial sources. The U.S. Military Cooperation Office in Kuwait is connected to the Embassy and the FMS program is managed through this. Currently there are 107 open FMS contracts totaling \$8.4 billion.

Kuwait receives no U.S. assistance in purchasing these systems and is a cash customer. The program has received little opposition from congress, although there is doubt that Kuwait has enough trained forces to use all of the purchased weapons. Post-Saddam Hussein, Kuwait does not view arms purchases as urgently as it previously did.

## South Korea

**History.** The Korean peninsula has a 2,000 year history that is riddled with invasions, wars and much conflict. Korea was colonized by Japan from 1910 until Japan's defeat in WWII.<sup>lxxiii</sup> Subsequently the peninsula was divided into two parts along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. The United States administered the southern portion and the Soviet Union administered the northern portion. In 1948, the North and South established two independent countries, the democratic Republic of Korea (R.O.K) in the south and the communist Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K.) in the north. Unresolved tensions from the division escalated to war in 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea. This marked the beginning of the Korean War.

The United States military fought alongside South Korean soldiers while the North was supported by China and the Soviet Union. The war was devastatingly deadly and left almost three million Koreans dead or wounded and millions of others homeless and separated from their families. In 1953, an armistice paused the fighting and two separate countries emerged. Technically, the United States is still at war with North Korea since a peace agreement was never signed.<sup>lxxiv</sup>

In the decades following the armistice, South Korea experienced much political turmoil under autocratic leadership. President Syngman Rhee was forced to resign in April 1960 following a student-led uprising against government corruption and election fraud. The Second Republic under the leadership of Chang Myon ended after only one year, when Major General Park Chung-hee led a military takeover. Park's rule, which resulted in tremendous economic growth coupled with restricted political freedoms, ended with his assassination in 1979. Subsequently, a powerful group of military officers, led by Lieutenant General Chun Doo-hwan,

declared martial law and took power. Throughout the Park and Chun eras, South Korea developed a vocal civil society that led strong protests against authoritarian rule. Pro-democracy activities intensified, ultimately forcing political concessions by the government in 1987, including the restoration of direct presidential elections.<sup>lxxv</sup>

In 1992, Kim Young-sam became South Korea's first civilian elected president in 32 years. The 1997 presidential election and peaceful transition of power marked another step forward in South Korea's democratization when Kim Dae-jung, a life-long democracy and human rights activist, was elected from a major opposition party. The transition to an open, democratic system was further established in 2002, when self-educated human rights lawyer, Roh Moo-hyun, won the presidential election.

**Geography.** South Korea is a small country, roughly the size of Indiana, and is located in Eastern Asia, near North Korea, Japan and China. The climate is temperate year round with hills and mountains covering large portions of the country.<sup>lxxvi</sup>

### Map of South Korea



Source: CIA World Factbook

**People.** Currently an estimated 48.5 million people reside in South Korea. South Korea is a highly homogenous country; most of the population is Korean with the exception of about 20,000 Chinese. Roughly half of the population is religious either practicing Christianity or Buddhism. The other half of the population is not religious. The life expectancy at birth is 78 years.<sup>lxxvii</sup>

**Government.** South Korea is a republic with powers shared between the executive, legislative and judicial branches. Historically, the government has been dominated by the executive. South Korea's legal system combines elements of continental European civil law systems with Chinese classical thought.

*Executive Branch.* The executive branch of the government is made up of the chief of state, currently President Lee Myung-bak and the head of government, currently Prime Minister Chung U.N.-chan. The president is elected by popular vote for a single five-year term. The next presidential election will be held on December 19, 2012. The prime minister is appointed by the president with consent of the legislature.

*Legislative Branch.* The 299 members of the unicameral National Assembly, or Kukhoe, are elected every four years. The next election will occur on April 11, 2012.

*Judicial Branch.* There are six types of courts in South Korea: the Supreme Court, High Court, District Court, Patent Court, Family Court, and Administrative Court.<sup>lxxviii</sup> There is judicial independence and all citizens have the right to a fair and prompt trial.<sup>lxxix</sup>

**Economy.** Since the 1960s, South Korea has achieved a tremendous record of growth and integration into the high-tech modern world economy.<sup>lxxx</sup> Four decades ago, South Korea's GDP per capita was comparable with levels in the poorer countries of Africa and Asia. In 2004, South Korea joined the trillion dollar club of world economies. In 2008, its GDP per capita was

roughly the same as that of the Czech Republic or New Zealand. Currently its GDP (purchasing power parity) is estimated to be \$1.338 trillion. South Korea is now the United States' seventh-largest trading partner and is the 13th-largest economy in the world.

Recently, South Korea's economy moved away from the centrally planned, government-directed investment model toward a more market-oriented one. South Korea bounced back from the 1997-98 Asian financial crisis with some International Monetary Fund (IMF) assistance, but based largely on extensive financial reforms that restored stability to markets.<sup>lxxxix</sup> President Lee Myung-bak was elected on a platform that promised to boost Korea's economic growth rate through deregulation, tax reform, increased foreign direct investment (FDI), labor reform, and free trade agreements (FTAs).

**U.S. Military Activity in South Korea.** U.S. combat troops first occupied Korea following the surrender of the Axis powers in WWII in 1945. Three months later the commander of the occupation, General John Reed Hodge, declared war on the communist party. Five years later a civil war erupted when the North invaded the South. Millions lost their lives in the conflict. An armistice ended the fighting in 1953, but the war technically never ended. A peace agreement was never signed. Later that year, South Korea and the United States signed the R.O.K-U.S. Mutual Security Agreement, and the United States established a troop presence of 50,000 at military bases near Seoul.<sup>lxxxii</sup>

The Korean War is one of the longest-running conflicts in the world. American troops arrived in South Korea in September 1945 and over 25,000 of them still remain there today. Nearly 60 years after the end of the fighting, the U.S. military remains in South Korea, holding the line against the enemy, with a new war possible at any moment. Currently the United States

has 19,755 Army troops, 274 Navy troops, 8,815 Air Force troops and 242 Marines stationed in South Korea.<sup>lxxxiii</sup>

Conflict with North Korea remains the key reason the United States keeps troops on the ground in South Korea. The chief concern is undoubtedly North Korea's nuclear capabilities.

*History of North Korea and Nuclear Weapons.* Many scholars believe that North Korea began to pursue nuclear technology as early as 1956 out of security concerns. North Korea was not sure the Soviet Union would guarantee its security. Some officials cited the Soviet Union's "betrayal" of Cuba during the Cuban Missile Crisis as motivation for North Korea to develop nuclear weapons for protection. The collapse of the Soviet Union only deepened the need for independent security.<sup>lxxxiv</sup>

*First Nuclear Crisis.* The first nuclear crisis with North Korea occurred in the 1990s.<sup>lxxxv</sup> When Clinton was inaugurated in 1993, he announced that the United States would introduce nuclear capable aircraft and naval ships to South Korea, clearly threatening the security of the North. In March 1993, North Korea announced that it would withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. North Korea also refused to let International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors carry out "special inspections" of undeclared sites in North Korea. High level discussions between the North and the United States culminated in an accord in October 1994. The Framework Agreement promised Pyongyang that in return for freezing its graphite reactors and returning to full inspections under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), a consortium of nations (including the United States, Japan, South Korea and others) would supply light-water reactors to help solve the North's energy problems; the consortium also agreed to supply long-term loans and credits to enable Pyongyang to purchase the new reactors, valued at about \$4

billion.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> The agreement called for full normalization of relations and an American pledge not to threaten or target North Korea with nuclear weapons.

