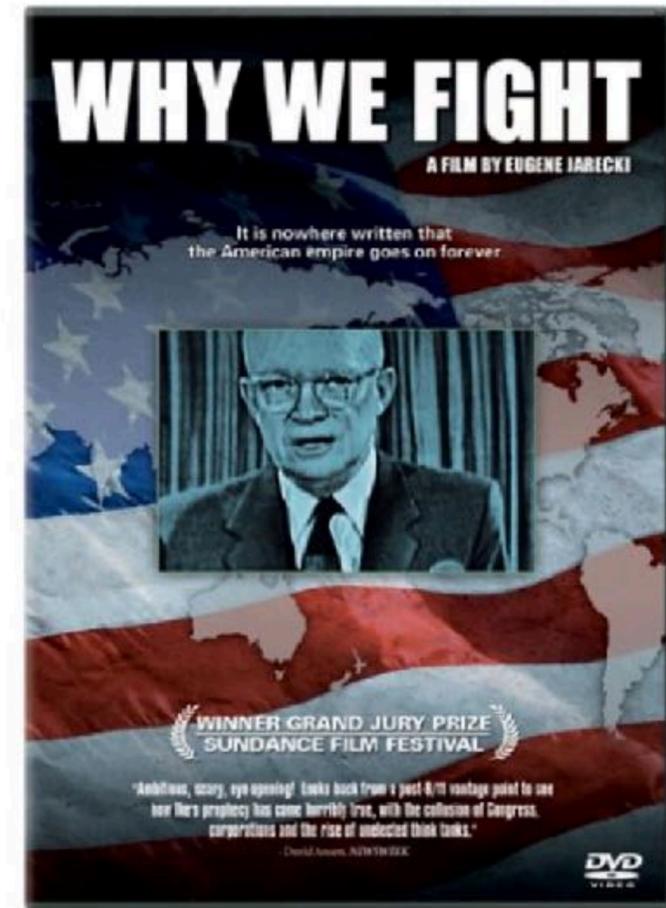


# The Economics of U.S. Arms Sales (Direct Commercial and/or Foreign Military)



Policy Debate – 2019-2020 Topic

**Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of arms from the United States.**

*Note: Some slides include URL link to articles. If link doesn't work, copy and paste into browser rather than click on link.*

# POLICY DEBATE: Synopsis of the Problem Areas for 2019-2020

*From the National Federation of State High School Associations (NFHS)*

## PROBLEM AREA I: **ARMS SALES**

Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of arms from the United States.

In the movie *Iron Man*, upon his triumphant return to the United States, arms dealer Tony Stark reflects upon the world his products helped shape:

*"I saw young Americans killed by the very weapons I created to defend them and protect them. And I saw that I had become part of a system that is comfortable with zero-accountability...I had my eyes opened. I came to realize that I had more to offer this world than just making things that blow up. And that is why, effective immediately, I am shutting down the weapons manufacturing division of Stark Industries."*

<https://www.speechanddebate.org/wp-content/uploads/2019-2020-Policy-Debate-Topic-Synopsis.pdf>

