

18

National Security Policymaking

Politics in Action: A New Threat



On September 11, 2001, America trembled. Terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington killed thousands and exposed the nation's vulnerability to unconventional attacks.

Less than 12 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the diminishment of Communism as a threat, the United States could no longer take comfort in its status as the world's only superpower. Suddenly the world seemed a more threatening place, with dangers lurking around every corner.

Pursuing its new foreign policy emphasis on ending terrorism, the United States launched wars against Afghanistan and Iraq. The United States won the battles quite easily, but the aftermath of the wars led to more deaths than the fighting itself and forced America to invest tens of billions of dollars in reconstruction and military occupation. Particularly because Iraq had in fact little or no connection to Al Qaeda, the terrorist organization behind the September 11 attacks, debate rages as to whether U.S. actions dealt terrorists a severe blow or had the effect of radicalizing opponents and recruiting new terrorists to their cause. At the same time, "rogue" states like Iran and North Korea have continued their development of nuclear weapons, threatening to make the world even less stable.

18.1

Identify the major instruments and actors in making national security policy, p. 611.

18.2

Outline the evolution of and major issues in American foreign policy through the end of the Cold War, p. 618.

18.3

Explain the major obstacles to success in the war on terrorism, p. 624.

18.4

Identify the major elements of U.S. defense policy, p. 627.

18.5

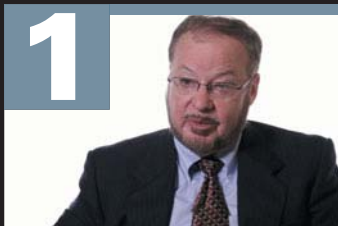
Analyze the evolving challenges for U.S. national security policy, p. 631.

18.6

Assess the role of democratic politics in making national security policy and the role of national security policy in expanding government, p. 640.



Perhaps the most troublesome issue in national security is the spread of terrorism. The attacks on September 11, 2001, redirected U.S. foreign policy toward ending terrorism, including launching wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.



1 **The Big Picture** Discover why it is impossible to study American government without studying our relationships with other countries. Author George C. Edwards III details the expectations that come from being one of the world's superpowers, and he demonstrates how the government has chosen to act (or not act) when called upon to interfere in foreign affairs.



The Basics Who develops America's foreign policy? How has America emerged as a world leader and what challenges does this present? In this video, you will learn about the actors in the foreign policy arena and consider the United States' role in international affairs.



3 **In Context** Explore the history of American foreign policy. In this video, Boston University political scientist Neta C. Crawford explains the international challenges the United States has faced during three stages of development. She also reveals who is chiefly responsible for deciding foreign policy.



Thinking Like a Political Scientist Learn what foreign policy scholars are researching. Boston University political scientist Neta C. Crawford reveals how scholars use levels of analysis and advances in cognitive psychology to assess decision-making.



5 **In the Real World** The United States has intervened in many countries in order to promote democracy, including Iraq, Germany, Japan, and most recently, Libya. Is this the right thing to do? Learn what real people have to say about this divisive issue, and about the consequences brought on by U.S. involvement abroad.



So What? Why does the United States become involved in foreign nations? In this video, author George C. Edwards III provides examples of actions American presidents have taken to provide help and welfare to countries around the world, and highlights some of the key foreign policy issues that the United States can expect to contend with in the coming years.



Answering the question of the appropriate role of the national government in the area of national security policy—an area encompassing foreign policy and national defense—has become more important and perhaps more difficult than ever. America’s status in the world makes leadership unavoidable. What should be the role of the world’s only remaining superpower? What should we do with our huge defense establishment? Should we go it alone, or should we work closely with our allies on issues ranging from fighting terrorism and stopping nuclear proliferation to protecting the environment and encouraging trade? At the same time, a number of critical areas of the world, most notably the Middle East, have a frightening potential for conflict. Should the United States get involved in trying to end conflicts resulting from ethnic and religious differences and regional issues? Does the United States have a choice about involvement when the conflict could affect its ability to fight terrorism or prevent the use of nuclear weapons?

And just how should we decide about national security policy? Should the American people and their representatives participate as fully in the policymaking process as they do for domestic policy? Or should they delegate discretion in this area to officials who seem at home with the complex and even exotic issues of defense and foreign policy? Can the public and its representatives in Congress or in interest groups even exert much influence on the elites who often deal in secrecy with national security policy?

National security is as important as ever. New and complex challenges have emerged to replace the conflict with communism. Some of these challenges, such as the fight against terrorism, are traceable to a malevolent enemy—but many others are not.

foreign policy

Policy that involves choice taking about relations with the rest of the world. The president is the chief initiator of U.S. foreign policy.

American Foreign Policy: Instruments, Actors, and Policymakers

18.1 Identify the major instruments and actors in making national security policy.

Foreign policy, like domestic policy, involves making choices—but the choices involved are about relations with the rest of the world. Because the president is the main force behind foreign policy, every morning the White House receives a highly confidential intelligence briefing that might cover monetary transactions in Tokyo, last night’s events in some trouble spot on the globe, or Fidel Castro’s health. The briefing is part of the massive informational arsenal the president uses to manage American foreign policy.

□ Instruments of Foreign Policy

The instruments of foreign policy are different from those of domestic policy. Foreign policies depend ultimately on three types of tools: military, economic, and diplomatic.

MILITARY Among the oldest instruments of foreign policy are war and the threat of war. German General Karl von Clausewitz once called war a “continuation of politics by other means.” The United States has been involved in only a few full-scale wars. It has often employed force to influence actions in other countries, however. Historically, most such uses of force have been close to home, in Central America and the Caribbean.

In recent years, the United States has used force to influence actions in a range of trouble spots around the world—not only to topple Saddam Hussein’s regime in Iraq and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan but also, for example, to oppose ethnic cleansing in the Kosovo province of the former Yugoslavia, to prevent the toppling of the democratic

United Nations

Created in 1945 and currently including 193 member nations, with a central peacekeeping mission and programs in areas including economic development and health, education, and welfare. The seat of real power in the UN is the Security Council.

government of the Philippines, to assist a UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia, to help overthrow Muammar Qaddafi's regime in Libya, and to rescue stranded foreigners and protect our embassy in Liberia. The United States also employed military force to aid the democratic transfer of power in Haiti and for humanitarian relief operations in Iraq, Somalia, Bangladesh, Russia, and Bosnia and elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia.

ECONOMIC Today, economic instruments are becoming weapons almost as potent as those of war. The control of oil can be as important as the control of guns. Trade regulations, tariff policies, monetary policies, and economic sanctions are other economic instruments of foreign policy. A number of studies have called attention to the importance of a country's economic vitality to its long-term national security.¹

DIPLOMACY Diplomacy is the quietest instrument of influence. It is the process by which nations carry on relationships with each other. Although diplomacy often evokes images of ambassadors at chic cocktail parties, the diplomatic game is played for high stakes. Sometimes national leaders meet in summit talks. More often, less prominent negotiators work out treaties covering all kinds of national contracts, from economic relations to aid for stranded tourists.

□ Actors on the World Stage

If all the world's a stage, then there are more actors on it—governmental and otherwise—than ever before. More than 125 nations have emerged since 1945. Once foreign relations were almost exclusively transactions among nations, in which leaders used military, economic, or diplomatic methods to achieve foreign policy goals. Although nations remain the main actors, the cast has become more varied.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS Most of the challenges in international relations, ranging from peacekeeping and controlling weapons of mass destruction to protecting the environment and maintaining stable trade and financial networks, require the cooperation of many nations. It is not surprising that international organizations play an increasingly important role on the world stage.

The best-known international organization is the **United Nations** (UN). The UN was created in 1945 and has its headquarters in New York. Its members agree to renounce war and to respect certain human and economic freedoms (although they sometimes fail to keep these promises). In addition to its peacekeeping function, the UN runs programs in areas including economic development and health, education, and welfare.