*Second Nuclear Crisis.* After September 11<sup>th</sup>, U.S. strategy fundamentally changed. The United States was prepared to resort to military means of counter-proliferation. North Korea clearly understood that it was also included in the possible targets for such military efforts by the United States. As Bruce Cummings noted, “North Korea thought Bush had serial plans for the axis of evil: first Saddam Hussein, then North Korea and then Iran.”<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

The essence of the first nuclear crisis with North Korea rested upon the American desire to get Pyongyang to commit to the inspection regime of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), administered by the IAEA, and Pyongyang’s desire to get out from under U.S. nuclear threat.<sup>lxxxviii</sup> This was still the basic problem in 2002.

In October 2002, the D.P.R.K. again kicked the IAEA inspectors out and restarted the country’s nuclear program. They announced that any sanctions would be perceived as a declaration of war. The North played an elaborate game of bluff about whether they had nuclear weapons or not.<sup>lxxxix</sup> In 2003, North Korea officially withdrew again from the NPT.

Then in 2006, the country issued an announcement that it had successfully conducted a nuclear test. The underground blast’s small yield, however, raised doubts over the test’s success. The U.N. responded with a resolution imposing new sanctions on North Korea. In 2009, North Korea claimed it was a “fully fledged nuclear power,” a statement with which the IAEA agreed.

Historian Bruce Cumings notes that in countless media stories, North Korea is described as a desperate rogue state run by a paranoid, irrational dictator that threatens the world with nuclear attacks. If this is true, then the country’s actions and nuclear decisions would be unpredictable. Couple that with the volatile neighborhood in which North Korea is located and it

is easy to understand why many in the United States worry about North Korea's nuclear capabilities.<sup>xc</sup>

As Cumings points out, though, since the 1940s, the D.P.R.K. has been the target of periodic nuclear threats from the United States, extended nuclear deterrence, and has been deemed part of the "axis of evil." In fact, the United States is the only country that has ever used nuclear weapons against an enemy. Because of that he asserts that Pyongyang would indeed be crazy and irrational if it did not take such history with total seriousness.<sup>xci</sup>

*Future Relations.* Several aspects of the security relationship are changing as the United States moves from a leading to a supporting role in the country. In 2004, agreement was reached on the return of the Yongsan base in Seoul--as well as a number of other U.S. bases--to the R.O.K. The United States has also agreed to transfer wartime operational control to the R.O.K. military on April 17, 2012. Within the next 10 years, the 28,000 service members that make up U.S. Forces Korea will be cut roughly by 14,000.

South Korea hopes decreased American troop presence will make it easier to negotiate talks with North Korea. In addition, much of the land that the United States forces occupy is private land that the South Korean government had seized. Since the democratization of the country, many landowners whose land was being occupied by the United States successfully sued South Korea for payment. So, the reduction of troops will eliminate many of the land ownership problems.

## **SIDEBAR**

### **Landmines in the DMZ**

There are many issues concerning the U.S. landmines in the DMZ (the Korean Militarized Zone is a strip of land running across the Korean Peninsula that serves as a buffer

zone between North and South Korea). The main reason the landmines are there is to protect the South Korean border.

Many believe that the landmines are unnecessary because the United States will come to the defense of South Korea in the event that North Korea invaded the South. Debaters can argue that this certainty is a sufficient deterrent against North Korea.

In addition, debaters can argue that landmines are uniquely indecent weapons of war because of the toll they can take on U.S. servicemen and women as well as civilians.<sup>xcii</sup> In fact, landmines kill more civilians than enemy soldiers. Moreover, landmines remain long after conflict has ended and it is difficult to remove them.<sup>xciii</sup>

On the flip-side, many agree that landmines along the demilitarized zone between the Koreas contribute significantly to the maintenance of peace, and have done so for in excess of 50 years. With over 70 percent of the North Korean Army poised within 50 kilometers of the border between the Koreas, mines play a significant role in the defense of the peninsula.

Furthermore, debaters can argue that mines are an ideal economy of force weapon. Mined areas lessen the amount of military force required to defend a region. Studies by the Center for Army Analysis conclude that about 20,000 additional troops would be required in Korea to offset DMZ mines were they to be removed. Many army officials state that it is of utmost importance to delay North Korean troops, especially taking into account their large number of tanks and artillery.<sup>xciv</sup>

**END SIDEBAR**

**Turkey**

**History.** The development of Modern Turkey began with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire after a three-year war of independence. Previous to the establishment of the Republic, Turkey was under Ottoman rule of the Sultan. During the nineteenth century, the late Ottoman Empire went through a variety of reforms, including the adoption of many Western practices and ideals by the Young Ottoman Movement and progressive intellectuals, including a constitution based on European models.<sup>xcv</sup> Over the next several decades through the beginning of the twentieth century, the Turkish government was beset by political turmoil caused by the fragmentation of the ruling class between traditional nationalists and the liberal reformers, ultimately leading to the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. Following World War I and the aggression with Greece, Turkey was liberated from the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey was founded under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923. The old religious ruling orders of the Sultanate and the Caliphate were abolished in favor of more modern Western social, legal, political and economic reforms declared by Atatürk, which continue to be the ideological base of Modern Turkey and later came to be known as “Kemalism”. This ideology included republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, and secularism. Other reforms included language reforms, social and marriage reforms, and economic policies which would prevent foreign interest from exerting influence on Turkish policies. Lastly, Islam was excluded from any official role in the government or public life.<sup>xcvi</sup>

After the death of Atatürk in 1938, the Grand National Assembly appointed his chief lieutenant Ismet İnönü President, who carried Turkey through the Second World War and into membership with the United Nations (UN). Throughout the next two decades, Turkey was beset by multi-party politics after the establishment of the Democratic Party, which advocated private

business, industry, and championed rural concerns. The Democratic Party was the ruling party between 1950 and 1960, characterizing themselves as the representatives of popular will. Following a military coup in 1960 which deposed the Democratic President under the charge of instituting a dictatorship and abrogating the constitution, the Committee of National Unity was formed. This period saw the increase in political parties, trade unions, and internal strife due to the ineffectiveness of the government in dealing with economic concerns, as well as the conflict with Greece over Cyprus in 1974, after which Turkey became the patron of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The fractured political scene and struggling economy led to the military coup of 1980 by General Kenan Evran, who declared martial law until the reestablishment of the government in 1982 with the writing of a Second Constitution, which declared Turkey's government as democratic, secular, and parliamentary. This constitution dissolved the Grand National Assembly, and granted shared power to the President and the Council of Ministers, led by the Prime Minister.<sup>xcvii</sup> The 1980s and 1990s saw continued political strife with the proliferation of political parties, dominated by the Motherland Party, the Social Democratic Populist Party, and the Welfare Party. In the summer of 1990, Turkey supported the UN against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War, and in 1997 Turkey's government was once again beset by a military coup which formed the Virtue Party.

In 2002, political parties fractured yet again, forming the Justice and Development Party (AK). The political reforms advocated by the AK began the negotiations with the European Union to work towards membership. The AK again dominated the election in 2007 by electing Abdullah Gül, the current President of Turkey. In October of 2007, the constitution was amended to institute a 5-year term of office, subject to renewal with the approval of the Council of Ministers. Turkey continues to advocate reforms to strengthen democracy and economy.

**Geography.** Turkey is located in Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia near Syria, Russia, Greece and Iran. Summers are hot and dry; winters are mild and wet. Narrow coastal plains surround Western Turkey; Eastern Turkey is covered by inland plateaus that become increasingly rugged as it progresses further east. Turkey is located in one of the more earth-quake prone areas of the world.

### Map of Turkey



Source: CIA World Factbook

**People.** 76.8 million people reside in Turkey. Life expectancy at birth is 72 years. Most of the population (nearly 70 percent) lives in urban areas. Turks make up the majority of population (70-75 percent) although some Kurdish (about 18 percent) and other minorities also call Turkey home. Approximately 90 percent of the population is Muslim, with most Muslims following the Sunni tradition, although a significant number follow Alevi and Shiite traditions.