## POLICY DEBATE: Synopsis of the Problem Areas for 2019-2020

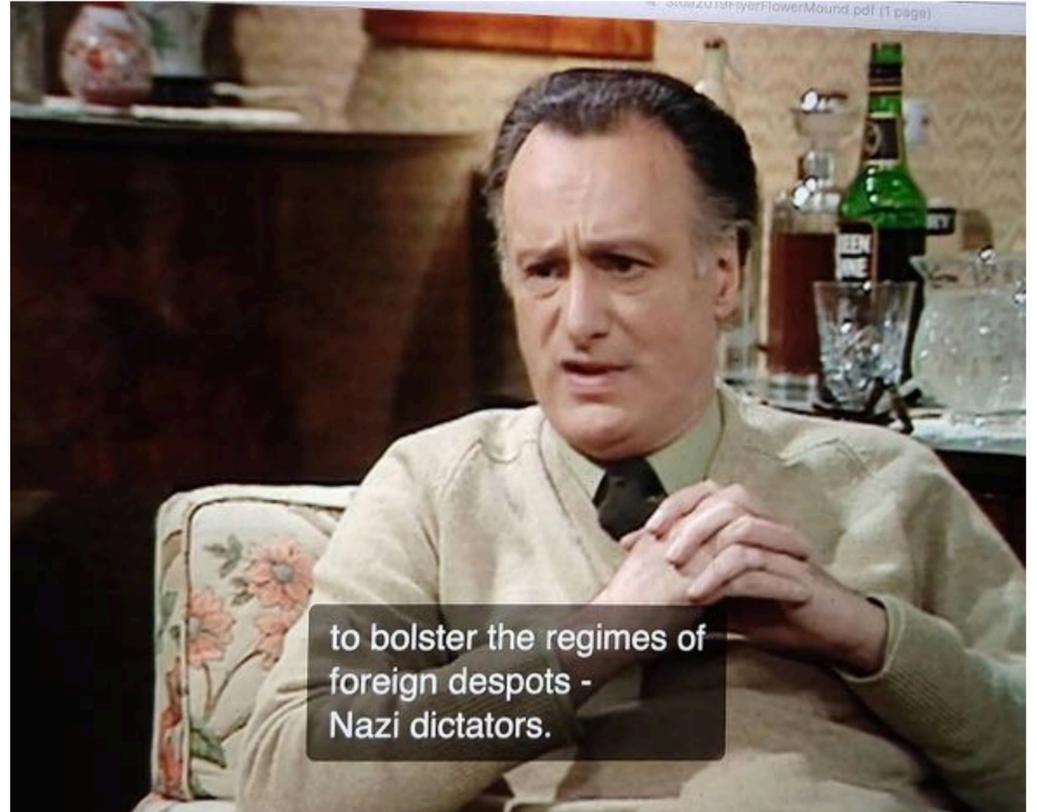
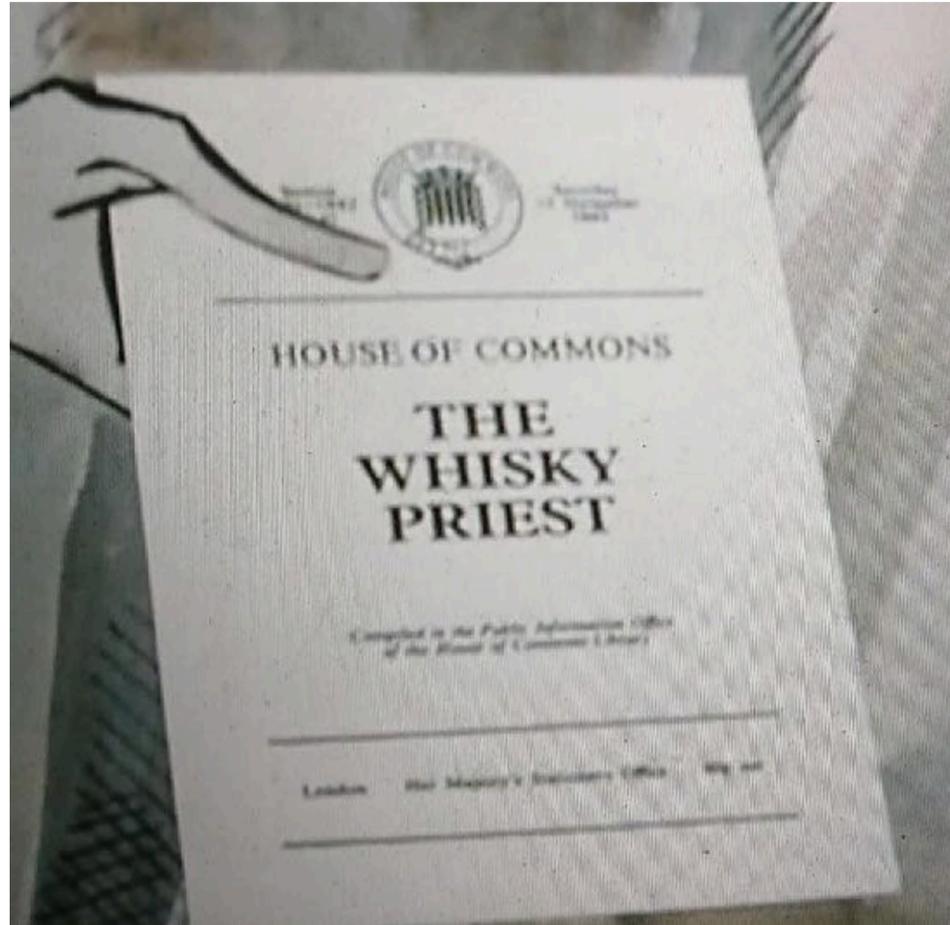
From the National Federation of State High School Associations (NFHS)

### PROBLEM AREA I: ARMS SALES

Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of arms from the United States.

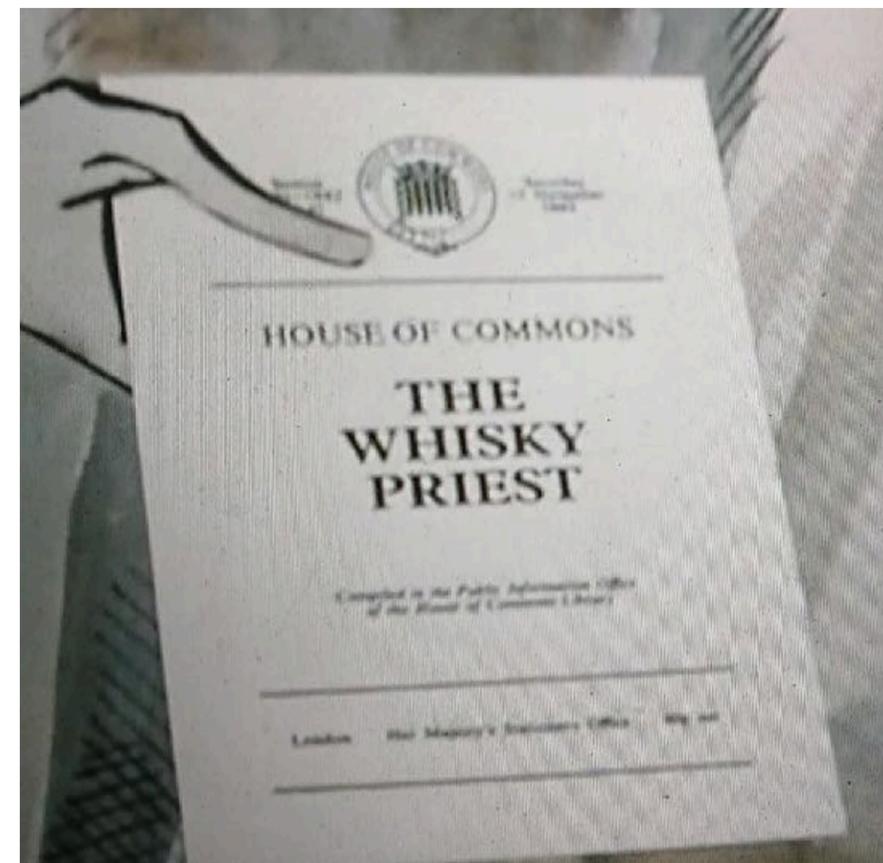
- *President Trump is actively increasing the number of arms contracts offered and authorized by the United States. ...*
- *[Do] arms sales make us safer and strengthen our economy, or create blowback which increases terrorism or fuels conflicts in a variety of regions across the globe[?]*
- **Aff:** Restrict arms sales to authoritarian states, restrict sales to Taiwan (provokes China), to Qatar which may pass to terrorists...
- **Neg.:** hurt alliances, cut weapons interoperability, hurt economy, foreign firms gain arms sales.

