

**SURPRISE, SECURITY,
AND THE
AMERICAN EXPERIENCE**

John Lewis Gaddis

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doctrine of
presumption

World - a better
place at end of
20th because of
U.S.

sin of pride - we
badly need mirrors 117
Allegit to be patriotic
after 9/11 - a student
A.L. - the last best hope
of earth. - 2nd mirr.

- ① presumption
- ② hegemony
- ③ consent

What I was on Sept 11

Aug 24, 1814 - Burning of W. H. and Capitol

Knows ever - Treaty of Ghent

Louisiana Purchase - T. J. extended security

War of 1812 - badly managed

Jefferson's proven preference for hiding
John Q. Adams - the most influential grand grand strategist
of the 15th Century - helped negotiate Treaty of Ghent

Methods of security

- ① pre-emption
- ② unilateralism
- ③ hegemony

Great Britain - Canada

Oregon Territory

Russia - claimed Alaska
and another coast of Calif

Spain - Florida
Central America
South America

non-state actors
nationalism
marauders
pirates

Spain and Florida - America should claim pre-emption
power vacuums - US should fill them

Polk - 1845 - annexing of Texas / Calif. - they might
be seized by hostile Europeans

1898 - Sinking of the Maine - was it an attack

McKinley's declaration to take Philippines

TR / WHT / WW - pre-emption in Venezuela / Haiti /
Santa Domingo / Nicaragua and Mexico

Jeo. Bush at West Point 2002 - echoing an old tradition
we ready for pre-emption

2nd Adams doctrine - ~~total~~ Unilateralism

- ①
- ② hegemony

Adams - America does not go abroad in
search of monster to destroy - might become
the dictators of the world" p 29

20th Century

JQA and Bush on matters of national
wouldn't have much trouble understanding
each other.

FDR and Bush might

Military and travel time made a difference

TR - Dollar diplomacy

Wilson - League of Nations

1931 - Japanese invasion of Manchuria

Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935

Neutrality Acts of 35-37 - American passivity

Dec 7, 1941 - FDR chief architect of expansion

* A.S.P. Taylor - ~~1950~~ 1965 footnote p47

" of 3 great men at the top Roosevelt was the
only one who knew what he was doing

FDR scrapped Adams' two principles of unilateralism
and preemption in WW II

The Grand Alliance - Great B. / Russia / U.S.

FDR - Four Policemen - " " " and China

Four Freedoms / Atlantic Charter / United Nations

With Soviet Union - still very popular in

U.S. because of all her sacrifices - FDR
didn't want to preempt in Germany for
fear of backlash.

Marshall Plan 1947

Geo. Kennan - offer aid to Russia ^{and Eastern Europe} who will
turn it down - then US will occupy
moral high ground.

Atomic Weapons. - could not Soviets out
first - preemption p62 →

Attacks
on
J.S.
World Trade Center - 1993
Khobar Towers - (Saudi) 1996
Kenya and Tanganyika 1998
USS Cole 2000

PRIDE, SECURITY, AND THE
AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The Joanna Jackson Goldman Memorial Lectures
on American Civilization and Government

Samuel Johnson

"Depend on it sir - when a man knows
that he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it
concentrates his mind wonderfully"

The resulting asymmetry of legitimacy -
U.S. was better motivated than Soviets

BOOKNOTES
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Clinton had a laissez-faire foreign policy
like Harding and Coolidge

There are 200 independent states now
compared to 50 at end WWII

In unregulated economy global economy
social safety nets are sagging p79

Cheap air travel
liberal immigration policies
fax machines
cell phones
satellite television transmitters
internet

Democracies
don't have
control over
movement of
people

Striking results * p81

West Point speech June 1, 2002

pre-emption - a 19th century concept

requires hegemony - "the capacity to act
wherever one needs to without significant
resistance from rival states" p87

World must be made safe for democracy

there's a coherence in the Bush strategy that
Clinton never achieved p90

Axis of Evil - phrase colorful but not clear

The grandness of a strategy - Iraq

Speed of engagement - a problem of
for Bush Admin

Major diplomatic failures - UN

US went in a year and half from principal
stabilizer in the world to destabilizer.
What is your shock and awe

Bush/Clinton - Churchill - in Vietnam magnanimity
Rhetoric too ragged - there is no clear voice
for reassurance p103

Huntington - can't impose our beliefs on
everybody - democracy as we know it
may not work everywhere

Francis Fukuyama - empire

Can empire and liberty co-exist

Expansion of U.S. Power to global has no historical
precedence.

You say it reflects prudence but also omnigence

21st Century - Empire of Liberty (U.S.)

We should seek to make the world safe
for Federalism

³
surprise attacks
on U.S.

① War of 1812 -
Burning of D.C.

② Pearl Harbor

③ 9/11