

The Use of Force in USFP, Part II & Use of Diplomacy & Its FIVE Tracks

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Use of Force

- The use of force almost always represents the partial failure of policy
 - Thus, the outbreak of hostilities is considered a failure of policy by most military leaders and planners.
 - War is a continuation of “policy” (or “politics”) by other means.
 - Clausewitz
- Because of the high costs of violence, the use of force is tempered by restraints and bargaining
 - Even if countries differ enough to go to war, they usually share some common interests that will encourage them to continue bargaining
 - Only in the case of a “zero sum” situation in which everything is good for one side & bad for the other does the motivation to bargain not exist

Use of Force

- The distinction between diplomacy & force is in the relation between adversaries
 - Diplomatic bargaining seeks outcomes that, though not ideal for each side, are better for both than some of the alternatives
 - However, if it thinks it has enough military force, a country may decide it has no need to bargain. It may attempt to merely take what it wants

The Costs of Violence

- Wars have become increasingly destructive because of:
 - The steady technological improvements of weaponry
 - The growth in capacity, and therefore need, for states to field larger and larger numbers of forces
 - The gradual “democratization” of war (the expansion of the battlefield and hence the increased involvement of noncombatants)

Use of Force

- In addition to traditionally defeating an enemy, force can be used to “hurt” or “punish” an enemy
 - “This movement is not purely military or strategic, but will illustrate the vulnerability of the South. They don’t know what war means, but when the rich planters of the Oconee and Savannah see their fences and corn and hogs and sheep vanish before their eyes they will have something more than a mean opinion of the ‘Yanks.’”
 - Sherman’s plan for his March to the Sea
- The threat of damage (or more damage to come) can compel an enemy to yield or comply
- This type of threat is most valuable when held in reserve
- This type of force is “asymmetric” in its dimensions

Asymmetric Use of Force

- When one side desires to use force but is clearly outmatched in terms of conventional forces, it may use asymmetric force
 - Leveraging inferior tactical or operational strength against an enemy's to achieve disproportionate effect with the aim of undermining the enemy's will in order to achieve the asymmetric actor's strategic objectives.



Functions That Force Can Serve

- Defense
 - Designed to ward off attack and to minimize damage to oneself if attacked
- Deterrence
 - Prevent an adversary from doing something that one does not want him to do and that he might otherwise be tempted to do by threatening him with unacceptable punishment if he does it

Functions That Force Can Serve (cont'd)

- Compellence
 - Designed to either stop an adversary from doing something that he has already undertaken or to get him to do something that he has not yet undertaken
- “Swaggering”
 - Not aimed directly at defense, deterrence, or compellence, but instead designed to enhance the national pride of a people or to satisfy the personal ambitions of a ruler

An Example in Practice: China & Taiwan

- In April 2001, President Bush vowed to do ““whatever it takes” to defend Taiwan from any Chinese attack
- Hypothetical situation:
 - US intelligence discovers China has increased its ballistic missiles targeted on Taiwan and Chinese officials make numerous threats to squash what they perceive as a dangerous independence movement in Taiwan

Practical Exercise: China & Taiwan

- Hypothetical situation cont'd:
 - The US responds by increased military sales to Taiwan, including air defense systems, and making diplomatic statements pledging its resolve to defend Taiwan against an attack from China

China's Military Options for Taiwan

- Launch an invasion of Taiwan or an offshore island, using amphibious or other sea or air transported forces.
- Impose a blockade on Taiwan's commerce as a means of coercing political concessions.
- Coerce Taiwan by means of air or missile strikes on Taiwan's population, military assets, or economic infrastructure.