The UN *General Assembly* is composed of 193 member nations, each with one vote. Although not legally binding, General Assembly resolutions can achieve a measure of collective legitimization when a broad international consensus is formed on some matter concerning relations among states. It is the *Security Council*, however, that is the seat of real power in the UN. Five of its 15 members (the United States, Great Britain, China, France, and Russia) are permanent members; the others are chosen from session to session by the General Assembly. Each permanent member has a veto over Security Council decisions, including any decisions that would commit the UN to a military peacekeeping operation. The *Secretariat* is the executive arm of the UN and directs the administration of UN programs. Composed of about 9,000 international civil servants, it is headed by the secretary-general.

Since 1948, there have been 63 UN peacekeeping operations, including 50 created by the Security Council since 1988. In 2012, there were 16 such operations underway—in Sudan, South Sudan, Haiti, Timor-Leste, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Western Sahara, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan, Syria, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Lebanon, Cyprus, Kosovo, Darfur, and the Middle East generally.

The United States often plays a critical role in implementing UN policies, although U.S. attitudes toward the UN have varied. President Clinton envisioned an expanded



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The most prominent international organization is the United Nations. In addition to its efforts to keep the peace, it supports important programs in economic development and health, education, and welfare.

role for UN peacekeeping operations at the beginning of his term but later concluded that the UN is often not capable of making and keeping peace, particularly when hostilities among parties still exist. He also backtracked on his willingness to place American troops under foreign commanders—always a controversial policy. George W. Bush sought but did not receive UN sanction for the war with Iraq. He, too, expressed skepticism of the organization's ability to enforce its own resolutions. Nevertheless, many countries feel the legitimacy of the UN is crucial for their participation in peacekeeping or other operations requiring the use of force.

The UN is only one of many international organizations. The International Monetary Fund, for example, helps regulate the chaotic world of international finance, the World Bank finances development projects in new nations, the World Trade Organization attempts to regulate international trade, and the Universal Postal Union helps get the mail from one country to another.

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS The post–World War II era has seen a proliferation of *regional organizations*—organizations of several nations bound by a treaty, often for military reasons. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) was created in 1949. Its members—the United States, Canada, most Western European nations, and Turkey—agreed to combine military forces and to treat a war against one as a war against all. During the Cold War, more than a million NATO troops (including about 325,000 Americans) were spread from West Germany to Portugal as a deterrent to foreign aggression. To counter the NATO alliance, the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies formed the Warsaw Pact. With the thawing of the Cold War, however, the Warsaw Pact was dissolved and the role of NATO changed dramatically. In 1999, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, former members of the Warsaw Pact, became members of NATO. Since then, eight additional Eastern European countries—Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Croatia—have joined the alliance.

Regional organizations can have economic as well as military and political functions. The **European Union** (EU) is a transnational government composed of

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

A regional organization that was created in 1949 by nations including the United States, Canada, and most Western European nations for mutual defense and has subsequently been expanded.

European Union

A transnational government composed of most European nations that coordinates monetary, trade, immigration, and labor policies, making its members one economic unit.

most European nations. The EU coordinates monetary, trade, immigration, and labor policies so that its members have become one economic unit, just as the 50 states of the United States are an economic unit. Most EU nations have adopted a common currency, the euro. Other economic federations exist in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, although none is as unified as the EU.

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS A large portion of the world's industrial output comes from *multinational corporations* (MNCs), and they account for more than one-tenth of the global economy and one-third of world exports. Sometimes more powerful (and often much wealthier) than the governments under which they operate, MNCs have voiced strong opinions about governments, taxes, and business regulations. They have even linked forces with agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to overturn governments they disliked. In the 1970s, for example, several U.S.-based multinationals worked with the CIA to “destabilize” the democratically elected Marxist government in Chile, which Chile's military then overthrew in 1973. Although rarely so heavy-handed, MNCs are forces to be reckoned with in nearly all nations.²

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS Groups that are not connected with governments, known as *nongovernmental organizations* (NGOs), are also actors on the global stage. Churches and labor unions have long had international interests and activities. Today, environmental and wildlife groups, such as Greenpeace, have also proliferated internationally, as have groups interested in protecting human rights, such as Amnesty International.

TERRORISTS Not all groups, however, are committed to saving whales, oceans, or even people. Some are committed to the overthrow of particular governments and operate as terrorists around the world. Airplane hijackings and assassinations, bombings, and similar terrorist attacks have made the world a more unsettled place. Conflicts within a nation or region may spill over into world politics. Terrorism in the Middle East, for example, affects the price of oil in Tokyo, New York, and Berlin. Terrorism sponsored by Iran may strain relations between the West and Russia.

INDIVIDUALS Finally, *individuals* are international actors. Tourism sends Americans everywhere and brings to America legions of tourists from around the world. Tourism creates its own costs and benefits and thus can affect international relations and the international economic system. It may enhance friendship and understanding among nations. However, more tourists traveling out of the country than arriving in the country can create problems with a country's balance of payments (discussed later in this chapter). In addition to tourists, growing numbers of students are going to and coming from other nations; they are carriers of ideas and ideologies. So are immigrants and refugees, who also place new demands on public services.

Just as there are more actors on the global stage than in the past, there are also more American decision makers involved in foreign policy problems.

□ The Policymakers

There are many policymakers involved with national security policy, but any discussion of foreign policymaking must begin with the president.

THE PRESIDENT The president is the main force behind foreign policy. As chief diplomat, the president negotiates treaties; as commander in chief of the armed forces, the president deploys American troops abroad. The president also appoints U.S. ambassadors and the heads of executive departments (with the consent of the Senate) and has the sole power to accord official recognition to other countries and receive (or refuse to receive) their representatives.

Presidents make some foreign policy through the formal mechanisms of treaties or executive agreements. Both are written accords in which the parties agree to specific actions and both have legal standing, but only treaties require Senate ratification. Thus, presidents usually find it more convenient to use executive agreements. Since the end of World War II, presidents have negotiated thousands of executive agreements but only about 800 treaties. Most executive agreements deal with routine and noncontroversial matters, but they have also been used for matters of significance, as in the case of the agreement ending the Vietnam War and arms control agreements.

The president combines constitutional prerogatives with greater access to information than other policymakers and can act with speed and secrecy if necessary. The White House also has the advantages of the president's role as a leader of Congress and the public and of the president's ability to commit the nation to a course of action. Presidents do not act alone in foreign policy, however. They are aided (and sometimes thwarted) by a huge national security bureaucracy. In addition, they must contend with the views and desires of Congress, which also wields considerable clout in the foreign policy arena—sometimes in opposition to a president.

THE DIPLOMATS The State Department is the foreign policy arm of the U.S. government. Its head is the **secretary of state** (Thomas Jefferson was the first). Traditionally, the secretary of state has been the key adviser to the president on foreign policy matters. In countries from Albania to Zimbabwe, the State Department staffs over 300 U.S. embassies, consulates, and other posts, representing the interests of Americans. Once a dignified and genteel profession, diplomacy is becoming an increasingly dangerous job. The 1979 seizure of the American embassy in Tehran, Iran, and the 1998 bombing of the American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, are extreme examples of the hostilities diplomats can face.

The approximately 34,000 State Department employees are organized into functional areas (such as economic and business affairs and human rights and

secretary of state

The head of the Department of State and traditionally the key adviser to the president on foreign policy.

Point to Ponder

The president is at the center of national security policymaking, and juggling a wide range of international problems, often not of his making, is inevitably at the top of the White House's agenda.

Is it possible for one person, no matter how capable, to devote the necessary attention to such an array of issues?



SOURCE: Robert ARIAL, *The State* (Columbia SC) May 28, 2009.

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secretary of defense

The head of the Department of Defense and the president's key adviser on military policy and, as such, a key foreign policy actor.

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Joint Chiefs of Staff

A group that consists of the commanding officers of each of the armed services, a chairperson, and a vice chairperson, and advises the president on military policy.

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humanitarian affairs) and area specialties (a section on Middle Eastern affairs, one on European affairs, and so on), each nation being handled by a "country desk." The political appointees who occupy the top positions in the department and the highly select members of the Foreign Service who compose most of the department are heavily involved in formulating and executing American foreign policy.