**Economy.** Turkey is coming out of a tradition of a state-directed economy that was relatively closed to the outside world. The private sector is growing rapidly and is transitioning from a heavy reliance on agriculture and industry to reliance on a large globalized service sector. However, the agriculture sector still accounts for 30 percent of the country's employment.

In the 1990s, Turkey suffered from high-inflation boom-and-bust cycles that culminated in a severe banking and economic crisis in 2001. The result was a deep economic downturn and

increase in unemployment. In recent years, Turkey's economy has grown an average of 6 percent a year from 2002-2007, one of the highest sustained rates of growth in the world. GDP is currently estimated at \$903.9 billion.

**Government.** Turkey's constitution describes its government as democratic, secular and parliamentary. The civil law system is derived from various European legal systems.

*Executive.* The executive branch is headed by the chief of state, currently President Abdullah Gul and head of government, currently Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The president is elected directly for a five year term. The next presidential election will be held in 2014. The president's powers are not precisely enumerated, but depend on the president's political capital and personality. The prime minister is appointed by the president from among the members of parliament. The prime minister administers the government.

*Legislature.* The unicameral legislature consists of the 550 members of the Grand National Assembly. Members are elected by popular vote to serve five year terms. The next election will be held in November 2012.

*Judicial.* There are four branches of courts in Turkey: general law courts, military courts, state security courts and a constitutional court.<sup>xcviii</sup> Judiciary independence is guaranteed by the constitution.<sup>xcix</sup> Defendants are guaranteed the right to a public trial and there is no jury system.<sup>c</sup>

**U.S. Military Presence in Turkey.** The United States has had a military presence in Turkey for decades. The relationship between the two countries has been described as strategic—"sustained and supportive of the most important international objectives on both sides." The need to contain Soviet power shaped the relationship during the cold war. Later, during the Gulf War, Turkey was called upon to provide extensive support for coalition operations. Today, Turkey's proximity to areas of interest such as the Balkans, the Black Sea

and the Middle East has made questions of access for the projection of military power, or the transportation of energy, the focus of strategic cooperation with Ankara.

U.S. involvement in Turkey aids several security concerns.

*Iraq and Afghanistan.* Turkey is currently the main transit hub for the flow of logistical supplies to U.S. troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. Turkish leaders have been unwilling to allow the use of Turkey for anything other than the most limited, non-strategic operations in Iraq since the end of the first Iraq War in 1991. Currently there are approximately 3,000 troops in Turkey. When the United States begins the withdrawal from Iraq, Pentagon planners hope to rotate troops out through Turkey. So far, Turkey remains open to the use of its land for troop withdrawal.

*Energy.* Turkey's position as a link between oil producing regions in Caspian, Caucasus, and Central Asia to consumer markets in Europe has made the country a strategic player in world politics as a transit point for oil.

U.S. presence in Turkey protects our energy interests. A portion of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline runs through Turkey. This is the second largest oil pipeline in the former Soviet Union and began functioning fully in May 2006. U.S. dependence on the Middle East for their energy needs have grown significantly. Energy is one of Turkey's top priorities in international relations and is at the top of the list for U.S. cooperation with Turkey. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline through Turkey was particularly supported by the United States because the United States was worried about Russian-Iranian cooperation. The two countries have also been working on a Eurasian transit corridor so that oil and gas can be exported from the Caspian region into Europe. Turkey is seeking to establish itself as the main Caspian export route and, beyond simply the energy interest, promoting this leads to increasing Turkey's political influence in the region.

The South Caucasus region is an area of great political strategic significance. As a result the United States has become very involved in the affairs of the nations there. Tensions in the area have made it necessary for the United States to station troops in the country. This was demonstrated in 2008 when Russia and Georgia were in conflict over disputed territory. The Russians attempted to bomb the pipeline, which would target not just the Georgia economy but international economies as well. The pipeline supplies one percent of the world's oil needs and pumps a million barrels of crude oil per day to Turkey. The pipeline is the only oil and gas route that bypasses Russia's hold on the energy exports in the region and is said to be crucial to the world's volatile energy market.

In addition to the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, Turkey also has the South Caucasus Pipeline and an interconnector pipeline to Greece. The South Caucasus Pipeline brings natural gas from Azerbaijan to Turkey and began in 2007. The interconnector pipeline came online in November 2007 and is part of the process to bring Caspian natural gas to Europe via Turkey. There are also numerous more pipelines either under construction or projected.

A bill was presented to the 106th Congress in 1999 which developed the Silk Road Strategy and called for the creation of an energy and transport corridor which would link Western Europe to Central Asia and eventually the Far East. It was defined as a "trans-Eurasian security system" and called for the "militarization of the Eurasian corridor." It never became law but was the basis for U.S.-NATO intervention in the area under the Bush Administration. A large part of this strategy was obtaining access to the South Caucasus and Central Asian oil and gas fields in order to "reduce the dependence of the United States on energy from the volatile Persian Gulf region."

*Future Relations.* Following Obama's two 2009 meetings with Erdogan, officials and analysts have been uncharacteristically optimistic about the outlook for U.S.-Turkish relations. Some political commentators have gone so far as to term this the Golden Age of U.S.-Turkey relations. Turkey and the United States have pledged to remain strong partners. In exchange for its support, the United States has pledged to assist Turkey in a few ways. Turkey has asked for assistance against the Kurdistan Workers Party. In November 2007, Bush promised to help Turkey in this fight calling the group a terrorist organization, characterizing it as a common enemy of Turkey, Iraq and the United States. The United States continues to provide intelligence on the PKK. The United States has also agreed to support Turkey's bid for European Union (EU) membership. However, tensions between the United States and Turkey have risen over Iran. The United States would like Turkey to support sanctions against Iran, but Iran favors more diplomacy.

### **History of U.S. Foreign Policy**

The founders of the United States warned against being dragged into European conflicts and "entangling alliances." Many in early America believed that alliances and involvement in faraway wars (particularly in Europe) would inevitably "reduce the nation's security, deplete its income, corrupt its politics, endanger its liberty and damage its interests."<sup>ci</sup> At this time the United States was weak when compared to many European powers.

*Any submission to, dependence on, Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and sets us at variance with those who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint.*

*--Thomas Paine, Common Sense 1776*

Despite this isolationist rhetoric, American was engaged in certain regions the world. For example, the Monroe Doctrine declared to Europe that interference in the Americas would be regarded as “the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to the United States.” The 1904 Roosevelt Corollary supplemented the Monroe Doctrine, stating even more forcefully that the United States considered the Americas its domain alone.

The two world wars tested America’s commitment to avoiding alliances and maintaining neutrality toward Europe. On both occasions, the American public overwhelmingly opposed entering the war. Many Americans believed that choosing sides and forming alliances would drag the United States into a long and expensive battle that would undermine its vital interests. However, the Axis powers’ provocative policies overwhelmed the public’s desire to remain neutral. America’s long-standing aversion to alliances and engagement in Europe’s wars finally fully gave way when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

Pearl Harbor pulled the United States into WWII and set the stage for Pax Americana. The United States developed a new foreign policy strategy that was a drastic departure from the founders’ isolationist rhetoric. During WWI and WWII, the United States grew suspicious of communist Russia and believed U.S. foreign policy must be that of “long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.”<sup>cii</sup> The idea was that communist ideals were a threat that could only be stopped by U.S. military presence abroad.

Shortly after WWII, President Truman announced the Truman doctrine. It held that the United States would provide political, military and economic assistance to democratic nations which were threatened by external or internal authoritarian forces. The United States believed that it could not retreat home like it did after WWI with the threat of communism spreading. By

the mid 1950s, America had an expanding network of alliances, international military bases, and deployments of tens of thousands of troops all designed to “contain” communism.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s a consensus developed among Americans closely tied to U.S. containment strategy:<sup>ciii</sup>

- Stand firmly for democracy and freedom
- Contain communism
- Resist aggression

Vietnam destroyed the cold war consensus.<sup>civ</sup> By the late 1960s, the war had deeply divided the American public. The result was a questioning of the basic foreign policy ideals that had drawn the United States into the war in the first place. Under Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter, the United States turned inward and tried to avoid international entanglements.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 again brought drastic change in the tone about foreign policy. After the attacks, many Americans favored a highly militarized, confrontational strategy of primacy that uses U.S. power to secure interests overseas.