<https://www.speechanddebate.org/wp-content/uploads/2019-2020-Policy-Debate-Topic-Synopsis.pdf>



**YES**

**MINISTER**  
by  
**ANTONY JAY**  
and  
**JONATHAN LYNN**





## ARMS SALES TOPIC: AFFIRMATIVE

National Federation of State  
High School Associations

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Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of arms from the United States. A look at possible affirmative cases provided by Rich Edwards, Baylor University

## REDUCE ARMS SALES TO AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

- Democracies promote peace and observe human rights; authoritarian regimes do the opposite.
- The U.S., according to Freedom House, provides arms to 73% of the world's dictators.
- The U.S. should stop arming authoritarian regimes (this was the national Lincoln-Douglas topic in Jan/Feb 2019)

Joel Day, (Security Fellow, Truman National Security Project), LOS ANGELES TIMES, Oct. 26, 2018, A13.

Congress should enact a new code of conduct to make compliance mandatory, not voluntary, in four key areas. The United States needs to ban arms deals to dictators and rogue regimes. It is utterly wrong for the blood of political prisoners and dissidents to be on the hands of American taxpayers. Arms deals should be restricted to countries that respect human rights.



## REDUCE ARMS SALES TO SAUDI ARABIA

- The U.S. is a major provider of arms to Saudi Arabia.
- Saudi Arabia uses U.S. arms to commit war crimes by the bombing of civilians in Yemen.
- The U.S. should reduce arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

Oona Hathaway, (Prof., Law, Yale Law School), HARVARD NATIONAL SECURITY JOURNAL, 2018, 58.

If the United States is aiding and assisting the Saudi-led coalition in its violation of international humanitarian law, as we previously concluded is likely, then the United States is not only in violation of its responsibilities under State Responsibility doctrine, but also its well-accepted obligation not to aid and assist violations under Common Article 1 of the Geneva Conventions.

[https://www.nfhs.org/media/1020321/arms-sales-topic\\_affirmative-cases.pdf](https://www.nfhs.org/media/1020321/arms-sales-topic_affirmative-cases.pdf)

# HOW DID ISIS GET ITS WEAPONS? EUROPE WANTS TO LIMIT U.S. AND SAUDI ARABIA ARMS SALES BECAUSE GUNS WENT TO MILITANT GROUP

Newsweek

BY TOM O'CONNOR ON 11/14/18 AT 4:23 PM EST

- *ISIS's rapid takeover...was assisted by U.S. weapons looted from government forces in Iraq and from Syrian fighters... a report...accused the U.S. and Saudi Arabia of intentionally violating EU rules by purchasing "large numbers" of European arms and ammunition and then quietly diverting them to nonstate actors in Syria without telling the suppliers.*
- *...sales ...through deals between Eastern European members of the EU, as well as the U.S. and Saudi Arabia... the 2017 report found.*

<https://www.newsweek.com/europe-limit-us-saudi-weapons-sales-went-isis-1215758>

## HOW DID ISIS GET ITS WEAPONS? EUROPE WANTS TO LIMIT U.S. AND SAUDI ARABIA ARMS SALES BECAUSE GUNS WENT TO MILITANT GROUP

BY TOM O'CONNOR ON 11/14/18 AT 4:23 PM EST

- *[continued] Saudi Arabia, which has drawn criticism for alleged war crimes committed amid the Yemen civil war it leads against ... the Houthis, is also the top U.S. weapons export partner.*
- *Beyond Saudi Arabia, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute found last year that 49 percent of U.S. arms sales abroad went toward the Middle East, where the Pentagon has been involved in numerous military operations under the umbrella of counterterrorism.*

<https://www.newsweek.com/europe-limit-us-saudi-weapons-sales-went-isis-1215758>



## Congress Should Nix Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates

Ivan Eland • Wednesday July 3, 2019 12:02 PM PDT • 0 Comments

<https://blog.independent.org/2019/07/03/congress-should-nix-arms-sales-to-saudi-arabia-and-united-arab-emirates/>

- Congress is mounting resistance to the administration's declaration of an emergency to get around required congressional approval for \$8 billion in arms sales to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).
- In its notification to bypass the Arms Export Control Act's normal requirement for a 30-day congressional review period for a sale, the administration cited another questionable emergency to expedite the export—that of Iran's behavior in the Middle East.
- The administration needs some opposition to this excessive use of "emergencies" to get what it wants.