Many recent presidents have found the State Department too bureaucratic and intransigent. Even its colloquial name of "Foggy Bottom," taken from the part of Washington where it is located, conjures up less than an image of proactive cooperation. Some presidents have bypassed institutional arrangements for foreign policy decision making and have instead established more personal systems for receiving policy advice. Presidents Nixon and Carter, for example, relied more heavily on their assistants for national security affairs than on their secretaries of state. Thus, in their administrations, foreign policy was centered in the White House and was often disconnected from what was occurring in the State Department. Critics, however, charged that this situation led to split-level government and chronic discontinuity in foreign policy.³ In most recent presidencies, the secretary of state has played a lead role in foreign policy making.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT Foreign policy and defense policy are closely linked. Thus, a key foreign policy actor is the Department of Defense, often called "the Pentagon" after the five-sided building in which it is located. Created by Congress after World War II, the department collected together the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force. The services have never been thoroughly integrated, however, and critics contend that they continue to plan and operate too independently of one another, although reforms made under the Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 increased interservice cooperation and centralization of the military hierarchy. The **secretary of defense** manages a budget larger than the entire budget of most nations and is the president's main civilian adviser on national defense matters.

The **Joint Chiefs of Staff** is made up of the commanding officers of each of the services, along with a chairperson and vice chairperson. American military leaders are sometimes portrayed as aggressive hawks in policymaking. However, Richard Betts carefully examined the Joint Chiefs' advice to the president in many crises and found them to be no more likely than civilian advisers to push an aggressive military policy.⁴

High-ranking officials are supposed to coordinate American foreign and defense policies. Congress formed the *National Security Council* (NSC) in 1947 for this purpose. The



Diplomatic, defense, and intelligence officials are key players in the national security establishment. Here President Obama meets with top military officials in the Oval Office.

Central Intelligence Agency

An agency created after World War II to coordinate American intelligence activities abroad and to collect, analyze, and evaluate intelligence.

NSC is composed of the president, the vice president, the secretary of defense, and the secretary of state. The president's assistant for national security—a position that first gained public prominence with the flamboyant, globe-trotting Henry Kissinger during President Nixon's first term—manages the NSC staff. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the statutory military advisor to the Council, and the director of National Intelligence (discussed later) is the intelligence advisor. In the Obama administration, the president's chief of staff, counsel, and assistant for economic policy attend NSC meetings. The attorney general and the director of the Office of Management and Budget are invited to attend meetings pertaining to their responsibilities. The heads of other executive departments and agencies, as well as other senior officials, are invited to attend meetings of the NSC when appropriate.

Despite the coordinating role assigned to the NSC, conflict within the national security establishment remains common. The NSC staff has sometimes competed with, rather than integrated policy advice from, cabinet departments—particularly State and Defense. It has also become involved in covert operations. In 1986, officials discovered that NSC staff members were secretly selling battlefield missiles to Iran in return for help in gaining the release of hostages held by Iranian-backed terrorists in Lebanon and then were secretly funneling some of the money from the sale to anticommunist rebels (called *Contras*) fighting the Nicaraguan government, despite a congressional ban on such aid. The scandal that erupted, termed the Iran-Contra affair, resulted in the resignation of the president's assistant for national security affairs, Vice Admiral John Poindexter, and the sacking of a number of lower-level NSC officials.

All policymakers require information to make good decisions. Information on the capabilities and intentions of other nations is often difficult to obtain. As a result, governments resort to intelligence agencies to obtain and interpret such information. Congress created the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) after World War II to coordinate American information- and data-gathering intelligence activities abroad and to collect, analyze, and evaluate its own intelligence.

The CIA plays a vital role in providing information and analysis necessary for effective development and implementation of national security policy. Most of its activities are uncontroversial because the bulk of the material it collects and analyzes comes from readily available sources, such as government reports and newspapers. Also generally accepted is its use of espionage to collect information—when the espionage is directed against foreign adversaries. However, in the 1970s, Congress discovered that at times the agency had also engaged in wiretaps, interception of mail, and the infiltration of interest groups in the United States. These actions violated the CIA's charter, and revelations of spying on Americans who disagreed with the foreign policy of the administration badly damaged the agency's morale and external political support.

The CIA also has a long history of involvement in other nations' internal affairs. After the end of World War II, for example, the CIA provided aid to anticommunist parties in Italy and West Germany. It was no less busy in developing countries, where, for example, it nurtured coups in Iran in 1953 and in Guatemala in 1954. The CIA has also trained and supported armies—most notably, in Vietnam. In the 1980s, a major controversy surrounded the CIA's activities when congressional inquiries into the Iran-Contra affair, discussed earlier, suggested that the agency, under Director William Casey, had been quietly involved in covert operations to assist the Contra rebels.⁵

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been substantial debate on the role of the CIA. The end of the Cold War reduced pressure for covert activities and brought a climate more conducive to focusing on conventional intelligence gathering. Currently, Congress requires the CIA to inform relevant congressional committees promptly of existing and anticipated covert operations. However, the failure to predict the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, changed the tenor of the debate, with many leaders calling for an increase in covert capabilities. Perhaps more disconcerting was the CIA's conclusion that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. Destroying these weapons became the principal justification for the war, and their absence was a major embarrassment for the agency and the Bush administration.

There are numerous other components of America's intelligence community, which has a combined budget of about \$55 billion per year. For example, the National Reconnaissance Office uses imagery satellites to monitor missile sites and other military activities around the world. The *National Security Agency* (NSA) is on the cutting edge of electronic eavesdropping capabilities and produces foreign signals intelligence. It also works to protect against foreign adversaries' gaining access to sensitive or classified national security information. In 2005, debate erupted over the NSA's monitoring of communications between the United States and overseas. Although the interception of communications focused on identifying contacts between those in the United States and terrorists abroad, there was inevitably some slippage. Critics charged President Bush with violating Americans' privacy and the legal mandate that the NSA obtain a warrant before listening to private messages. The White House claimed that the president possessed the power to authorize the interceptions without a warrant, that the NSA was careful to protect civil liberties, and that the program was necessary to protect Americans against terrorism. In 2008, Congress allowed officials the use of broad warrants to eavesdrop on large groups of foreign targets at once rather than requiring individual warrants for wiretapping purely foreign communications.

To better coordinate the nearly 100,000 people working in 16 agencies involved in intelligence and oversee the more than \$50 billion intelligence budget, Congress in 2004 created a *director of national intelligence*. The person filling this position is to be the president's chief adviser on intelligence matters. It is not easy to manage such a large number of diverse agencies, spread across numerous departments, and there have been growing pains and slips in the process of improving coordination, as when the intelligence community failed to prevent a terrorist with explosives hidden in his clothing from boarding a plane to Detroit on Christmas Day in 2009.

CONGRESS The U.S. Congress shares with the president constitutional authority over foreign and defense policy. Congress has sole authority, for example, to declare war, raise and organize the armed forces, and appropriate funds for national security activities. The Senate determines whether treaties will be ratified and ambassadorial and cabinet nominations confirmed. The "power of the purse" and responsibilities for oversight of the executive branch give Congress considerable clout, and each year senators and representatives carefully examine defense budget authorizations.⁶

Congress's important constitutional role in foreign and defense policy is sometimes misunderstood. It is a common mistake among some journalists, executive officials, and even members of Congress to believe that the Constitution vests foreign policy decisions solely in the president. Sometimes this erroneous view leads to perverse results, such as the Iran-Contra affair, discussed earlier, in which officials at high levels in the executive branch "sought to protect the president's 'exclusive' prerogative by lying to Congress, to allies, to the public, and to one another" (apparently without the knowledge of the president). Louis Fisher suggests that such actions undermined the "mutual trust and close coordination by the two branches that are essential attributes in building a foreign policy that ensures continuity and stability."⁷

American Foreign Policy Through the Cold War

18.2

Outline the evolution of and major issues in American foreign policy through the end of the Cold War.

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Until the mid-twentieth century, American foreign policy for the most part emphasized keeping a distance from the affairs of other countries, with the exception of neighbors to the south, in whose affairs

it intervened frequently. Following World War II, the United States, which had emerged as the dominant power, became locked in an ideological conflict with the Soviet Union.