Today, the United States operates some 1,700 military installations (including bases, listening posts, facilities for storing weapons and supplies and training centers) in a hundred countries and is waging wars on two fronts. This picture is a dramatic departure from the founder’s foreign policy playbook and represents a revolution in grand strategy.

## **SIDEBAR**

### **American Foreign Policy Actors**

In our system of checks and balances, both congress and the president have responsibilities for American foreign policy. In fact, their powers often overlap. The president

is the commander in chief, but all appropriations must be approved by congress. The president has considerable appointment and treaty-making powers, but the Senate must concur on these matters. Only congress can declare war, but the president can act militarily without the express permission of congress. In fact, in over 125 instances the president has acted militarily without a declaration of war.

Bureaucratic politics are also at work in the making of foreign policy. Different agencies of the U.S. government charged with carrying out foreign policy—White House, State Department, Department of Defense, Treasury, CIA, and others—frequently have different interests and points of view that can lead conflict. There are different cultures, norms, and SOPs that can be very difficult to coordinate.

Many scholars note that our conception of foreign policy is often too simplistic. We assume that states make foreign policy decisions on the basis of the best information possible, that they carefully weigh the pros and cons of various alternatives and that they rationally choose the one that best advances the national interests and then proceed to implement the strategy. The reality is often quite different. Debaters should keep the complicated nature of foreign policy in mind when crafting arguments.

**END SIDEBAR**

## **Major Affirmative and Negative Arguments**

### **Cost of Deployment**

The United States has dominated world defense spending since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The United States defense spending currently accounts for 41.5 percent of the world total. The United States is distantly followed by China (5.8 percent), France (4.5 percent),

Britain (4.5 percent) and Russia (4 percent).<sup>cv</sup> For the 2010 fiscal year, the President's base budget of the Department of Defense rose to \$533.8 billion.<sup>cvi</sup> Adding spending on "overseas contingency operations" brings the sum to \$663.8 billion. The final budget signed into law created a budget of \$680 billion for the Department of Defense.<sup>cvi</sup> In addition to this amount, congress is expected to pass supplemental bills for fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Debaters on this topic can use these figures to argue that the cost of our military deployments is far too excessive. Debaters can claim defense spending is crowding out discretionary spending on other programs like education and roads. Secondly, debaters can argue that deficit spending will weaken the U.S. economy and put us in a weaker position to negotiate with foreign nations. Finally, debaters can argue that such a large defense budget is not necessary to secure our interests. These arguments are discussed in more detail below.

**Crowd Out Domestic Priorities.** Debaters can argue that spending abroad is not more important than spending at home and increased military spending crowds out domestic priorities.<sup>cviii</sup> One area in which debaters can argue that the United States is falling behind is education. According to Bob Wise of Alliance for Excellent Education, "In benchmarking among member countries the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, some 30 of the world's most developed nations, U.S. students finished 21st in science; 25th in math; 15th in literacy and 24th in problem solving." Debaters can argue that it is crucial that the United States catch up to its international counterparts in terms of education, otherwise we risk falling behind globally.

But improving education will most likely cost money—money that hasn't yet been allocated to public education. With Obama's threat to freeze spending for every area except defense, social security, and Medicare, education may not see increased funding without cuts elsewhere.

Debaters can also argue that infrastructure is suffering from a lack of funding. The American Society of Civil Engineers has estimated that \$2.2 trillion is needed to repair highway, transit and water projects after years of neglect and create new public transportation systems in areas where they are needed.

Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld estimated that the United States can save at least \$12 billion by closing 200 to 300 military bases. Debaters can argue that closing military bases is one way to fund domestic projects and spend our tax dollars in more productive and socially useful ways.

**Weaken U.S. Foreign Policy.** In addition to crowding out domestic priorities, Christopher Layne, professor of government at Texas A&M University, argues that budget deficits undermine U.S. ability to conduct foreign policy in several ways. First, it means less funding for all those agencies charged with carrying out foreign or defense policy: the State Department, the Defense Department, the United States Information Agency and many others. Second, it means a reduction in U.S. foreign assistance, which therefore gives us less leverage in dealing with many countries. Third, the fact that the United States has moved from being a creditor to a debtor nations means we have to borrow and to seek investment capital from other nations, making us to some degree dependent on them. And fourth, the weakening of the U.S. economy relative to other nations means simply that the United States carries less economic clout, and therefore less political and foreign policy clout.

**Not Necessary to Fight Terrorism.** Moreover, debaters can argue that a large defense budget is not necessary to fight terrorist threats. The reality is that large conventional military operations will be the exception rather than the rule in the war on terrorism. The military's role in the war on terrorism will mainly involve special operations forces in discrete missions against

specific targets, not conventional warfare aimed at overthrowing entire regimes. Debaters can claim that dismantling and degrading the al-Qaeda terrorist network will require unprecedented international intelligence and law enforcement cooperation, not expensive new planes, helicopters, and warships.

Therefore, an increasingly large defense budget is not necessary to fight the war on terrorism. Nor is it necessary to protect America from traditional nation-state military threats—the United States is in a unique geostrategic position; it has no military rivals and is relatively secure from conventional military attack because of vast oceans on its flanks and friendly neighbors to the north and south.

**Answers.** Debaters can answer these claims by arguing that our military spending is affordable; it represents only 4 percent of our GDP. Debaters can also assert that this spending is necessary to ensure our global leadership. As former House Speaker Newt Gingrich said, “You do not need today’s defense budget to defend the United States. You need today’s defense budget to lead the world. If you are prepared to give up leading the world you can have a much smaller defense budget.”

## Military Priorities

Debaters on this topic do not necessarily have to defend a net reduction in presence and force. The affirmative merely has to end a role of the current force. This is significant because it allows the topic to be bidirectional. The negative can’t simply argue that maintaining active deployments is key to the perception of strong American power projection because the affirmative can agree that troops are necessary, but that they should be serving in Iraq and

Afghanistan instead of Japan. In other worlds, the affirmative can defend one part of the resolution (no troops in Japan) while negating another (more troops in Iraq).

Affirmatives can argue that we have a limited number of troops and with all of the United States' overseas commitments, America's troops are becoming drastically overstretched. Many teams may argue that they will decrease troops in some regions like Kuwait so that they can be redeployed to regions they consider more vital, like Afghanistan and Iraq to prevent overstretch. In other words, we must prioritize our commitments.

**U.S. Military Overstretched.** A 2008 survey of 3,400 military officers revealed an concern about the military's strength:

- 88 percent of respondents believe the demands of the Iraq war have "stretched the U.S. military dangerously thin"
- 80 percent of officers believe it is unreasonable to expect the U.S. military to wage another major war successfully at present
- 60 percent said the U.S. military is weaker than it was five years ago
- 46 percent of the officers said that the Iraq war has "broken" the military.

Even though we are in the process of pulling out of Iraq, troops will still be needed there to train Iraqi forces. According to U.S .News and World Report, "Even as troops leave Iraq for Afghanistan on the heels of greater stability in Baghdad, the U.S. military will need considerable forces to support the Iraqi military, including supply specialists, aviators, and intelligence officers. As the [brigade combat teams] draw down, it means you have more people spread thin," Undersecretary of the Army Nelson Ford noted. "You need more logistics, more aviation, controls, and communication. You can see a point where it's going to be very difficult to cope."

