Chapter 20:
Foreign and Military Policy
Kinds of Foreign Policy

- **Majoritarian Politics**
  - Decision to go to war

- **Interest Group Politics**
  - Decisions regarding tariffs

- **Client Politics**
  - Aid to American business abroad
CONFESSIONS
of an
ECONOMIC
HIT MAN

“Here are the real-life details—nasty, manipulative, plain evil—of international corporate skullduggery spun into a tale rivaling the darkest espionage thriller.”

—GREG PALAST, author of The Best Democracy Money Can Buy

JOHN PERKINS
WITH NEW MATERIAL FROM THE AUTHOR
A nuclear reactor in southern Iran. America suspects that Iran will build nuclear weapons somewhere in that country.

What do with Iran & North Korea?

Doomsday Clock
The Constitutional and Legal Context

- Presidential Box Score
  - Lots of international diplomacy power and the use of American troops to protect American interests.
  - Historical comparisons that suggest the President’s ability to act decisively often appears modest thanks to Congress.
Shifting Patterns of Leadership in Foreign Policy

Depending on the personalities, skills, and interests of those involved, leadership in making American foreign policy may be found centered in the White House (the president and his national security adviser) or in the State Department (the secretary of state).

Periods of White House Dominance

President
Franklin D. Roosevelt [1933–1944]
John F. Kennedy (and National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy)
Richard M. Nixon (and National Security Adviser Henry A. Kissinger)

Secretary of State
Cordell Hull (1933–1944)
Dean Rusk (1961–1969)

Periods of Leadership by the Secretary of State

Secretary of State
John Foster Dulles (1953–1959)

President
Harry S. Truman
Dwight D. Eisenhower
Gerald R. Ford
Bill Clinton

Periods of Tension between the White House and Secretary of State

President
Jimmy Carter
Ronald Reagan

Secretary of State
George Shultz (1982–1989)
The Constitutional and Legal Context

- Checks on Presidential Power
  - Limitations on aid (Until the legislative veto was declared unconstitutional in 1983).
  - The War Powers Act (this is completely ignored)
  - Intelligence oversight
    - House and Senate Intelligence Committees
    - Office of the Director of National Intelligence
The Constitutional and Legal Context

- Evaluating the Power of the President
  - Supreme Court’s Position: Government has power beyond anything mentioned in the Constitution.
  - Extraordinary Measures
    - Lincoln (Emancipation Proclamation/Civil War)
    - Johnson (Vietnam)
    - Nixon (Vietnam)
    - Carter (Iranian Hostage Crisis)
    - FDR and WW II (Internment Camps)
Rivalry Versus Cooperation: The President and the Senate

Because the Senate must ratify treaties and consent to the appointment of ambassadors and other high foreign policy officials, it has the opportunity to play a large role in the conduct of foreign affairs. The key figure in the Senate is usually the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Depending on personalities and circumstances, the president and the chairman have sometimes been able to work together closely but at other times have been bitter, outspoken rivals. In general, cooperation occurs when there is a widely shared foreign policy worldview; rivalry erupts when worldviews diverge.

Periods of Competing Worldviews and Political Rivalry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harry S. Truman</td>
<td>Arthur H. Vandenberg (1947–1949)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Periods of Shared Worldviews and Political Cooperation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franklin D. Roosevelt</td>
<td>Tom Connally (1941–1947, 1949–1953)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodrow Wilson</td>
<td>Henry Cabot Lodge (1919–1924)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyndon B. Johnson</td>
<td>J. William Fulbright (1959–1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill Clinton</td>
<td>Jesse Helms (1995–1999)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Machinery of Foreign Policy

- Expansion after WWII
  - The president put foreign policy at top of the agenda
  - Policy was shaped by scores of agencies

- Rivalries within the executive branch intensify rivalries between that branch and Congress

- Interests of the various organizations
Foreign Affairs

- **Curtiss-Wright Export Corp. v. United States (1936)**: American foreign policy is vested entirely in the federal government where the president has plenary power.

- **Korematsu v. United States (1944)**: Sending Japanese Americans to relocation centers during World War II was based on an acceptable military justification.

- **Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer (1952)**: The president may not seize factories during wartime without explicit congressional authority even when they are threatened by a strike.

- **Hamdi v. Rumsfeld (2004)**: An American citizen in jail because he allegedly joined the Taliban extremist group should have access to a “neutral decision maker.”

- **Rasul v. Bush (2004)**: Foreign nationals held at Guantanamo Bay because they are believed to be terrorists have a right to bring their cases before an American court.
Foreign Policy and Public Opinion

- World War II - Pearl Harbor changes American attitudes in favor of foreign intervention
- Vietnam - Divisive War
- September 11, 2001 - Rally 'round the flag
- Backing the President - We want to win, more than anything
- Mass versus Elite Opinion - Supporting the Troops, Moral-Reasons
# Table 20.1 Popular Reactions to Foreign Policy Crises