# Risky Business: The Role of Arms Sales in U.S. Foreign Policy

By *A. Trevor Thrall* and *Caroline Dorminey*

March 13, 2018

- 

*Since 2002, the United States has sold more than \$197 billion worth of major conventional weapons and related military support to 167 countries....*
- 

*The United States has repeatedly sold weapons to nations engaged in deadly conflicts...horrendous human rights records... impossible to predict where the weapons would end up or how they would be used.*
- 

*On repeated occasions, American troops have fought opponents armed with American weapons.*

<https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/risky-business-role-arms-sales-us-foreign-policy>



## Congress Should Nix Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates

Ivan Eland • Wednesday July 3, 2019 12:02 PM PDT • 0 Comments

- *To begin with any such presidentially declared emergency, or law allowing it, is constitutionally suspect.*
- *The framers of the Constitution, concerned about tyranny by the central government or a rogue executive, provided for no such emergency proviso in the document.*
- *In fact, the only “emergency” power provided in the Constitution is listed in Article II—which enumerates congressional powers, not executive ones—and concerns the suspension of habeas corpus (the right of people to challenge their detention by the government in court) during the extreme cases of an invasion or insurrection.*
- *The last thing the framers would have wanted was a muscular executive declaring numerous emergencies, especially to circumvent Congress on mundane things like a border wall, import tariffs, and arms sales to foreign countries.*

<https://blog.independent.org/2019/07/03/congress-should-nix-arms-sales-to-saudi-arabia-and-united-arab-emirates/>



## ARMS SALES TOPIC: AFFIRMATIVE

National Federation of State  
High School Associations

Take Part. Get Set For Life.™



Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of arms from the United States. A look at possible affirmative cases provided by Rich Edwards, Baylor University



# REDUCE ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN

- The U.S. policy of containment and its refusal to accept the rise of China will inevitably lead to war.
- The U.S. continues to sell arms to Taiwan with increasing regularity in the Trump administration – a highly provocative policy that embodies the U.S. commitment to containment.
- The U.S. should reduce its arms sales to Taiwan.

Cheng-Yi Lin, (Research Fellow, Institute of European and American Studies, Taiwan). TAIWAN AND THE “CHINA IMPACT,” 2016, 268.

In recent years, Beijing has watched with interest the debate within the US on whether to abandon Taiwan. Charles Glaser, a professor at George Washington University, believes that the rise of China might lead China and the US into a conventional and nuclear arms race if the US continues to sell arms to Taiwan.

www.nfhs.org

[https://www.nfhs.org/media/1020321/arms-sales-topic\\_affirmative-cases.pdf](https://www.nfhs.org/media/1020321/arms-sales-topic_affirmative-cases.pdf)

# The Thucydides Trap

FP

When one great power threatens to displace another, war is almost always the result -- but it doesn't have to be.

BY GRAHAM ALLISON | JUNE 9, 2017, 10:21 AM

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/06/09/the-thucydides-trap/>

## The Thucydides Trap: How to stop the looming war between China and the U.S.

The Thucydides Trap leads us to believe a U.S.-China war is inevitable. But is a 2,400-year-old school of thought really what the U.S. should base its foreign policy on?

CHARLES KOCH FOUNDATION 16 August, 2018

**What made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta."**

<https://bigthink.com/mike-colagrossi/thucydides-trap-historical-conflicts-of-nation-states>



## ARMS SALES TOPIC: AFFIRMATIVE

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### RE-SIGN AND ACCEDE TO (OR RATIFY) THE ARMS TRADE TREATY

- The U.S. helped negotiate the Arms Trade Treaty and was one of its original signers, but the Senate has refused to ratify it. Now President Trump announced before a cheering NRA audience that he is “un-signing” the Arms Trade Treaty.
- The Arms Trade Treaty offers the best hope for stopping the worst abuses in the world arms trade, where arms sellers promote human rights abuses and feed both sides of regional conflicts.

Rita Emch, (Journalist, Switzerland), ARMS SALES, TREATIES, AND VIOLATIONS, 2019, 169.

The United States is the world's largest arms dealer. So US support and ratification of the accord is essential to its success. According to Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Washington-based Arms Control Association, formal support from the United States gives the treaty the potential to change the very nature of the global arms trade.



### REDUCE SALES OF ARMED DRONES

- The use of drones makes war more likely by making it more thinkable; armed drones turn war into a video game.
- The U.S. is the major world user of drones and the Trump administration is ramping up the sale of armed drones.
- The sale of armed drones should be reduced.

Hugh Gusterson, (Prof., International Affairs, George Washington U.), DRONE: REMOTE CONTROL WARFARE, 2016, 147.

Whatever we call what drones do—slaughter, hunting, aerial police work, targeted killing, state terrorism, warfare—these machines and their operators are remaking the world in significant ways. They are enabling a kind of permanent, low-level military action that threatens to erase the boundary between war and peace and, in its departure from classic war, is not easily contained or regulated by either the War Powers Act or the UN Charter.



### REDUCE THE SALE OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS

- Small arms do most of the killing in armed conflicts throughout the world.
- The U.S. – already the world's leader in the selling of armaments – is now trying to deregulate the selling of assault weapons by moving them from the U.S. Munitions List (where Congressional notification is required) and placing them instead on the Commerce Control List (where no notice is required).

Jennifer Erickson, (Prof., Political Science, Boston College), DANGEROUS TRADE: ARMS EXPORTS, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION, 2015, 2.

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) and major conventional weapons (MCW) are responsible for the vast majority of conflict deaths, frequently associated with societal instability, and commonly involved in human rights violations. Calls to control the spread of small arms, now referred to as "the real weapons of mass destruction," and major conventional arms have become widespread in the past decade.