Chinese Strategic Considerations

- Have a plan to avoid, discourage, forestall, or react to a possible US intervention on Taiwan's side
- Attempt to contain & limit the conflict, but fight with sufficient force & tactics to achieve a military solution before outside powers could intervene militarily, & before vital trade & foreign investment are disrupted too much

Possible Chinese Indications of Intent to Invade Taiwan

- Assembling an armada of amphibious landing craft
- Sabotage or attacks on Taiwan's early warning radar or intelligence collection facilities
- A major logistics buildup opposite Taiwan
- Forward deployment of troops, movement of equipment
- Major improvements in sealift capability

Force Comparison

- China

- Air Force of 470,000 airmen and 4,000 combat aircraft (perhaps 2/3 however are obsolete)
- Army of 1.9 million soldiers, 14,000 tanks, and 453 helicopters
- Navy of 250,000 sailors, 63 submarines, 18 destroyers, and 35 frigates

- Taiwan

- Air Force of 45,000 airmen, and 420 combat aircraft
- Army of 240,000 soldiers and 900 tanks
- Navy of 62,000 sailors and marines, 4 submarines
- Naval aviation wing equipped with 32 combat aircraft and 20 armed helicopters.

Taiwanese Strategic Considerations

- Do not provoke a Chinese attack
- Avoid vulnerability to a sudden assault from China that occurs so quickly that Taiwan is forced to capitulate before the US is able to respond in a meaningful, timely manner.

US Strategic Considerations

- Ideally, avoid any use or threat of force to resolve differences in the Taiwan Strait.
- Persuade China against or deter China from attacking or threatening attack
- If those efforts fail, facilitate Taiwan's ability to defend itself without outside assistance or, as a fallback, defend itself long enough to permit outside assistance
- If China attacks & the US decides to intervene, the combination of Taiwan & US forces must be able to defeat the Chinese attack

Possible US Deterrent Actions

- Diplomatic activity in the UN
- US Navy show of force
- Increased military sales to Taiwan
- Forward deployment of US troops to a staging area closer to Taiwan
- Joint exercise with Taiwanese troops
- How could this situation be defused?

Part II

USFP Diplomacy & the FIVE Tracks of Problem Solving in Diplomatic Relations

Actors in the Peace-Building & Diplomatic Process

- Diplomacy & Peacebuilding Activities involve a widerange of actors
- Approaches here make a distinction between actors on the state level (Track One) and actors on the civil society level (Track Two)

Track One & Two

Track One

- Governments
- International & regional institutions & organizations (EU, UNO, AU)

Track Two

- International & local NGOs
- Research institutes
- Churches
- Individuals
- Non-traditional actors

Track One Diplomacy

Mediation is the normal practice

- Mediation by states is practiced in the form of official or quiet diplomacy
- The usual types of mediation (umbrella term) are good offices, facilitation, consultation, negotiation and mediation

Examples of Track One Mediation

- **Office support:** Low-intervention mediation efforts (e.g. logistical support for peace talks)
- **Facilitation:** Prior or parallel to negotiations, facilitators try to create space for the conflicting parties to come together. Facilitators talk to the parties separately, often through shuttle diplomacy
- **Consultations:** Mediators act as advisors to the conflicting parties
- **Mediation:** Characterized by a higher degree of interference than other mediation types, mediators articulate their opinion & usually try to develop a peace plan

Power Mediation as a Special Form of Mediation

- **Outcome-orientation:** The aim of mediation is to identify representative leaders of the conflicting parties, to bring them together to negotiate a cease fire and/or a peace accord
- **Power Mediation:** Outcome-oriented, explicit possibility of use of power, including military force. This approach is practiced by states that are able to bring resources into the negotiations (financial carrots or military sticks)

Criticisms of Track One Diplomacy

- State diplomacy focuses on the top leadership level of conflicting parties:

... the international community most often seeks out and relates to hierarchical leaders [...] even when, as it is often the case, power may be far more diffuse and fractionated. In situations such as Bosnia, Somalia, and Liberia, the degree to which hierarchical power is operational is decidedly unclear.“

- Jean Paul Lederach, Levels of Leadership, *in: Luc Reyhler/Thania Paffenholz (Hrsg.), Peacebuilding. A Field Guide*, Boulder 2001, pg. 147.

And more criticism...