**Vulnerable to Attack.** Debaters can argue that overstretch significantly weakens the U.S. ability to deter and respond to contingencies. The United States has only limited ground force capability ready to respond to crises. The absence of a credible strategic reserve in our ground forces increases the risk that potential adversaries will be tempted to challenge the United States. As a global power with global interests, the United States must be able to deal with challenges to its interests in multiple regions of the world simultaneously. If the Army were ordered to send significant forces to another crisis today, its only option would be to deploy units at readiness levels far below what operational plans would require—increasing the risk to the men and women being sent into harm’s way and to the success of the mission.<sup>cix</sup>

**Negative Response.** Negatives can argue that the U.S. military is not in danger of overstretch. In fact, military enlistment set records in 2009. For the first time since the draft was abandoned and all-volunteer forces took its place, all of the branches of the U.S. military met their recruiting goals. The downturn of the economy is largely attributed for this rise in enlistments.<sup>cx</sup> Many consider the U.S. military to be overstretched because of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, but negatives can use these record setting enlistments as proof that the military is getting the number of troops they need.

In 2006, Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld said that the military was not overstretched, but rather that it needed to be reorganized to maximize its strength. He pointed out that U.S. troops in Iraq totaled 136,000, only a small portion of the 1.4 million active troops and the 2 million reserve troops. He believed one solution would be to reorganize the army into small units so that it would be more flexible.<sup>cxii</sup> In a 2004 article, the Heritage Foundation agreed that the problem was not the military force being too small. They agreed that the military could be better utilized if it were restructured. A few of their suggestions included getting rid of four-

star generals in Europe, turning ROTC training over to military retirees and increasing Special Forces and military policy while decreasing artillery and armor units.<sup>cxii</sup>

## **SIDEBAR**

### **Mental Health**

Many United States officials refute the opinion that the United States military is overstretched, saying that we are able to handle our military commitments with our current level of troops. Even if this is true, debaters can argue it is happening at the expense of the mental health of our current troops, who are forced to endure several repeated deployments.

Many of the troops in Afghanistan and Iraq have been deployed multiple times and this has affected their mental wellbeing. Michael O'Hanlon, a senior fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, noted that 27 percent of soldiers who had completed three or four tours in Iraq showed signs of post-traumatic stress disorder, according to a 2008 survey, versus 12 percent after one tour and 18 percent after two.

In addition, suicide rates for soldiers have hit a three-decade high. According to the LA Times, 128 soldiers took their own lives in 2008, “an estimated suicide rate of 20.2 per 100,000, a sharp increase from the 2007 rate of 16.8.” They furthered, “Army officials believe that contributing factors include emotional and psychological stress caused by repeated combat deployments, along with the toll that the tours have taken on marriages.”

According to a study conducted by The Department of Veterans Affairs in 2009, “Previously deployed soldiers were more than 3 times as likely as soldiers with no previous deployments to screen positive for posttraumatic stress disorder and major depression, more than twice as likely to report chronic pain and more than 90 percent more likely to score below the general population norm on physical functioning.”

**END SIDEBAR****U.S. Hegemony**

Currently, the United States is in a unique position by almost any measure— its economy, ideology, and military lead the world. Debaters can argue that the United States should use its military power to remain the global hegemon because this role is beneficial for both the United States and the rest of the world.

**World Interests.** Many scholars argue that U.S. hegemony benefits the world in several ways.

*Hegemonic Stability Theory.* Hegemonic Stability Theory is the idea that the international system is more likely to remain stable when a single nation-state is the dominant power, or hegemon. Scholars have long recognized that power can bring peace to the anarchic world of international politics. The hegemon promotes peace and stability by developing and enforcing rules of the system. Throughout history, peace and stability have been great benefits of an era where there was a dominant power—Rome, Britain or the United States today. Appalling things happen when hegemons collapse.<sup>cxiii</sup> “The Dark Ages followed Rome’s collapse. Hitler succeeded the order established at Versailles.”<sup>cxiv</sup> Debaters can argue that the United States, in particular, has created a more peaceful world. American primacy has kept a number of complicated relationships aligned: Greece and Turkey, Israel and Egypt, South Korea and Japan, India and Pakistan, Indonesia and Australia.<sup>cxv</sup>

*Benevolent Hegemon.* Some scholars have termed the United States a “benevolent hegemon.” The United States has used its power for many humanitarian interests and has worked to advance the welfare of people all over the globe. In fact, since the end of the cold

war, the United States has participated in over approximately humanitarian 50 missions.<sup>cxvi</sup> The United States assists countries like Haiti after natural disasters by responding with aid and acts as the “world’s police” by intervening to stop crimes against humanity in places like Bosnia.

*Democracy Promotion.* In addition, the United States promotes an ideology of liberalism. Debaters can argue that democracy promotion is beneficial because once states are governed democratically the likelihood of any type of conflict is significantly reduced. The democratic peace theory holds that democracies rarely go to war with one another. Arguably, democratic countries are more open, more transparent and more likely to resolve things amicably. In addition, some scholars argue that democracy is the best form of government because it is the least likely to kill its citizens. Political scientist R.J. Rummel developed the word “democide,” meaning murder by government and argues that six times as many people died of democide in the 20<sup>th</sup> century than in all of the centuries wars combined.<sup>cxvii</sup>

*Free Trade.* The United States has also contributed the growth of free trade and commerce. The United States and its allies have developed a worldwide network characterized by free trade, respect for international property rights and mobility of capital and labor markets. Debaters can argue that economic stability and prosperity stems from this economic world order and benefits all states.<sup>cxviii</sup>

**U.S. Security and Interests.** Debaters can argue that the United States’ position as the global hegemon allows the United States to advance its interests while protecting against threats.

*Protect from Invasion and Attacks.* U.S. military power allows us to protect against invasion and attack. Bradley Thayer, political science professor at Baylor University, argues that abandoning primacy would pose enormous security dangers to the United States at home. He asserts that retrenchment will make the United States less secure because threats will exist no

matter what role the United States chooses to play on the world stage.<sup>cxix</sup> Debaters can argue that the United States should attack terrorists far from America's shores and not wait until they use bases in other countries to plan and train for attacks against the United States itself. In other worlds, the United States should maximize power for maximum security.

*Protect U.S. Interests Abroad.* Thayer argues that the U.S. role as the global hegemon allows us to control the global commons such as the sea, air and space and allows us to project power far from our borders. We can ensure that resources like oil are protected and trade routes are secure. U.S. military power also allows us to protect our allies. Allies are a great asset to the United States because they share some of our responsibilities.

*Shape World Events.* In addition, as the global power, the United States is able to help shape world events. Countries align themselves with the United States because it is in their own interests. Thayer notes that of 192 countries, 84 are allied with the United States—their security is tied to the United States through treaties and other informal arrangements.<sup>cxx</sup> Thayer points out that only five countries are opposed to the United States: China, Cuba, Iran, North Korea and Venezuela. U.S. primacy and the bandwagon effect has given us extensive influence in international politics, allowing the United States to shape the behavior of states and international institutions, creating coalitions of like-minded states to free Kosovo, stabilize Afghanistan and invade Iraq. Doing so allows the United States to operate with allies outside of the U.N., where it can be stymied by opponents.

**Answers.** Debaters can counter that the strategy of primacy and empire comes with a steep price. Political scientist Christopher Layne argues that it has a corrosive effect on democracy because empire is at odds with America's cherished values. "Democracy promotion abroad is antithetical to democracy here."<sup>cxxi</sup> In addition, he argues that we are not perceived

internationally as a benevolent hegemon. Instead, he argues that other states dread U.S. power. As Paul Sharp writes, “No great power has a monopoly on virtue and, although some may have a great deal more virtue than others, virtue imposed on others is not seen as such by them.”<sup>cxix</sup> Debaters can also argue that democracy promotion actually increases anti-Americanism and violence abroad.