□ Isolationism

Throughout most of its history, the United States followed a foreign policy course called **isolationism**. This policy, articulated by George Washington in his farewell address, directed the country to stay out of other nations' conflicts, particularly European wars. The famous *Monroe Doctrine*, enunciated by President James Monroe, reaffirmed America's intention to stay out of Europe's affairs but warned European nations to stay out of Latin America. The United States—believing that its own political backyard included the Caribbean and Central and South America—did not hesitate to send marines, gunboats, or both to intervene in Central American and Caribbean affairs (for interventions since 1900, see Figure 18.1). When European nations were at war, however, Americans relished their distance from the conflicts. So it was until World War I (1914–1918).

In the wake of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson urged the United States to join the League of Nations, a forerunner to the UN. The U.S. Senate refused to ratify the League of Nations treaty, indicating that the country was not ready to abandon the long-standing American habit of isolationism, and that the Senate was not ready to relinquish any of its war-making authority to an international body. It was World War II, which forced the United States into a global conflict, that dealt a deathblow to American isolationism. Most nations signed a

isolationism

The foreign policy course the United States followed throughout most of its history whereby it tried to stay out of other nations' conflicts, particularly European wars.

FIGURE 18.1 U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN SINCE 1900



18.1

containment doctrine

A foreign policy strategy advocated by George Kennan that called for the United States to isolate the Soviet Union, “contain” its advances, and resist its encroachments by peaceful means if possible but by force if necessary.

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Cold War

The hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union, which often brought them to the brink of war and which spanned the period from the end of World War II until the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern European communist regimes in 1989 and the years following.

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charter for the UN at a conference in San Francisco in 1945. The United States was an original signatory and soon donated land to house the UN permanently in New York City.

□ The Cold War

At the end of World War II, the Allies had vanquished Germany and Japan, and much of Europe was strewn with rubble. The United States was unquestionably the dominant world power both economically and militarily. It not only had helped to bring the war to an end but also had inaugurated a new era in warfare by dropping the first atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945. Because only the United States possessed nuclear weapons, Americans looked forward to an era of peace secured by their nuclear umbrella.

After World War II, the United States forged strong alliances with the nations of Western Europe. To help them rebuild their economies, the United States poured billions of dollars into war-ravaged European nations through a program known as the Marshall Plan—named after its architect, Secretary of State George C. Marshall. A military alliance was also forged; the creation of NATO in 1949 affirmed the mutual military interests of the United States and Western Europe, and NATO remains a cornerstone of American foreign and defense policy.

CONTAINMENT Although many Americans expected cooperative relations with the Soviet Union, their wartime ally, they soon abandoned these hopes. There is still much dispute about how the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union started.⁸ Even before World War II ended, some American policymakers feared that the Soviets were intent on spreading communism not only to their neighbors but around the globe. All of Eastern Europe fell under Soviet domination as World War II ended. In 1946, Winston Churchill warned that the Russians had sealed off Eastern Europe with an “iron curtain.”

Communist support of a revolt in Greece in 1946 compounded fears of Soviet aggression. Writing in *Foreign Affairs* in 1947, foreign policy strategist George F. Kennan proposed a policy of “containment.”⁹ His **containment doctrine** called for the United States to isolate the Soviet Union—to “contain” its advances and resist its encroachments—by peaceful means if possible but with force if necessary. When economic problems forced Great Britain to decrease its support of Greece, the United States stepped in based on the newly proclaimed Truman Doctrine, in which the United States declared it would help other nations oppose communism. The Soviet Union responded with the Berlin Blockade of 1948–1949, in which it closed off land access to West Berlin (which was surrounded by communist East Germany). The United States and its allies broke the blockade by airlifting food, fuel, and other necessities to the people of the beleaguered city.

The fall of China to Mao Zedong’s communist-led forces in 1949 seemed to confirm American fears that communism was a cancer spreading over the “free world.” In the same year, the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb. The invasion of pro-American South Korea by communist North Korea in 1950 further fueled American fears of Soviet imperialism. President Truman said bluntly, “We’ve got to stop the Russians now,” and sent American troops to Korea under UN auspices. The Korean War was a chance to put containment into practice. Involving China as well as North Korea, the war dragged on until July 27, 1953.

The 1950s were the height of the **Cold War**; though hostilities never quite erupted into armed battle between them, the United States and the Soviet Union were often on the brink of war. John Foster Dulles, secretary of state under Eisenhower, proclaimed a policy often referred to as “brinkmanship,” in which the United States was to be prepared to use nuclear weapons in order to *deter* the Soviet Union and communist China from taking aggressive actions.



The Soviet Union built the Berlin Wall to separate communist East Berlin from the western sectors of the city. Here President John F. Kennedy looks over the wall in 1963 shortly before delivering a rousing anti-communist speech to the citizens of West Berlin.

By the 1950s, the Soviet Union and the United States were engaged in an **arms race**. One side's weaponry goaded the other side to procure yet more weaponry, as one missile led to another. By the mid-1960s, the result of the arms race was a point of *mutual assured destruction* (MAD), in which each side had the ability to annihilate the other even after absorbing a surprise attack. These nuclear capabilities also served to deter the use of nuclear weapons. Later sections of this chapter will examine efforts to control the arms race.

THE VIETNAM WAR The Korean War and the 1949 victory of communist forces in China fixed the U.S. government's attention on Asian communism. In 1950, President Truman decided to aid France's effort to retain its colonial possessions in Southeast Asia, but the Vietnamese communists finally defeated the French in a battle at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The morning after the battle, peace talks among the participants and other major powers began in Geneva, Switzerland. Although a party to the resultant agreements, which stipulated that the country be temporarily divided into north and south regions and national elections be held throughout Vietnam in 1956, the United States never accepted them. Instead, it began supporting one noncommunist leader after another in South Vietnam, each seemingly more committed than the last to defeating communist forces in the North.¹⁰

Unable to contain the forces of the communist guerillas and the North Vietnamese army with American military advisers, President Lyndon Johnson sent in American troops—more than 500,000 at the peak of the undeclared war. He dropped more bombs on communist North Vietnam than the United States had dropped on Germany in all of World War II. These American troops and massive firepower failed to contain the North Vietnamese, however. At home, widespread protests against the war contributed to Johnson's decisions not to run for reelection in 1968 and to begin peace negotiations.

The new Nixon administration prosecuted the war vigorously, in Cambodia as well as in Vietnam, but also negotiated with the Vietnamese communists. A peace treaty was signed in 1973, but, as many expected, it did not hold. South Vietnam's capital, Saigon, finally fell to the North Vietnamese army in 1975. South and North Vietnam were reunited into a single nation, and Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City in honor of the late leader of communist North Vietnam.

Looking back on the Vietnam War, many Americans question its worth. It divided the nation and made citizens painfully aware of the government's ability to lie to them—and (perhaps worse) to itself. It reminded Americans that even a "great power"

arms race

A tense relationship beginning in the 1950s between the Soviet Union and the United States whereby one side's weaponry became the other side's goal to procure more weaponry, and so on.

détente

A policy, beginning in the early 1970s, that sought a relaxation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, coupled with firm guarantees of mutual security.

cannot prevail in a protracted military conflict against a determined enemy unless there is a clear objective and unless the national will is sufficiently committed to expend vast resources on the task.

THE ERA OF DÉTENTE Even while the United States was waging the Vietnam War, Richard Nixon—a veteran fighter of the Cold War—supported a new policy that came to be called *détente*. The term was popularized by Nixon’s national security adviser and later secretary of state, Henry Kissinger.

Détente represented a slow transformation from conflict thinking to cooperative thinking in foreign policy strategy. It sought a relaxation of tensions between the superpowers, coupled with firm guarantees of mutual security. The policy assumed that the United States and the Soviet Union had no permanent, immutable sources of conflict; that both had an interest in peace and world stability; and that a nuclear war was—and should be—unthinkable. Thus, foreign policy battles between the United States and the Soviet Union were to be waged with diplomatic, economic, and propaganda weapons; the threat of force was downplayed.

One major initiative emerging from détente was the *Strategic Arms Limitation Talks* (SALT). These talks represented a mutual effort by the United States and the Soviet Union to limit the growth of their nuclear capabilities, with each power maintaining sufficient nuclear weapons to deter a surprise attack by the other. Nixon signed the first SALT accord in 1972, and negotiations for a second agreement, SALT II, soon followed. After six years of laborious negotiations, President Carter finally signed the agreement and sent it to the Senate in 1979. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that year caused Carter to withdraw the treaty from Senate consideration, however, even though both he and Ronald Reagan insisted that they would remain committed to the agreement’s limitations on nuclear weaponry.