- State mediation only occurs in rare, high-profile cases & is often not neutral
- Outcome-oriented approaches are not sufficient in tackling deeper roots of conflict

Track Two Diplomacy / Civil Society Peace-Building

- Rather a complementary concept than an alternative to Track One
- Process-oriented rather than outcome-oriented
- Tackles the relationships of actors at all societal levels (grass-roots level, middle-range level, top level)

Example of Track Two Instruments: Interactive Problem-Solving Workshops

- Influential persons of conflicting parties are brought together in a neutral, informal setting
- In a three-stage process, accompanied by practitioners and academics or scientists, proposals are worked out for a solution that satisfies the security & identity needs of all parties
- Used in Middle East peace negotiation process

Limits to the Problem-Solving Workshop

- **Recruitment:** It is difficult to find participants who are motivated to actively get involved in the peace process & are at the same time in a position that enables them to feed the workshop results into the political process
- **Asymmetry:** Workshop has limited output when the constellation of conflicting parties is characterised by an asymmetric power structure

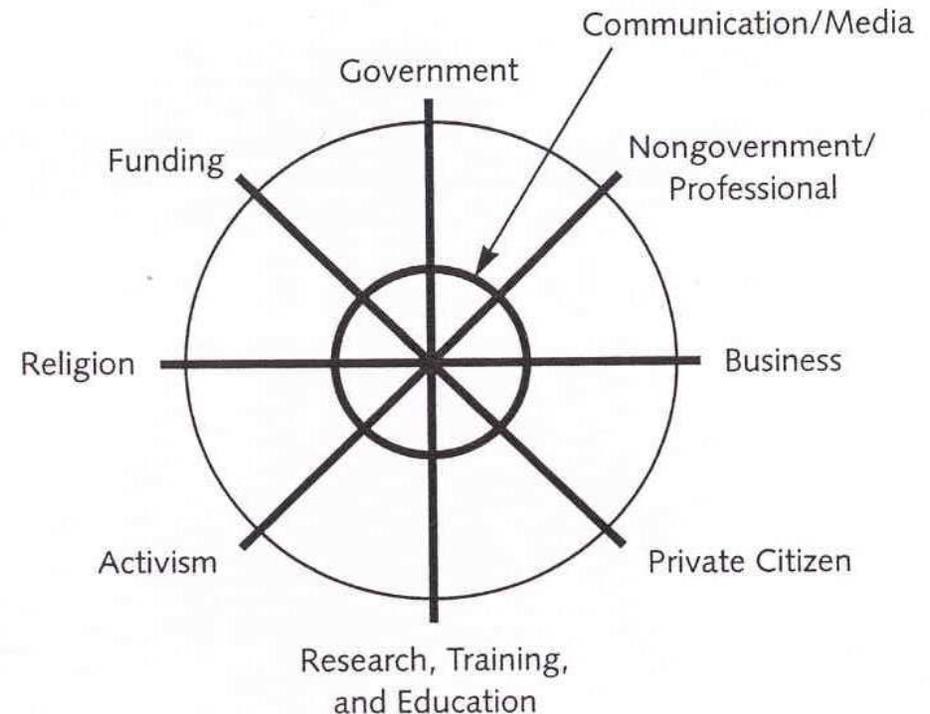
Multi-Track Diplomacy: The natural answer to the multi-causal nature of conflict?

Peace in the largest sense cannot be accomplished by the United Nations or the Governments alone. Nongovernmental Organizations, academic institutions, parliamentarians, business and professional communities, the media and the public at large must all be involved.

(Boutros-Ghali, Agenda for Peace 1992)

Multi-Track Diplomacy

- There are a number of approaches to integrate Track One and Track Two Diplomacy into a complementary concept
- Diamond & McDonald name 9 different actor groups
- Media as an interconnecting communication channel



Citation: Louise Diamond & John McDonald,
*Multi-Track Diplomacy. A Systems
Approach to Peace*. 3rd edition, West
Hardford Publishers. 1996.