# Negative



## ARMS SALES TOPIC: NEGATIVE

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Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of arms from the United States. A look at negative arguments provided by Rich Edwards, Baylor University



## FILL-IN DISADVANTAGE (ESSENTIALLY U.S. HEGEMONY GOOD)

- ❖ **Uniqueness:** U.S. arms sales preserve strong ties of allegiance; U.S. dominates arms sales now.
- ❖ **Link:** The case reduces arms sales to key allies (in the Mideast, Asia, or Africa); this will lead to Russia or China “filling in” the gap and increasing their influence in these regions.
- ❖ **Impact:** Loss of support for U.S. leadership to Russia or China will result in war.

Brook Manville, (Staff), FORBES, Oct. 14, 2018. Retrieved June 17, 2019 from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/brookmanville/2018/10/14/why-a-crumbling-world-order-urgently-needs-u-s-leadership/#61314a9e2e61>.

If U.S. global leadership slides, Kagan asserts, the invisible protective bubble we've enjoyed since 1945 won't just deflate. It will explode. Good-bye rules-based trade, hello shortages of food and essential products. Dictators not just threatening but using nuclear weapons. More innocents repressed or killed in civilized countries.



## ARMS SALES TOPIC: NEGATIVE

### ECONOMY DISADVANTAGE

- ❖ **Uniqueness:** The U.S. economy is OK now, but we are approaching a fragile time where any blow to the economy could tip us over into recession or worse.
- ❖ **Link:** Defense industries are critically important to the economy & arms sales are critical to defense industries. Economic shocks have multiplier effects, rippling through the economy.
- ❖ **Impact:** Economic decline leads to war

Qian Liu, (Economist based in China), Nov. 8, 2018. Retrieved Apr. 24, 2019 from <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/economic-crisis-military-conflict-or-structural-reform-by-qian-liu-2018-11>.

The next economic crisis is closer than you think. But what you should really worry about is what comes after: in the current social, political, and technological landscape, a prolonged economic crisis, combined with rising income inequality, could well escalate into a major global military conflict. The 2008-09 global financial crisis almost bankrupted governments and caused systemic collapse.



### U.S. MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL BASE DISADVANTAGE

- ❖ **Uniqueness:** U.S. arms sales are strong now, sustaining the U.S. military-industrial base.
- ❖ **Link:** The case undermines support for U.S. defense industries.
- ❖ **Impact:** U.S. military weakness resulting from a weakened military-industrial base results in war.

U.S. Department of Defense, 2017 National Security Strategy, quoted in Jeffery A. Green, (president of J.A. Green & Company), Jan. 24, 2019. Retrieved Apr. 24, 2019 from <http://www.nationaldefensemagazine.org/articles/2019/1/24/viewpoint-industrial-base-gears-up-for-great-power-conflict>.

A healthy defense industrial base is a critical element of U.S. power and the national security innovation base. The ability of the military to surge in response to an emergency depends on our nation's ability to produce needed parts and systems, healthy and secure supply chains, and a skilled U.S. workforce.





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# ECONOMY DISADVANTAGE

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[https://www.nfhs.org/media/1020325/arms-sales-topic\\_negative-responses.pdf](https://www.nfhs.org/media/1020325/arms-sales-topic_negative-responses.pdf)

# How Military Spending Affects The Economy



ARMS SALES TOPIC: NEGATIVE



Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of arms from the United States. A look at negative arguments provided by Rich Edwards, Baylor University

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The next economic crisis is closer than you think. But what you should really worry about is what comes after: in the current social, political, and technological landscape, a prolonged economic crisis, combined with rising income inequality, could well escalate into a major global military conflict. The 2008-09 global financial crisis almost bankrupted governments and caused systemic collapse.

- ## The Hole That Debt Built
- Capital is finite, and capital going into one spending category means that there is less money for something else.
  - ...any government spending exceeding revenues results in a deficit that is added to the national debt.
  - The ballooning national debt has an economic impact on everyone, and military spending is one of...contributing factors.
  - As the national debt grows, the interest expense of the debt grows and the cost of borrowing subtly increases...
  - In theory, the increased debt will also drag on economic growth and eventually a driver towards higher taxes.

<https://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/072115/how-military-spending-affects-economy.asp>

# Forum on the Arms Trade

- *The Forum on the Arms Trade is a network of civil society experts and a point of contact for strengthening public efforts to address the humanitarian, economic and other implications of arms transfers, security assistance, and weapons use.*
- *Forum-listed experts are located around the world and work on diverse topics including human rights, development, arms control, humanitarian disarmament, cybersecurity, arms and the environment, anti-corruption, and related fields.*

<https://www.forumarmstrade.org/>

**EXPERT OPINION**

**"EMERGENCY" U.S.  
ARMS SALES TO  
SAUDI ARABIA &  
UNITED ARAB  
EMIRATES**



**RESOURCE**

**U.S. ARMS SALES  
TO TAIWAN**



**RESOURCES**

**HIGH SCHOOL  
DEBATE**

2019-2020



# High School Policy Debate Resources - 2019-2020

During 2019-2020, the US high school policy debate **topic** is:

**Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of arms from the United States.**

This resource page is designed to provide condensed information and links to assist students in their research. We intend to update it throughout the school year. We would also welcome questions, and suggestions for topics to tackle. **Email** us with "High School Debate" in the subject field. See **below** for links to answers thus far, or check out those answers on our blog.

Forum-listed experts\* willing to be contacted, as they have time available, include: **Jeff Abramson**, **Rachel Stohl**, **William Hartung**, **Shannon Dick**, **Seth Binder**, **Allison Pytlak** (especially on global trade and the Arms Trade Treaty), **Andrew Feinstein**, **N.R. Jenzen-Jones** (especially on technical weapons questions).