In addition, debaters can argue that primacy is too expensive and will lead to fiscal overstretch. It will squeeze out discretionary spending on other programs like education and roads. More guns, less butter will weaken education, infrastructure, and research. Spending abroad is not more important than spending at home.

## **SIDEBAR**

### **China**

Debaters can argue that Chinese perception of American power is important. As long as Chinese leaders perceive a long-lasting American preeminence, averting confrontation with the United States is likely seen as the best option. If Beijing were to perceive the U.S. position as weakening, there could be fewer inhibitions for China to avoid challenging the United States where American and Chinese interests diverge.<sup>cxv</sup>

This belief is evidence in China’s recent posturing over Taiwan, where Beijing is challenging American resolve in East Asia by intensifying its threats toward Taipei. Taiwan, which China considers a renegade province, may become the location where China will conduct a test of U.S. resolve. Beijing has continued to direct some 500 short-range missiles toward the island. One objective of this missile deployment is to increase Beijing’s chances of executing a successful decapitation strike.<sup>cxvi</sup> Certainly, the United States still retains the military ability to engage Chinese forces should they attempt to invade Taiwan; nevertheless, the fact that U.S.

forces are so embroiled in other areas of the world means that any such engagement would be risky for the United States. It is not clear how beneficial it would be for the United States to risk a military engagement to impede such efforts.

## Nuclear Proliferation

Currently, the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, India and Pakistan are known to have nuclear weapons. Israel and North Korea are suspected to have nuclear weapons. Iran asserts that it has nuclear weapons, but many analysts doubt this claim. Many argue that U.S. security presence in countries such as Japan and South Korea has curbed nuclear proliferation. Because these countries exist under the U.S. “nuclear umbrella,” they have no need to develop their own nuclear weapons.

**Nuclear Proliferation Con.** Debaters, particularly negatives, can argue that without U.S. deployments countries would find it necessary to gain nuclear weapons. In fact, South Korea and Japan are highly advanced states and could quickly build nuclear weapons if they decided it was in their interests to do so.<sup>cxxv</sup> Debaters can argue that this type of nuclear proliferation would be harmful for a number of reasons.

*Accidents.* First, nuclear proliferation increases the risk of nuclear accidents in third world and industrialized countries. Shai Feldman, senior research fellow for the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard, and Scott Sagan, professor political science at Stanford, argue that two factors among third world states increases the chance of an accident from proliferation. The first is that, third world states suffer from a lack of money and resources to devote to nuclear programs and thus will have poor command and control. “Mechanisms at their disposal would likely be less complex and sophisticated.”<sup>cxxvi</sup> This lack of resources for

nuclear programs may lead to highly unstable nuclear weapons, “inevitably on the verge of going off.”<sup>cxvii</sup> For example, soon after the 1991 Persian Gulf War, United Nations’ inspectors found this to be true of the design of the Iraq bomb. One of the inspectors commented, “It could go off if a bullet hit it. I wouldn’t want to be around if it fell off the edge of this desk.”<sup>cxviii</sup> The second factor contributing to increased risk of nuclear accidents among third world states is the small size of third world countries’ arsenals. Because states with small arsenals might fear an attack, they may put their missiles on high alert. This inherently raises risk of accidents as fewer safeguards are in place to prevent detonation.

The risk of accidents is also present in industrialized countries. Debaters can use past examples of close calls in the United States to argue that accidents are likely. In fact, the United States experienced many near accidents since the cold war. Stansfield Turner, former Director of the CIA spoke of nuclear accidents in the United States saying, “The most glaring case was in 1961 when one of our B-52 strategic bombers broke up in flight over North Carolina. Two nuclear bombs landed near Greensboro. On one, five of the six safety switches failed. Only the last one prevented detonation.”<sup>cxix</sup> Past luck does not equate future luck. A nuclear accident could be devastatingly destructive. With nuclear weapons, the risk is always present.

*Accidental War.* Second, negatives can argue that accidents can easily lead to accidental war. Inadvertent war occurs when neither side consciously seeks a conflict. “If a weapon goes off by accident, as they sometimes nearly did in the cold war’s early years, who is to say that the enemies will not be blamed and bombed.”<sup>cxx</sup> This is heightened by the fact that institutional and regional factors that reduced risk of accidental war during the cold war will be absent among new nuclear states. North and South Korea or Japan and China will immediately have very small margins of error at the outset of nuclear rivalries, since they have continuous borders with their

adversaries.<sup>cxxxix</sup> Unlike the United States and the Soviet Union, new nuclear states will not have an ocean separating them. Warning times between nuclear neighbors would be short. With less time to react after an accident, decisions may be made to retaliate without knowing the perceived attack was unintentional.

*Terrorist Acquisition.* Also, negatives can argue that proliferation of nuclear weapons increases the risk that terrorists will obtain them. As Thomas Graham, former U.S. Arms Control Representative said, “In a world filled with nuclear weapons states, keeping these weapons out of the hands of criminals, terrorists or religious cults will become all but impossible.”<sup>cxxxix</sup> Graham found that many nuclear weapons, especially tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, are not adequately secured against terrorist threat.

*Escalation.* Another concern with nuclear proliferation is that new nuclear states will be willing to use nuclear weapons and their use will escalate, making wars more destructive. Some scholars assert that international norms against the use of nuclear weapons are not “likely to affect the calculations of those who ignore legal impediments.”<sup>cxxxix</sup> Debaters can note that, international norms have not stopped states from using chemical weapons against civilians, such as the Kurds, and in response, the international community was not effective in imposing sanctions against such actions. Robert Joseph, director of the Center for Counter Proliferation Research, says nuclear weapons are unlikely to be perceived differently. They will be viewed as reasonable alternatives and not only weapons of last resort by rogue states. “In fact, they will be perceived as perhaps the most effective instruments to overcome the conventional superiority of the United States against which these countries simply can’t compete.”<sup>cxxxix</sup> According to Joseph, war between nations is not a controlled game played within the rules. “To suppose that such contests can ever happen in a sealed compartment from which nuclear knowledge is

excluded is fantasy. If Hitler could have built nuclear weapons, would he have accepted defeat without doing so? And would Churchill or Roosevelt have been willing to bet on that?<sup>cxxxv</sup> It is impossible to ensure that wars will not go nuclear.

**Nuclear Proliferation Pro.** Debaters can counter these arguments by claiming that proliferation would actually be beneficial for several reasons.

*Deterrence.* First, nuclear proliferation can act as deterrence, preventing war. States with nuclear weapons can inflict great damage upon their enemies if provoked. The high risk involved discourages war against nuclear states. Waltz, argues that a simple cost-benefit-analysis yields that nuclear war will not occur because it will not pay. “It is suicidal to make a nuclear attack against a nuclear adversary. The amount of damage that can be caused by a small number of nuclear weapons is virtually unlimited.”<sup>cxxxvi</sup>

Nuclear weapons leave less room for misperception than traditional weapons. “A simple extrapolation from the widely recognized horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to today’s far larger-yield nuclear weapons leaves little doubt that the use of any nuclear arms would be catastrophic.”<sup>cxxxvii</sup> When nuclear weapons are involved, it is not difficult to estimate that waging a nuclear war would be foolish. Common sense and rationality prevent a war with nuclear weapons.<sup>cxxxviii</sup>

In addition, deterrence is not sensitive to cost constraints because even weak and poor states can have second-strike capabilities. A nuclear attack that does not entirely destroy the adversary’s nuclear weapons is a very dangerous risk. The retaliation would be deadly. “Unless the state is convinced that it does not hide additional weapons, they cannot be confident that a strike would destroy all of the state’s nuclear capabilities.”<sup>cxxxix</sup> Because of this, nuclear weapons deter attacks against even poor states.