An Example in Practice:
Track One of Diplomacy:
Official Gov't-to-Gov't Diplomatic Interaction

Example:
The official American
embassy Ambassador or
Senior Diplomatic Officer
has a meeting with a
Senior Official of the
Czech Gov't to discuss
political affairs.



Track 1: “Official Diplomacy”

Pros & Cons of approach:

- **Pro:** Official exchanges have more power than an individual. Since governments generally have power over the general public, the governments can possibly do some good for their people.
- **Con:** Governments can become corrupt, and government to government interaction can possibly become *non-diplomatic*.

For example, under the role of Pol Pot the government did not serve the people and human rights were violated.

USG (US Gov't) officials are often asked – “Where was America during the war?”



Photo Source:
www.news.yahoo.com

Further Example in Practice, Track 1

“Following an investigation involving U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the Cambodian National Police (CNP), and the Department of State's Diplomatic Security Service (DSS), Pepe was arrested by the CNP in June 2006. According to the affidavit filed in the case, the investigation began after two non-governmental organizations alleged that Pepe had raped and sexually abused local children using bondage, drugs, and beatings.”

(news release from:

http://phnompenh.usembassy.gov/pr_021207.html)



AFP/File Photo from yahoo news

“A retired US Marines captain was in custody here after being expelled from Cambodia for allegedly sexually abusing children in the Southeast Asian nation, justice officials said.”

(www.news.yahoo.com – Feb. 9, 2007)

More on Track Two Diplomacy

- “Unofficial, non-governmental, analytical, policy-oriented, problem-solving efforts by skilled, educated, experienced & informed private citizens interacting with private citizens.”
- Example: US nonprofit or educational institutions partnering with educational institutions in the CR.
- Thus, the Fulbright Program is ONLY a partial example of this two-way, Track Two Diplomatic process

Pros & Cons, Track 2 Diplomacy

- **Pro:** NGOs & individual actors can do a lot of, if they perform and go about doing their service in a solid, effective way. This includes trust, patience, relationship building, & hard work.
- **Con:** Problem of “cultural superiority” & “rigidity” in approach. If we begin to think of local people, as ‘Target beneficiaries’ or ‘clients’ educators & NGOs, development practitioners begin to see him/herself as the ‘powerful helper’ and local people ask ‘the ones who need help.’ This is destructive of genuine development of the community. The locals become more passive than before. There is disempowerment rather empowerment.

Track Three:

Definition: Businessperson-to-businessperson, private sector, free-enterprise, multinational corporation interactions”

Pro:

Brings jobs to boost an economy. Multi-national, trans-national manufacturing facilities as an example.

Con:

If the infrastructure can't support the national corporation, it may lead to exploitation of unfair wages and poor working conditions. Also, small, native country businesses are at risk of being bought out or exploited, unless they can find an exporter that will be fair.

The solution to this could be using “fair trade” models. “The fair trade movement is a global network of producers, traders, marketers, advocates and consumers focused on building equitable trading relationships between consumers and the world's most economically disadvantaged artisans and farmers.” (<http://www.world-shoppe.com/FairTrade.htm>)

Track Four Diplomacy

- Track Four is People to People in a most simple respect.
- Track Four is on a base level where it is far more easier for the people extending the diplomacy to practice and mutually experience more empathy from one another. This empathy and understanding leads to not only a good relationship with the people but also sure success on whatever project that you are working on.
- “Citizen-to-citizen exchange programs of all kinds, such as scientific, cultural, academic, educational, student, film, music, art, sports, & youth exchanges.” This IS the Fulbright exchange program.
- **Pro:** Local groups are working together to accomplish a common goal.
- **Con:** Generally, it is hard for people from poor countries to come to more wealthy countries. So the exchange might be a bit more hard to balance.



Track Five Diplomacy

- Definition: “Media-to-media based efforts designed to expose and educate large segments of the population in conflict to the philosophy, ideas, culture and needs of the other national, society, or ethnic group with whom they are in conflict.”
- Examples: Angelina Jolie, Bono, & U2
- **Pros:** Helps Raise awareness of issue to mass population
- **Con:** May misinform and mock a serious problem