The United States applied the philosophy of détente to the People’s Republic of China as well as to the Soviet Union. After the fall of the pro-American government in 1949, the United States had refused to extend diplomatic recognition to the world’s most populous nation, recognizing instead the government in exile on the nearby island of Taiwan. As a senator in the early 1950s, Richard Nixon had been an implacable foe of “Red China,” even suggesting that the Democratic administration had traitorously “lost” China. Nevertheless, two decades later this same Richard Nixon became the first president to visit the People’s Republic and sent an American mission there. President Jimmy Carter extended formal diplomatic recognition to China in 1979. Over time, cultural and economic ties between the United States and China increased greatly.

Not everyone favored détente, however. Even Carter called for a substantial increase in defense spending after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Few people saw more threats from the Soviet Union than did Ronald Reagan, who called it the “Evil Empire.” He viewed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as typical Russian aggression that, if unchecked, could only grow more common. He hailed anticommunist governments everywhere and pledged to increase American defense spending.

THE REAGAN REARMAMENT From the mid-1950s to 1981 (with the exception of the Vietnam War), the defense budget had generally been declining as a percentage of both the total federal budget and the GDP. In 1955, during the Eisenhower administration, defense accounted for 61 percent of the federal budget and about 10 percent of the GDP. By the time President Reagan took office in 1981, the two numbers had dropped to 23 and 5.2 percent, respectively. These figures reflected a substantial cut indeed, although the decrease came about more because levels of social spending had increased than because military spending had declined.

According to Reagan, America faced a “window of vulnerability” because the Soviet Union was galloping ahead of the United States in military spending and, as a result, the United States had to build its defenses before it could negotiate arms control agreements. Reagan proposed the largest peacetime defense spending increase in American history: a five-year defense buildup costing \$1.5 trillion. Defense officials

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were ordered to find places to spend more money.¹¹ These heady days for the Pentagon lasted only through the first term of Reagan's presidency, however. In his second term, concern over huge budget deficits brought defense spending to a standstill. Once inflation is taken into account, Congress appropriated no increase in defense spending at all from 1985 to 1988.

In 1983 President Reagan added another element to his defense policy—a new plan for defense against missiles. He called it the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI); critics quickly renamed it “Star Wars.” Reagan's plans for SDI proposed creating a global umbrella in space wherein computers would scan the skies and use various high-tech devices to destroy invading missiles. The administration proposed a research program that would have cost tens of billions of dollars over the next decade.

In the face of an onslaught of criticism regarding the feasibility of SDI, its proponents reduced their expectations about the size and capabilities of any defensive shield that could be erected over the next generation. Talk of a smaller system—capable of protecting against an accidental launch of a few missiles or against a threat by some Third World country with nuclear weapons—replaced the dream of an impenetrable umbrella over the United States capable of defeating a massive Soviet nuclear strike.

THE FINAL THAW IN THE COLD WAR On May 12, 1989, in a commencement address at Texas A&M University, President George H. W. Bush announced a new era in American foreign policy. He termed this an era “beyond containment” and declared the goal of the United States would shift from containing Soviet expansion to seeking the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

The Cold War ended as few had anticipated—spontaneously. Suddenly, the elusive objective of 40 years of post–World War II U.S. foreign policy—freedom and self-determination for Eastern Europeans and Soviet peoples and the reduction of the military threat from the East—was achieved. Forces of change sparked by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev led to a staggering wave of upheaval that shattered communist regimes and the postwar barriers between Eastern and Western Europe. The Berlin Wall, the most prominent symbol of oppression in Eastern Europe, came tumbling down on November 9, 1989, and East and West Germany formed a unified, democratic republic. The Soviet Union split into 15 separate nations, and noncommunist governments formed in most of them. Poland, Czechoslovakia (soon splitting into the Czech Republic and Slovakia), and Hungary established democratic governments, and reformers overthrew the old-line communist leaders in Bulgaria and Romania.



Beginning in 1989, communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe suddenly began to crumble. The Berlin Wall fell, and the threat of nuclear war between the superpowers diminished. However, the thaw in the Cold War left a host of difficult new national security issues.

In 1989, reform seemed on the verge of occurring in China as well. That spring in Tiananmen Square, the central meeting place in Beijing, thousands of students held protests on behalf of democratization. Unable to tolerate challenges to their rule any longer, the aging Chinese leaders forcibly—and brutally—evacuated the square, crushing some protestors under armored tanks. It is still not clear how many students were killed and how many others arrested, but the reform movement in China received a serious setback. This suppression of efforts to develop democracy sent a chill through what had been a warming relationship between the United States and the People’s Republic of China.

Reform continued elsewhere, however. On June 17, 1992, Boris Yeltsin addressed a joint session of the U.S. Congress. When the burly, silver-haired president of the new Russian republic entered the House chamber, members of Congress greeted him with chants of “Bo-ris, Bo-ris” and hailed him with numerous standing ovations.

Yeltsin proclaimed to thunderous applause,

∴ The idol of communism, which spread *everywhere* social strife, animosity and
 ∴ unparalleled brutality, which instilled fear in humanity, has collapsed ... I am here
 ∴ to assure you that we will not let it rise again in our land.

The Cold War that had been waged for two generations had ended, and the West, led by the United States, had won.

American Foreign Policy and the War on Terrorism

18.3 Explain the major obstacles to success in the war on terrorism.



he end of the Cold War raised hopes that a long era of relative tranquility would follow. Although in many parts of the world, conflicts continued and new conflicts arose, Americans experienced a sense of diminished danger. This sense was shattered by the events of September 11, 2001, however, and terrorism moved to the fore as a foreign policy concern.

□ The Spread of Terrorism

Perhaps the most troublesome issue in the national security area is the spread of *terrorism*—the use of violence to demoralize and frighten a country’s population or government. Terrorism takes many forms, including the bombing of buildings (such as the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001; on the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998; and on the World Trade Center in 1993) and ships (such as the USS *Cole* in Yemen in 2000), the assassinations of political leaders (as when Iraq attempted to kill former president George Bush in 1993), and the kidnappings of diplomats and civilians (as when Iranians took Americans hostage in 1979).

It is difficult to defend against terrorism, especially in an open society. Terrorists have the advantage of stealth and surprise and, often, of a willingness to die for their cause. Improved security measures and better intelligence gathering can help. So, perhaps, can punishing governments and organizations that engage in terrorist activities. In 1986, the United States launched an air attack on Libya in response to Libyan-supported acts of terrorism; in 1993, the United States struck at Iraq’s intelligence center in response to a foiled plot to assassinate former president George Bush; and in 1998, the United States launched an attack in Afghanistan on Osama bin Laden, the leader of the terrorist organization Al Qaeda.



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Terrorism takes many forms, including the bombing or other destruction of buildings and ships. Shown here are the results of terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001, the American consulate in Benghazi, Libya, in 2012, and the USS *Cole* in Yemen in 2000.

□ Afghanistan and Iraq

Following the September 11, 2001, attacks, the United States declared war on terrorism. President George W. Bush made the war the highest priority of his administration, and the United States launched an attack on bin Laden and Al Qaeda and on the Taliban regime that had been harboring them. The Taliban fell in short order, although many suspected members of Al Qaeda escaped. In the meantime, the president declared that Iran, Iraq, and North Korea formed an “axis of evil” and began laying plans to remove Iraqi president Saddam Hussein from power. In 2003, a U.S.-led coalition toppled Hussein.

In the 2000 presidential campaign, George W. Bush had spoken of “humility” in foreign affairs and cautioned against overextending America’s military. He had also warned against “nation building,” which involves installing institutions of a national government in a country and often requires massive investment and military occupation. However, in the wake of the September, 11, 2001, attacks, the threat of terrorism caused the president to rethink these views, and the administration began talking about meeting America’s “unparalleled responsibilities.” With the invasion of Iraq, one of those responsibilities became to rebuild and democratize Iraq.