Debaters can assert that empirically, nuclear proliferation has been beneficial. The sixty-five years since nuclear weapons were created have been the longest period of peace ever. “Half a century of nuclear peace has to be explained since divergence from historical experience is dramatic. Never in modern history, conventionally dated from 1648, have the great and major powers of the world enjoyed such a long period of peace.”<sup>cxl</sup>

*Crisis De-escalation.* Along with deterrence, nuclear proliferation also encourages crisis de-escalation. Because of the devastating potential of nuclear weapons, “leaders of nuclear powers embroiled in crises look not for ways to use the weapons at their disposal, but for ways not to use them.”<sup>cxli</sup> Faced with the risk of overwhelming loss, states look for ways to limit conflict and are increasingly cautious.

*Nuclear Taboo.* Next, scholars have written about a taboo attached to nuclear weapons. Tina Tannenwald, assistant professor at Watson Institute for International Studies, speaks of this taboo as a norm that explains why nuclear weapons are not used. Nuclear weapons have been “delegitimized as weapons of war practices and have been embedded in a set of norms that restrain the self-help behavior of states.”<sup>cxlii</sup> These norms blocked the U.S. use of nuclear weapons in the Gulf War. A desert scenario such as the Iraqi invasion actually presents very favorable conditions for the militarily effective use of small nuclear weapons.

*Terrorist Acquisition.* In addition, affirmatives can argue that terrorist groups will not obtain nuclear weapons. As Karl Kamp wrote, “As plausible as it may seem that terrorists would consider the threat of nuclear destruction as the ultimate means of enforcing their demands, there has never been a genuine nuclear threat. Not a single instance has occurred in which a non-governmental group of individual has come anywhere close to obtaining nuclear weapons.”<sup>cxliii</sup> It is argued that terrorists would not be able to obtain nuclear weapons because states would not

supply them when the terrorists could potentially turn and use them against their citizens. Even if terrorists acquire nuclear weapons, NEST, the Nuclear Emergency Search Team, established by the United States stands ready to be transported on short notice to locations around the world to search for nuclear materials. Once found, they are equipped to disable and neutralize the nuclear weapons.

## **SIDEBAR**

### **Japanese Nuclear Proliferation**

Japan is currently under the “nuclear umbrella” of the United States. This means that because the United States pledges to protect Japan, Japan does not need to develop a force to defend itself. In fact, Japan is prohibited from doing so by its constitution, written by the United States following its defeat in WWII.

Many scholars argue that the U.S.-Japan alliance is key to security and stability in the region. An American withdrawal from East Asia could very well result in a Japanese decision to build a more robust conventional military capacity and to acquire nuclear weapons—a contingency that Chinese leaders implicitly acknowledge and that has muted their calls for U.S. disengagement.<sup>cxliv</sup> America’s physical presence in the country is necessary to the credibility of their commitment to defend Japan. Since the American forces serve as a hedge against uncertainty, Japan might well seek to replace it with another source of hedging. A leading candidate for that role would be nuclear weapons of their own. The possession of nuclear weapons equips countries with certain leverage, a geopolitical weight that, unless somehow counterbalanced, can confer a political advantage in dealing with countries lacking them.

The potential for a Japanese decision to go nuclear is not just theoretical. The country operates a fast-breeder nuclear reactor as part of its civilian nuclear program for providing

electricity. Japanese authorities describe the fast breeder program as merely a component of their comprehensive nuclear fuel cycle, but there is another implication.<sup>cxlv</sup> The plutonium the reactor produces is not only available as fuel for nuclear reactors, but also has the potential to be used in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Moreover, there is an additional source of fissile material in the stock piles of plutonium that have been reprocessed in Britain and France from Japan's used civilian nuclear reactor fuel and then returned to Japan.

American engagement provides both reassurance and deterrence and thus eases the security dilemmas of key states in the region, including countries that are America's allies, but remain suspicious of each other. Given the history of the region, an American withdrawal would be likely to trigger arms races and the accelerated proliferation of nuclear weapons. "It is thus no exaggeration to describe the American presence as providing the oxygen crucial for the region's stability."<sup>cxlvi</sup>

In fact, empirically perceptions of declining U.S. influence in Asia has triggered nuclearization.<sup>cxlvii</sup> Historical precedents in cold war Asia provide ample evidence of the proliferation related consequences of real or perceived American indifference to the region. In 1971, under the Nixon Doctrine, which called on allies to bear heavier burdens, Washington withdrew a combat division from the Korean peninsula. As a consequence, according to Seung-Young Kim, "Korean leaders were not sure about U.S. willingness to use nuclear weapons," despite the presence of tactical nuclear weapons on Korean soil. Such fears compelled President Park Chung Hee to initiate a crash nuclear-weapons program.

## Security and Counterterrorism

**U.S. Security Interests.** Debaters can argue that our presence in volatile regions is essential to U.S. security and counterterrorism efforts. Political scientists Bradley Thayer argued that Washington cannot hide from threats whether they are terrorists, rogue states or rising powers.<sup>cxlviii</sup> Retrenchment will make the United States less secure because threats will exist no matter what role American chooses to play in international politics<sup>cxlix</sup> Whether they are terrorist, rogue states or rising powers, history shows that threats must be confronted. If there is no diplomatic solution to the threats that confront the United States, then the conventional and strategic military power of the United States is what protects the country from such threats. And when enemies must be confronted a strategy based on primacy focuses on engaging enemies overseas, away from American soil.

Debaters can argue that our physical presence in countries where threats are found, and where unstable and weak governments are threatened by terrorist activity is vital.

*Iraq.* Debaters can argue that our military presence in Iraq is necessary for U.S. security interests. According to the Heritage Foundation, there are three main aims of the war: 1) Destroying Iraq's terrorist infrastructure and mass destruction programs; 2) Preventing Iraq's rise as a dominant, hostile power in the Persian Gulf region and to prevent Iran from dominating the country; 3) Protecting Iraq's energy infrastructure in order to return Iraq to global energy markets and ensure U.S. and world access to its resources on the energy market.<sup>cl</sup> Debaters can assert that Saddam Hussein's regime actively supported terrorism and pursued a weapons program. Even after the collapse of this regime, it is important for U.S. security to ensure the stability of Iraq.<sup>cli</sup> According to Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, if Iraq failed it would become a "Petri dish for insurgents and al-Qaeda."<sup>clii</sup> She stated that the failure of Iraq "is directly in opposition to our interests, to the interests of regimes, to Israel's interests."

*Afghanistan.* Debaters can argue that America's presence in Afghanistan is also necessary to protect U.S. security interests. The Center for American Progress recognizes that Afghanistan has the most critical need for American military, economic and political engagement for several reasons.<sup>cliii</sup> First, al-Qaeda poses a direct threat to the Afghanistan and the United States. Debaters can claim that al-Qaeda has found a haven in Afghanistan and its neighbor Pakistan that allows the group to plan attacks against the U.S. homeland.<sup>cliv</sup> Second, Afghan instability threatens the stability of Pakistan and South Asia. Stabilizing Afghanistan provides a strong base for U.S. operations into Pakistan. Pakistan is significant because of its nuclear arsenal. Debaters can assert that al-Qaeda's takeover or dominance of the country would be a threat to the entire region and could possibly trigger a nuclear confrontation between Pakistan and India.<sup>clv</sup> Third, many believe Afghanistan's opium revenues support regional and international terrorism around the world. Over 93 percent of opium is produced in Afghanistan and transported by the Taliban or other militant groups.

*Continued Presence.* In addition, debaters can argue that we need to be in those countries *before* a crisis erupts. Existing platforms will allow the United States to quickly act. At the beginning of the Iraq war, the United States encountered some difficulties getting into Iraq when Turkey refused to allow the United States to fly in its air space. These type of logistical problems can be alleviated to a large extent when we are already in the region when problems surface.<sup>clvi</sup> Debaters can argue that it is imperative to our security interests that we make the decision to be a presence in the region before the crisis.<sup>clvii</sup> This is a justification for continued presence in countries like Kuwait, Turkey and South Korea.