*Page last updated August 8, 2019.*

<https://www.forumarmstrade.org/hspolicydebate.html>



REPORT [Global Politics](#)

# Key Steps for the U.S. After the Unsigning of the Arms Trade Treaty

Daniel Larison

 [Follow @DanielLarison](#)

## Poll: Arms Sales Make the U.S. Less Secure

By DANIEL LARISON • July 11, 2019, 11:45 AM

May 22, 2019 12 min read [Download Report](#)



Theodore Bromund

Senior Research Fellow in Anglo-American  
Relations

<https://www.theamericanconservative.com/larison/poll-arms-sales-make-the-u-s-less-secure/>

<https://www.heritage.org/global-politics/report/key-steps-the-us-after-the-unsigning-the-arms-trade-treaty>



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## Poll: Arms Sales Make the U.S. Less Secure

By DANIEL LARISON • July 11, 2019, 11:45 AM

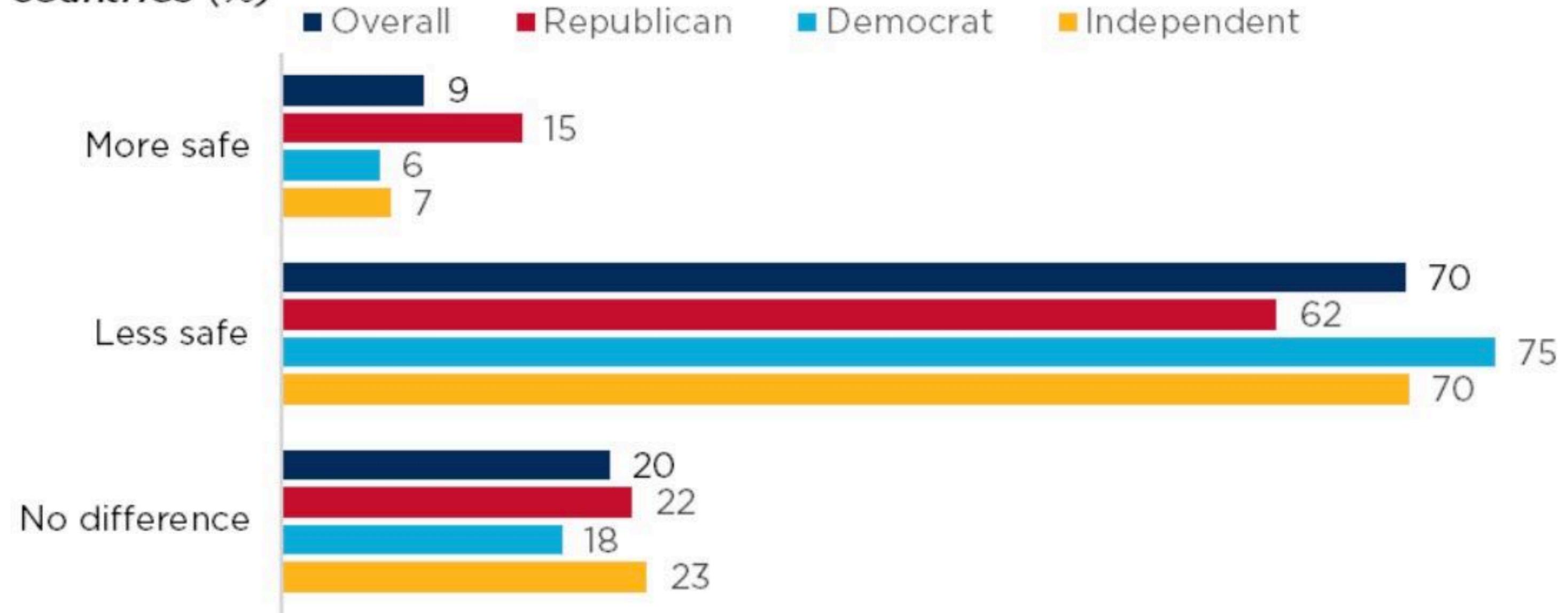
*...newly completed survey of US public opinion finds that most Americans oppose the US sale of weapons in general...*

- The survey found that a large majority of Americans (70%) believes that arms sales to other governments makes the U.S. less safe, and 50% believe that the relationship with the Saudis weakens U.S. national security.*
- Somewhat surprisingly, there were large majorities that said arms sales made the U.S. less safe regardless of political affiliation.*

<https://www.theamericanconservative.com/larison/poll-arms-sales-make-the-u-s-less-secure/>

# US Arms Sales Abroad

*In your opinion, do each of the following policy approaches make the U.S. more safe, less safe, or do they not make a difference? **Selling weapons to other countries** (%)*



June 7-20, 2019 | n = 2,059  
CHICAGO COUNCIL SURVEYS

<https://www.theamericanconservative.com/larison/poll-arms-sales-make-the-u-s-less-secure/>

## Economics Shouldn't Determine U.S. - Saudi Arms Sales



**William Hartung** Contributor ⓘ

Aerospace & Defense

*I am a defense analyst, and cover the economics of Pentagon spending.*

- *Yesterday...the Senate failed to override President Trump's vetoes of three resolutions that would have blocked U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia...*
- *90 per cent of the value of the trade of U.S. arms offers to Saudi Arabia since 2009 involved deals with just four companies: Raytheon, Lockheed Martin, Boeing, and General Dynamics.*

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/williamhartung/2019/07/30/economics-shouldnt-determine-us-saudi-arms-sales/#7a46dc9339f2>

# Arms Sales, Economics, and U.S. Foreign Policy

- ✿ What are U.S. military or defense goals in the Middle East? Why so many military bases and so much U.S. arms sales (nearly 50%)?
- ✿ U.S. involvement in the Middle East has long had goal of securing oil exports to U.S., once considered key to U.S. economy.
- ✿ But those days are past. Now most Middle East oil is shipped to Asia.
- ✿ Texas oil and gas production and exports have surged.