There is broad consensus that the planning for postwar Iraq was poor. The administration presumed that Americans would be welcomed as liberators, that Iraqi oil would pay for most (if not all) of the necessary reconstruction of the country, and that the Iraqis possessed the necessary skills and infrastructure to do the job. These premises proved to be faulty, and the United States faced first chaos and then a protracted insurrection, especially in the “Sunni triangle” around Baghdad. Five years after the end of the official fighting, 140,000 American troops were still stationed in Iraq, straining our defense resources. As both U.S. expenditures on reconstruction and American casualties mounted, the public’s support for the effort declined substantially, and President Bush experienced a corresponding drop in his approval ratings.

Although President Bush often declared that postwar Iraq was the front line in the global war on terror, his critics responded that the war proved a boon for extremists. Muslims consider Iraq, the seat of Islamic power for five centuries, sacred ground. The presence of foreign, non-Muslim occupiers made the country a magnet for militants

who opposed their presence and welcomed an opportunity to kill Americans and other Westerners.

Moreover, since the war in Afghanistan, Al Qaeda has transformed itself into an umbrella organization that provides an inspirational focal point for loosely affiliated terrorist groups in dozens of countries worldwide. Some view this transformed threat as potentially more dangerous than the one posed by the original Al Qaeda. A “decapitation” strategy, focusing on the elimination of a small group of senior figures in the original Al Qaeda network, may no longer be an adequate or appropriate strategy for dealing with a threat that has, in effect, metastasized.

Because of the increasingly decentralized nature of the terrorist threat, the military component of the global counterterrorism campaign is more likely to resemble a war of attrition on multiple fronts than a limited number of surgical strikes against a single adversary. One consequence is that the war on terrorism is likely to persist for many years. There were approximately 11,500 terrorist attacks worldwide during 2010, resulting in approximately 50,000 deaths, injuries, and kidnappings. More than 75 percent of these attacks occurred in South Asia and the Near East.¹² Most of the deaths occurred in Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

Nor is it likely that the use of military force alone will suffice. Some observers argue that relying primarily on the use of force to combat terrorism is responding to a tactic (terrorism) rather than to the forces that generate it. Traditionally, winning a war involved defeating an enemy nation on the battlefield and forcing it to accept political terms. In contrast, winning the war on terror, involving as it does terrorist groups and not enemy states, will require political changes that erode and ultimately undermine support for the ideology and strategy of those determined to destroy the United States and its allies. The war will be won not when Washington and its allies kill or capture all terrorists or potential terrorists but when the ideology the terrorists espouse is discredited; when their tactics are seen to have failed; and when potential terrorists find more promising paths to the dignity, respect, and opportunities they crave.

In 2007, President Bush ordered a troop “surge” in Iraq. It was designed to quell violence and give Iraqis the opportunity to establish a democratic government, train forces to assume police and defense responsibilities, and engage in national reconciliation among the major religious and ethnic groups. The first goal was met, as violence was reduced. Progress on the other goals has been much slower, however. Nevertheless, President Obama followed Bush’s timetable and removed the last American troops in 2011.

Obama has turned America’s attention to Afghanistan, which continues to be threatened by Taliban insurgents and religious extremists, some of whom are linked to Al Qaeda and to sponsors outside the country. Ensuring legitimate and effective governance in Afghanistan, delivering relief assistance, and countering the surge in narcotics cultivation remain major challenges for the international community. In 2009, President Obama announced an increase of 30,000 U.S. troops in Afghanistan. Success has been elusive, however, although Navy Seals killed Osama bin Laden in 2011.

To compound the problem, a terrorist haven emerged in Pakistan’s remote tribal belt. As Pakistan is understandably sensitive to another country’s military operating within its borders, the U.S. military has been hampered in conducting the sort of missions that would disrupt terrorist activity there. In addition, it appears that there is substantial sympathy for the Taliban among many Pakistani military and intelligence officials, which constrains Pakistan’s own efforts to fight the terrorists.

Whatever the current issues in the debate over the war on terrorism, there is no doubt that the need to fight terrorists has forced Americans to rethink some of the basic tenets of U.S. national security policy.

Defense Policy

18.4 Identify the major elements of U.S. defense policy.

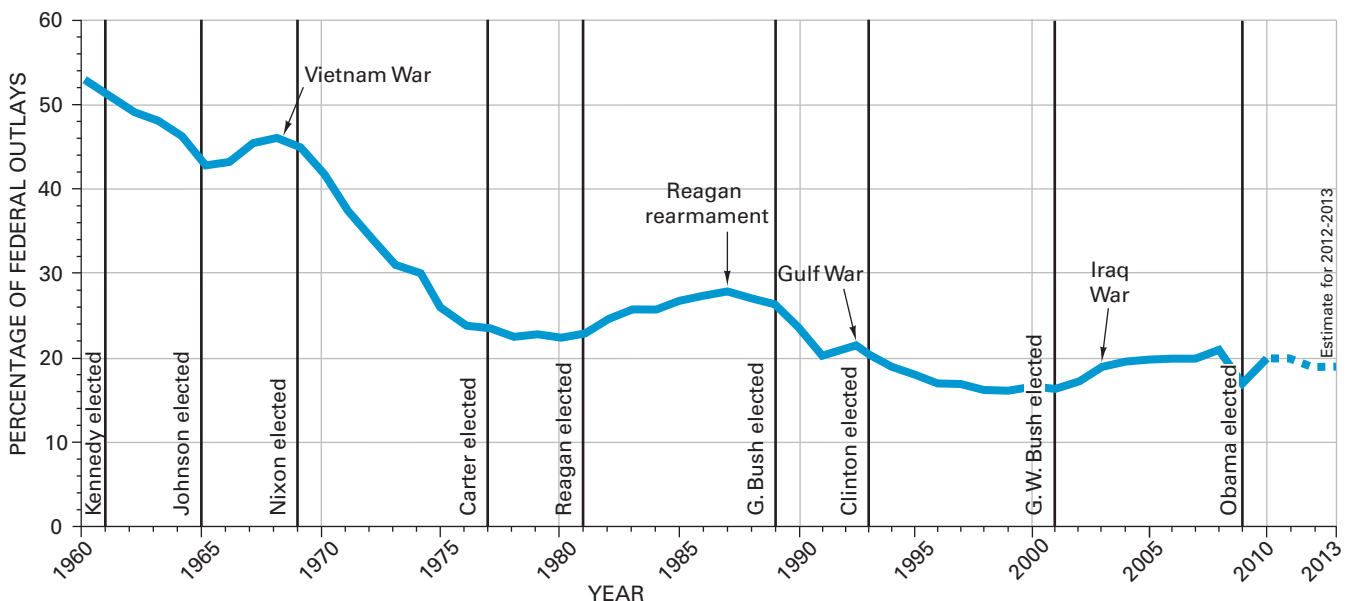
The politics of national defense involves high stakes—the nation’s security, for example. Domestic political concerns, budgetary limitations, and ideology all influence decisions on the structure of defense (military) policy and negotiations with allies and adversaries. All public policies include budgets, people, and equipment. In the realm of national defense, these elements are especially critical because of the size of the budget and the bureaucracy as well as the destructive potential of modern weapons. The goals of American defense policy are to win the war on terrorism, defend American territory against new threats, and, if necessary, conduct a number of smaller military actions around the world. A large military infrastructure is necessary to meet these goals.

Defense Spending

Defense spending now makes up about one-fifth of the federal budget. Although this is a much smaller percentage than in earlier years (see Figure 18.2), vast sums of money and fundamental questions of public policy are still involved. Some scholars have argued that America faces a trade-off between defense spending and social spending. A nation, they claim, must choose between guns and butter, and more guns means less butter. Evidence supporting the existence of such a trade-off is mixed, however. In general, defense and domestic policy expenditures appear to be independent of each other.¹³ Ronald Reagan’s efforts to increase military budgets while cutting back on

FIGURE 18.2 TRENDS IN DEFENSE SPENDING

John F. Kennedy took office in 1961 at the height of the Cold War. National defense was the dominant public policy for the U.S. government; it accounted for half of all the money that the government spent (“outlays”) that year. Things have changed dramatically since then, however. Although defense spending continued to increase until the 1990s, spending on other policies increased even more. As a result, defense spending is now only about one-fifth of the budget. Still, at more than \$700 billion per year through 2013, it remains a significant sum, one over which battles continue to be fought in Congress.