Percentage of public saying that they approve of the way the president is handling his job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Policy Crisis</th>
<th>Before</th>
<th>After</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960 American U-2 spy plane shot down over Soviet Union</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961 Abortive landing at Bay of Pigs in Cuba</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962 Cuban missile crisis</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 President Ford sends forces to rescue the American ship</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979 American embassy in Teheran seized by Iranians</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980 Failure of military effort to rescue hostages in Iran</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 U.S. invasion of Panama</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990 U.S. troops to Persian Gulf</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 U.S. troops to Bosnia</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999 U.S. troops to Kosovo</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001 U.S. combat in Afghanistan</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011 U.S. kills Osama bin Laden</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20.2  How the Public and the Elite See Foreign Policy 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage Agreeing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Combating international terrorism should be very important</td>
<td>Public: 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders: 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protect jobs of American workers</td>
<td>Public: 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders: 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce illegal immigration</td>
<td>Public: 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders: 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support U.S. troops in Afghanistan</td>
<td>Public: 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders: 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use U.S. troops to defend South Korea if attacked by North</td>
<td>Public: 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders: 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take Israel’s side in conflicts with Palestinians</td>
<td>Public: 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders: 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expand economic aid to other countries</td>
<td>Public: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders: 61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cleavages Among Foreign Policy Elites

- How a worldview shapes foreign policy
  - **Isolationism** – Post WWI attitude. Stay out of foreign affairs.
  - **Containment** – Result of WWII.
  - **Disengagement** – “New Isolationism”
  - Human rights – Must help those in need.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reducing illegal immigration is very important</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization very good for our economy</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government should do more about climate change</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very important to strengthen United Nations</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. troops should aid Israel if it is attacked</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I favor torture to get information from terrorists</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expand offshore drilling for oil</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Use of Military Force

- Two views of the role of the military
  - Majoritarian – Military exists to defend U.S.A. & help allies.
  - Client – Generals, admirals, corporations, etc.
    “benefit” from war.

- Military-Industrial Complex – Alleged alliance among military, government, & corporations with economic interest in war
U.S. Military Intervention in the Middle East


1980: Unsuccessful military effort to rescue U.S. hostages in Iran.


1991: U.S. troops, together with those from other countries, forced Iraq to end its invasion of Kuwait.

1984: U.S. sends minesweepers to clear mines from the Red Sea.

Politically Speaking

Third World

Originally a French term (*tiers monde*) referring to nations neutral in the cold war between the United Nations and the Soviet Union, the *Third World* now means almost any underdeveloped nation in Africa, Asia, Latin America, or the Middle East.

When the oil-producing nations, such as Saudi Arabia, became wealthy after having succeeded in raising oil prices in the early 1970s, some observers began to use a new phrase, the *Fourth World*, to refer to underdeveloped nations that had no oil reserves and thus had to pay heavily for imported oil.

And some nations, such as Taiwan and the Republic of Korea, once thought to be part of the Third World because they were underdeveloped have made such startling economic progress that they are now referred to as the “newly industrialized nations” (NINs).


1961: U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba fails at Bay of Pigs.


1965: U.S. troops occupy Dominican Republic to block takeover by Communist regime.

2004: U.S. troops quell uprising in Haiti.


The Defense Budget: Total Spending
The Defense Budget

What do we get with our money?

- Personnel (People)
  - Personnel Issues:
    - Movement to an all-volunteer armed forces
    - Increase in the numbers of women in service
    - Homosexuals in service & women on the front lines of battle
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Before 1991</th>
<th>End FY 1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active divisions</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Guard divisions</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft carriers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training carriers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active fighter wings</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve fighter wings</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine Corps</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active divisions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve divisions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic Nuclear Forces</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballistic missile submarines</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic bombers</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICBMs</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Defense Budget

- What do we get with our money?
  - Big Ticket Items
  - Cost Overruns – When something costs more than expected
    - How much will something cost that doesn’t exist?
    - Remedies: Better estimates, more competition in manufacturing
The Defense Budget

- What do we get with our money?
  - Readiness
    - Training and readiness issues
  - Bases
    - Keeping bases open
    - 1998 Commission on Base Realignment and Closure: Panel of private citizens to consider what to do with military bases
The Structure of Defense Decision Making

- National Security Act of 1947 creates the DoD

- The Chain of Command
  - President – Commander-in-Chief
  - Secretary of Defense
  - Joint Chiefs of Staff: Uniformed military leaders that advise the President and his team.
The New Problem of Terrorism

- **Bipolar World** – A political landscape with two superpowers

- **Unipolar World** – A political landscape with one superpower

- **Doctrine of Preemption** – Attacking a determined enemy before they can attack us or an ally

- Iraq and Afghanistan
The Paradoxes of Fighting Insurgents

The U.S. Army Field Manual lists some paradoxes of fighting terrorists and insurgents. It is the manual used by Petraeus in Iraq.

Sometimes, the more you protect your force, the less secure you are.

You may be safe staying barricaded in compounds, but you lose contact with the people.

Some of the best weapons for fighting insurgents do not shoot.

Diplomacy, communications, and economic development can be more effective than guns.

Many important decisions are not made by generals.

Teaching lower-ranking personnel how to think and adapt is more important than teaching them what to think.

Sometimes the more force is used, the less effective it is.

Using too much force can hurt civilians and generate sympathy for insurgents.