*49 percent of U.S. arms sales abroad went toward the Middle East, where the Pentagon has been involved in numerous military operations*



**Who Is Threatening Whom?  
Each Of The 45 Black Dots Is A US Military Base!**



# Is 'Energy Independence' a Worthy Goal?

By guest author [Art Carden](#) | May 18, 2019



[Economy & Jobs](#)



[Environment](#)

[Articles](#)

*Say “energy independence” to most people, and they will agree that it is a worthy and laudable policy goal. The right wants to wean us off of foreign oil. The left wants to wean us off of oil, period. Both seem to think it’s a bad thing that we buy oil or other fuels from foreign countries.*

<https://catalyst.independent.org/2019/05/18/is-energy-independence-a-worthy-goal/>

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Aut

# Questioning the Reasons For U.S. Involvement in the Middle East

Hampton Stephens

| Monday, April 15, 2019

*The reasons for U.S. involvement in the Middle East are becoming obsolete, but policy and strategy aren't keeping pace. Find out more with your subscription to World Politics Review (WPR).*

<https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/insights/27262/questioning-the-reasons-for-u-s-involvement-in-the-middle-east>

# Saudi deals boosted US arms sales to record \$66.3 billion in 2011

- WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Weapons sales by the United States tripled in 2011 to a record high, pumped up by \$33.4 billion in sales to Saudi Arabia, but the international arms market is not likely to continue growing, according to a comprehensive new congressional report.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-arms-sales/saudi-deals-boosted-us-arms-sales-to-record-66-3-billion-in-2011-idUSBRE87Q0V220120827>

# The top ten arms exporting countries in 2018

- The world's ten biggest arms exporting countries made armament transfers worth more than \$25bn in 2018.

Boeing, Lockheed Martin Corporation, Northrop Grumman Corporation, Raytheon Company, and General Dynamics Corporation produce a majority of the arms exported by the US.

The total value of the arms exported by the US was \$10.5bn in 2018, while the nation closed foreign military sales (FMS) contracts worth \$55.6bn during the year for transferring arms to its allies.

<https://www.army-technology.com/features/arms-exports-by-country/>

## Arms exports by country in 2018

10. Italy – \$611m
9. Israel – \$707m
8. UK – \$741m
7. China – \$1.04bn
6. South Korea – \$1.08bn
5. Spain – \$1.18bn
4. Germany – \$1.27bn
3. France – \$1.76bn
2. Russia – \$6.4bn
1. USA – \$10.5bn

# The Thucydides Trap

FP

When one great power threatens to displace another, war is almost always the result -- but it doesn't have to be.

BY GRAHAM ALLISON | JUNE 9, 2017, 10:21 AM

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/06/09/the-thucydides-trap/>

## The Thucydides Trap: How to stop the looming war between China and the U.S.

The Thucydides Trap leads us to believe a U.S.-China war is inevitable. But is a 2,400-year-old school of thought really what the U.S. should base its foreign policy on?