SOURCE: Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2013: Historical Tables (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2012), Table 3.1.

domestic policy expenditures seem to have stemmed more from his own ideology than from any inevitable choice between the two.

Defense spending is a thorny political issue, entangled with ideological disputes. Conservatives advocate increases in defense spending and insist that America maintain its readiness at a high level. They point out that many nations and terrorist organizations retain potent military capability and that wars on a significant scale are still possible. Liberals have supported increased defense spending for the war on terrorism but more generally are skeptical of defense spending. They maintain that the Pentagon wastes money and that the United States buys too many guns and too little butter. The most crucial aspect of national defense, they argue, is a strong economy, which is based on investments in “human capital” such as health and education.

Why It Matters to You

The Defense Budget

In the twenty-first century, the United States spends about one-fifth of its national budget on defense to support a large defense establishment. This expenditure contributes to large annual budget deficits, although some argue that we should spend even more to protect the country against terrorism.

In the 1990s, the lessening of East–West tensions gave momentum to significant reductions in defense spending, which some called the *peace dividend*. Changing spending patterns was not easy, however. For example, military hardware developed during the early 1980s has proven to be increasingly expensive to purchase and maintain. And when the assembly lines at weapons plants close down, submarine designers, welders, and many others lose their jobs. These programs become political footballs as candidates compete over promises to keep weapons systems in production. Ideology plays a crucial role in the basic decisions members of Congress make regarding defense spending, but once these decisions are made, liberal as well as conservative representatives and senators fight hard to help constituencies win and keep defense contracts.¹⁴

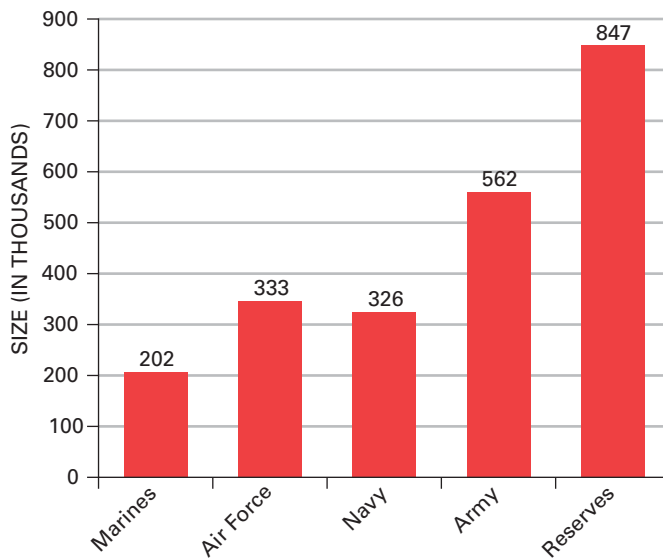
The trend of reductions in defense spending reversed abruptly in 2001 following the September 11 terrorist attacks. Whatever the proper level of spending, there is no question that the United States spends more on defense than the next 15 or 20 biggest spenders combined. The United States has overwhelming nuclear superiority, the world’s dominant air force, the only navy with worldwide operations (which also has impressive airpower), and a unique capability to project power around the globe. No other country in modern history has come close to this level of military predominance, and the gap between the United States and other nations is increasing. Moreover, the military advantages are even greater when one considers the quality as well as the quantity of U.S. defense capabilities. America has exploited the military applications of advanced communications and information technology and has developed the ability to coordinate and process information about the battlefield and to destroy targets from afar with extraordinary precision.

With America’s withdrawal from Iraq and its huge budget deficits, once again pressures grew to reduce military spending. President Obama ordered the Pentagon to reduce its budget, and the United States cut back on both personnel and weapons.

□ Personnel

Crucial to the structure of America’s defense is a large standing military force. The United States has about 1.4 million men and women on active duty and about 847,000 in the National Guard and reserves (see Figure 18.3). There are about 300,000 active-duty troops deployed abroad; many of these troops are serving in Afghanistan, although there is also a substantial U.S. presence in Europe, Japan, and South Korea.¹⁵ Foreign deployment is a very costly enterprise, and the ongoing wars in particular frequently evoke calls to bring the troops home. As demands have increased on active-duty personnel, the military now relies

FIGURE 18.3 SIZE OF THE ARMED FORCES*



*2012 estimates

SOURCE: Office of Management and Budget, *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2013: Appendix* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2012), 243–244.

much more heavily on National Guard and reserve units to maintain national security; National Guard and reserve units have served for extended periods in Iraq and Afghanistan.

□ Weapons

To deter an aggressor's attack, the United States has relied on possession of a triad of nuclear weapons: ground-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and strategic bombers. Both the United States and Russia have thousands of large nuclear warheads. These weapons, like troops, are costly: each stealth bomber costs over \$2 billion; the total cost of building nuclear weapons has been \$5.5 trillion.¹⁶ Moreover, nuclear weapons pose obvious dangers to human survival.

The end of the Cold War led to a focus on arms reduction. In 1988, President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to eliminate *intermediate-range nuclear forces* (INF), marking the first time the two sides agreed to reduce current levels of nuclear weapons. Three years later, presidents Gorbachev and George H. W. Bush



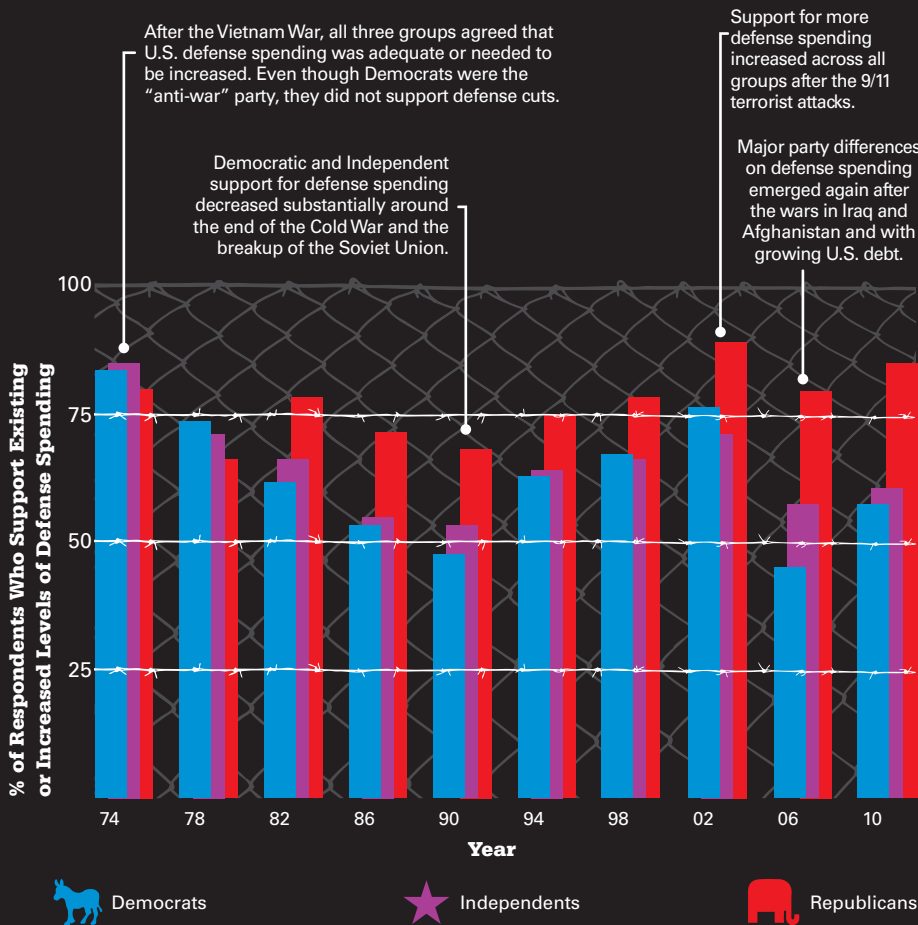
President Reagan and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev signed a treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe. The INF treaty marked the first time an American president had agreed to reduce current levels of nuclear weapons.