**Anti Americanism.** On the other hand, debaters can argue that the anti-Americanism caused by U.S. imperialism actually makes us far less safe by increasing terrorist threats and

undermining relations between the United States and host countries. U.S. security will best be served if the United States adopted a less interventionist approach.

*Interventionism Contributes to Terrorism.* Many scholars such as Christopher Layne argue that we are not viewed by the world as a “benevolent hegemon.” Instead, our imperialistic attitudes may only fuel terrorists. As Paul Sharp wrote, “Virtue imposed on others is not seen as such by them.” In fact, the Pentagon’s Defense Science Board claims that there is a powerful link between U.S. participation in international affairs and an increase in terrorist attacks against the United States. Many foreign policy experts agree that there is a connection between U.S. activism overseas and possible attacks on the United States. The Council on Foreign relations noted that, “U.S. activism to promote international stability is, ironically, the prime source of American vulnerability...making itself a greater target.”

*Interventionism Undermines Relations.* In addition to contributing to terrorism, debaters can argue that U.S. interventionism undermines our foreign relations with the host countries. Most of the countries listed in the resolution have strong feelings about the presence American troops on their soil. Even many countries that have been historically strong allies of the United States, like Japan and South Korea, favor a decrease in U.S. troops. Here are a few examples.

*Japan.* Since Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama of the Democratic Party of Japan took office in Japan last year the conflict over American troop presence has grown. Conflict began over the relocation of Futenma U.S. Marine airfield on Okinawa, which was part of a broader reorganization of American troops agreed upon by Japan’s previous governing party. The plan calls for 8,000 Marines to be transferred to the U.S. territory of Guam and for Futenma's facilities to be moved to a northern part of Okinawa. Specifically, Futenma’s facilities would be moved to a city called Nago.

But many residents of Okinawa are upset about the transition and want Futenma to be shut down entirely. On January 10, 2010 almost six thousand Japanese citizens gathered to protest this move as well as American troop presence in general. Due to the uproar from the citizenry, Hatoyama has postponed the decision signed in 2006 and has stated that he will make a decision in May, right before the elections.

The anger over the U.S troop presence in Japan is caused by several factors. Residents living around the bases have complained about the noise, pollution, and crime coming from the bases for years. There have been several reports of US troops sexually assaulting Japanese citizens which have caused mass protests and have sent waves of anger and resentment throughout Japan.

In addition, the new Japanese government is demanding a more equal partnership with the United States. In recent years, Japanese citizens have become more and more unsatisfied with this the U.S.-Japan security alliance and many want to re-establish their military.

With the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the joint security treaty that granted many special privileges to U.S. troops stationed in the Japan approaching, the new Japanese government is in the perfect position to demand more power and less American presence.

*Turkey.* The invasion of Iraq was extremely unpopular with Turkey, and United States favorability in the country dropped dramatically when the Iraq war began. While Turkey and the United States describe themselves as allies, many of Turkey's civilians harbor resentment towards the United States. The Pew Global Attitudes Project in 2007 ranked Turkey as having one of the lowest "very favorable" views toward the US at about 2 percent and the highest "very unfavorable" rating at 75 percent, making Turkey the most anti-American country polled.

The election of Obama was helpful in quelling anti-American sentiments, but Turkey was a strange exception to this trend. Soner Cagaptay and Yurter Ozcan say that according to a Pew Study “the U.S. favorability rating in Turkey in 1999-2000 was 52 percent, but then sharply dived to 30 percent in 2002, 15 percent in 2003, and 12 percent in 2008. In 2009, with the advent of the Obama administration, there has been only a minimal increase of 2 percent in U.S. favorability in Turkey, from 12 to 14 percent,” and that “According to World Public Opinion survey, Turkey is top among nations that say that U.S. foreign policy is playing a mainly negative role in the world (72 percent), ranking higher than Pakistan (69 percent), Egypt (67 percent), Iraq (53 percent), Russia (49 percent), and China (41 percent). A large number of Turks (45 percent) also believe that the United States is generally not cooperative with other countries, a view shared by other Muslim-majority nations, including Egypt (62 percent), Iraq (58 percent), and Pakistan (54 percent). Seventy-six percent of Turks see the United States as hypocritical for promoting international laws for other countries but neglecting to apply the same rules to itself (down slightly from 81 percent in 2008). In addition, 86 percent of Turks say the United States abuses its power in forcing Turkey to comply with its agenda (unchanged from 2008), while 86 percent believe America uses the threat of military force to gain leverage over other countries.”

*Iraq.* Iraq has favored a United States troop withdrawal for some time. When Obama campaigned under a strict 16 month withdrawal timeline, Prime Minister al-Maliki was quoted in saying, "Those who operate on the premise of short time periods in Iraq today are being more realistic. Artificially prolonging the tenure of U.S. troops in Iraq would cause problems." Also, when asked when US troops would leave Iraq he responded, "As soon as possible, as far as we're concerned."

The last polling of the Iraqi people regarding American troop presence in Iraq was in 2006. According to Ami R. Daley, “A strong majority of Iraqis want U.S.-led military forces to immediately withdraw from the country, saying their swift departure would make Iraq more secure and decrease sectarian violence, according to new polls by the State Department and independent researchers. In Baghdad, for example, nearly three-quarters of residents polled said they would feel safer if U.S. and other foreign forces left Iraq, with 65 percent of those asked favoring an immediate pullout, according to State Department polling results obtained by The Washington Post.”

### **Efficiency and Technological Advances**

Our alliances in many of the resolutional countries were decided decades ago out of a desire to contain communism. The calculation was made that our physical presence on the ground in many countries was essential to provide a counterweight to Soviet force. Affirmatives can argue that since that time we have experienced great technological advances so that it is no longer necessary to have a physical presence to secure our interests. Technological developments allow the military to continue its mission without physical presence in problem areas.

Effectively deterring security threats in the cold war era may have required a significant troop presence, yet debaters can argue that today government intelligence plays a crucial role in preventing violent and invasive threats to American security. The technology-driven "revolution in military affairs permits and demands a new force structure that ‘radically alter[s] the way in which we project power,’ reducing reliance on industrial-age military forces such as heavy ground units and aircraft carrier battle groups.”<sup>clviii</sup>

An example of technological advancements that deter security threats is new robotic technology and electro-optics. These developments are influential in digital communications, mini-UAVs, and anti-ballistic missile defense concepts. Other developments include nano-technologies for surveillance and enemy identification procedures. A *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* article explained this use of technology during an attack on an al-Qaeda senior operative in the Middle East. “Consider the unique nature of that use of force. U.S. intelligence officers used military equipment to conduct a deadly attack in a country in which no armed conflict was underway, all with the cooperation of that country's intelligence service.”<sup>clix</sup>

In addition, evidence suggests that failing to take advantage of advances in technology could be detrimental to U.S. interests. “Those opponents, both state and non-state actors, will leverage the increasing affordability and accessibility of technology to narrow the current military gap between the U.S. and potential opponents.”<sup>clix</sup>

Furthermore, using technological advances as a means of protecting and deterring security threats is less invasive to the host countries. Having a significant physical military presence in countries in the Middle East and Asia can often undermine relations, and since technology in some cases proves to be more effective than actual presence, debaters can argue that there should be a great focus of this type of security.

Finally, terrorists do not fight in traditional battlefield structures. Effective counterterrorism necessitates non-traditional tactics. Debaters can argue that the military must utilize technological advances to be an active deterrent against elusive attacks.

**Answers.** Debaters can counter that our presence is a show of resolve. Whether or not it is necessary to effectively fight terrorism, it is necessary to show our commitment to defend

countries like Japan and South Korea. Debaters can argue that withdrawing from these countries will have unintended and harmful consequences.

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