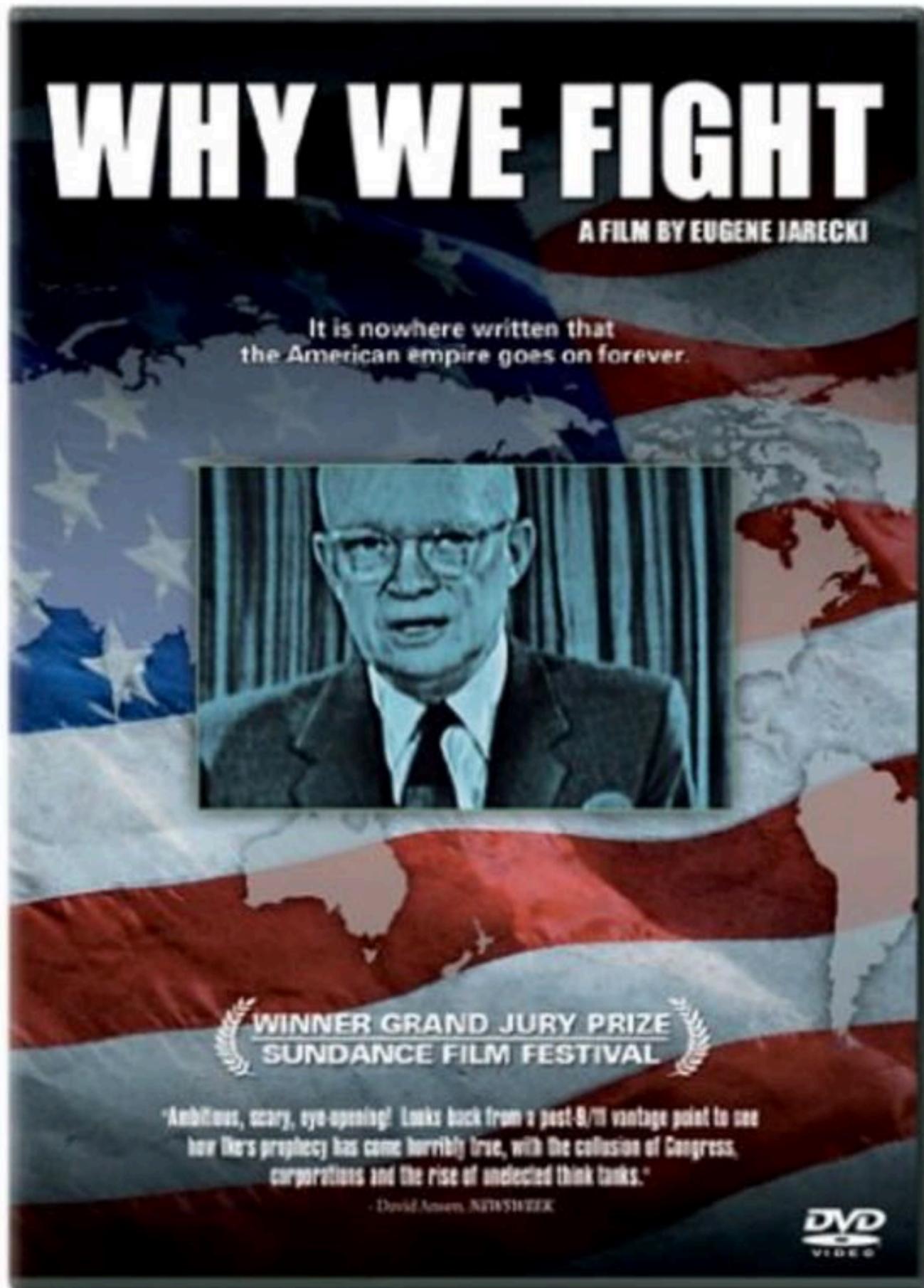
CHARLES KOCH FOUNDATION 16 August, 2018

**What made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta."**

<https://bigthink.com/mike-colagrossi/thucydides-trap-historical-conflicts-of-nation-states>

# *North Korea and Iran*

- Is North Korea ballistic missile threat offensive or defensive?
- Lesson from Iraq, Libya, Syria?
- – *have nuclear weapons or get invaded.*
- Iran's push for nuclear capability
- U.S. drone strikes as preventive strike?  
(Attack potential enemy first...)
- Regime change to protect human rights?



Dwight  
Eisenhower's  
Farewell Address:  
look at twentieth  
century wars and  
vast armaments  
industry.

U.S. arms sales  
are part of  
overall  
armaments  
industry.



# After 9/11 in Tehran

*On the evening of September 11, 2001, about two hundred young people gathered in Madar Square, on the north side of Tehran, in a spontaneous candlelight vigil to express sympathy and support for the United States.*

*A second vigil, the next night, was attacked by the basij, a volunteer force of religious vigilantes, and then dispersed by the police.*



## In foreign policy, avoid antipathies and attachments

[Paragraph 31] Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its Virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

[32]. In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated

The Nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

[33] So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification.

It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-

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**178: FAREWELL ADDRESS – George Washington, *George Washington: A Collection* [1988]**

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*George Washington: A Collection*, compiled and edited by W.B. Allen (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988).

Author: [George Washington](#)  
Editor: [William B. Allen](#)

tise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils! Such an attachment of a or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

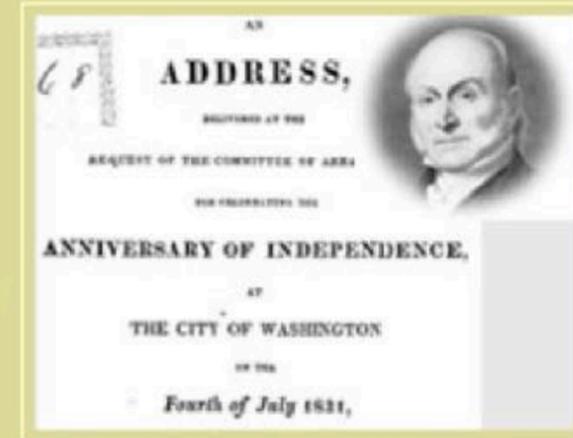
[35] Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.

Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another

*Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions and her prayers be. But [America] goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.*

### John Quincy Adams' July 4 Speech

Each July 4th the Declaration of Independence would be read aloud in the capital as part of a July 4th celebration. John Quincy Adams' July 4th, 1821 speech is memorable. I have long seen quotes of his brief mention of foreign policy. But the rest of the speech is excellent as well. It



is often described online as a speech to Congress, but Congress was not in session during the July heat in Washington DC. You can see the full pamphlet [online here](#).

*She has, in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of other nations, while asserting and maintaining her own. She has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when the conflict has been for principles to which [32] she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart. ...*



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## Nisbet, The Prevalence of War

Source: Chapter in Nisbet's *The Present Age: Progress and Anarchy in Modern America* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003).

### Related Links:

- [Robert Nisbet](#)
- [Subject Area: War and Peace](#)

THE PRESENT AGE  
PROGRESS AND  
ANARCHY IN  
MODERN AMERICA

Robert Nisbet

### The Prevalence of War

Of all faces of the present age in America, the military face would almost certainly prove the most astounding to any Framers of the Constitution, any Founders of the Republic who came back to inspect their creation on the occasion of the bicentennial. It is indeed an imposing face, the military. Well over three hundred billion dollars a year go into its maintenance; it is deployed in several dozen countries around the world. The returned Framers would not be surprised to learn that so vast a military has inexorable effects upon the economy, the structure of government, and even the culture of Americans; they had witnessed such effects in Europe from afar, and had not liked what they saw. What would doubtless astonish