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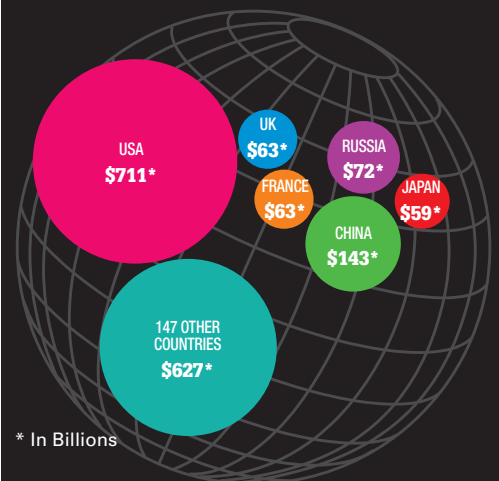
How Much Does America Spend on Defense?

The United States has the largest defense budget in the world, but many observers still ask “Do we spend enough?” At the end of the Vietnam War, Americans generally agreed that defense spending should be increased. Subsequently, however, Democrats and Independents became more “dovish” (anti-defense spending), while Republicans became more “hawkish” (pro-defense spending). These differences became most pronounced in the years following the Iraq War and after George W. Bush’s reelection in 2004.

Partisan Differences over Defense Spending



The United States Spends the Most on Defense



SOURCE: Data from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Yearbook, www.sipri.org; and the General Social Survey, 1982-2010.

Investigate Further

Concept Do Americans view defense spending as excessive? The United States currently has the largest defense budget in the world—twice the amount of China, the U.K., France, Japan, and Russia combined. But most Americans think the U.S. spends the right amount or should spend even more on defense.

Connection How do events relate to changes in support for defense spending? Wars, terrorist attacks, and recessions all influence public opinion of government spending. Support for higher defense budgets fell after the end of the Cold War and increased after the 9/11 attacks.

Cause How does partisanship shape perceptions of defense spending? Democrats and Independents are more likely than Republicans to say that we spend too much on defense. These differences have become more pronounced in the last decade as the global war on terrorism became increasingly politicized.

signed the *Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty* (START). The treaty had the distinction of being the first accord mandating the elimination of strategic nuclear weaponry. In 1993, President Bush and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia signed an agreement (START II) to cut substantially the U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals (with the latter including those of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan). The agreement banned large, accurate ICBMs with multiple warheads altogether. President George W. Bush, in 2002, and President Obama, in 2010, signed agreements with Russia to further limit strategic weapons.

Even while negotiating reductions on nuclear arsenals, President George W. Bush stepped up efforts begun by Ronald Reagan to build a national missile defense. To pursue this system, in December 2001 the president withdrew the United States from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, part of the SALT accord that the United States and the Soviet Union had signed in 1972.

Nuclear weapons are the most destructive in America's arsenal, but they are by no means the only weapons. Jet fighters, aircraft carriers, and even tanks are extraordinarily complex as well as extraordinarily costly. The perception that space-age technology helped win the Gulf War in "100 hours" and topple the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein in Iraq with few American casualties, along with the fact that producing expensive weapons provides jobs for American workers, mean that high-tech weapons systems will continue to play an important role in America's defense posture.

□ Reforming Defense Policy

The rethinking of national security policy prompted by the changing nature of threats to America's security has led to a reforming of the nation's military. Reevaluating weapons systems is part of this effort. So is changing the force structure to make the armed forces lighter, faster, and more flexible. Yet other changes include more effectively coupling intelligence with an increasingly agile military and a greater use of Special Forces, elite, highly trained tactical teams that conduct specialized operations such as reconnaissance, unconventional warfare, and counterterrorism actions. New approaches to military conflict inevitably follow from such transformations.

Although the United States has unsurpassed military strength, numerous international matters clamor for attention, and armed forces are not relevant to many of them. Even the mightiest nation can be mired in intractable issues.

The New National Security Agenda

18.5 Analyze the evolving challenges for U.S. national security policy.

The national security agenda is changing rapidly. To begin with, the role of military power is changing, and more countries now possess nuclear weapons. Moreover, international economic issues are increasingly important. Dealing with China and India on trade and finance has become as crucial as negotiating arms reductions with Russia. Economic competition with other countries has increased, as has the economic vulnerability of the United States. Oil supply lines, for example, depend on a precarious Middle Eastern peace and on the safe passage of huge tankers through a sliver of water called the Strait of Hormuz. In an interdependent world, our dependence on trade places us at the mercy of interest rates in Germany, restrictive markets in Japan, currency values in China, and so on. In addition, we sometimes appear to be losing the war on drugs to an international network of wealthy drug lords. And determining policy regarding the global environment has taken on new prominence. Inevitably, the national security agenda is having ever-greater repercussions for domestic policymaking.



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President During a Foreign
Policy Crisis

□ The Changing Role of Military Power

Although the United States is the world's mightiest military power, there are limits to what military strength can achieve.¹⁷ In the long and controversial Vietnam War, for example, 500,000 American troops were not enough. Our military might did not protect us from the deadly terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Moreover, force is often not an appropriate way of achieving other goals—such as economic and ecological welfare—that are becoming more important in world affairs.¹⁸ Economic conflicts do not yield to high-tech weapons. America cannot persuade nations to sell it cheap oil, or prop up the textile industry's position in world trade, by resorting to military might. The United States is long on firepower at the very time when firepower is decreasing in its utility as an instrument of foreign policy.

Although the United States is militarily supreme, it is becoming increasingly dependent on other countries to defeat terrorism, protect the environment, control weapons of mass destruction, regulate trade, and deal with other problems that cross national boundaries. Even the effective use of U.S. military power requires military bases, ports, airfields, fuel supplies, and overflight rights that only its allies can provide.¹⁹

According to Joseph Nye, it is “soft power”—the ability of a country to persuade others to do what it wants without force or coercion—that is often crucial to national security. Countries need to be able to exert this soft power as well as hard power; that is, security hinges as much on winning hearts and minds as it does on winning wars.²⁰ Indeed, American culture, ideals, and values have been important to helping Washington attract partners and supporters, to shaping long-term attitudes and preferences in a way that is favorable to the United States.

Despite these changes, military power remains an important element in U.S. foreign policy. One reason is that the end of the Cold War emboldened local dictators and reignited age-old ethnic rivalries that had been held in check by the Soviet Union, resulting in a greatly increased number of regional crises posing a threat to peace. The status of the United States as the only superpower meant that people were more likely to look to it for help when trouble erupted, as in the case of the former Yugoslavia. Thus, a difficult foreign policy problem is deciding when to involve U.S. troops.

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS On various occasions in recent decades, the United States and its allies have used military force to accomplish humanitarian ends. Notable examples include the efforts to distribute food and then oust a ruthless and unprincipled warlord in Somalia in 1992 and 1993; restore the elected leader of Haiti in 1994; stop the ethnic warfare in Bosnia by bombing the Serbs in 1995; protect ethnic Albanians in Kosovo by bombing Serbs in 1999; and provide food, housing, and medical care in the aftermath of a severe earthquake in Haiti in 2010.

Such interventions are often controversial because they may involve violating a nation's sovereignty with the use of force. And the United States is usually hesitant to intervene, as American lives may be lost and there may be no clear ending point for the mission. Nevertheless, demands for humanitarian intervention continue to arise. For example, in recent years, the crisis in Darfur in western Sudan—where, since February 2003, more than 250,000 people have been killed and nearly 3 million displaced—prompted new calls for international humanitarian intervention.

Why It Matters to You

The Only Superpower

The United States is the world's only superpower. This puts us in a strong position to defend ourselves against other nations. It also means, however, that the United States comes under more pressure to intervene in the world's hot spots. Furthermore, being a superpower does not protect us against attacks by nonstate actors, such as terrorists.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS An ancient tool of diplomacy, sanctions are nonmilitary penalties imposed on a foreign government in an attempt to modify its behavior. A wide range of penalties are possible—for example, a cutoff of aid, a ban on military sales, restrictions on imports, or a total trade embargo. The implied power behind sanctions that the United States imposes is U.S. economic muscle and access to U.S. markets.

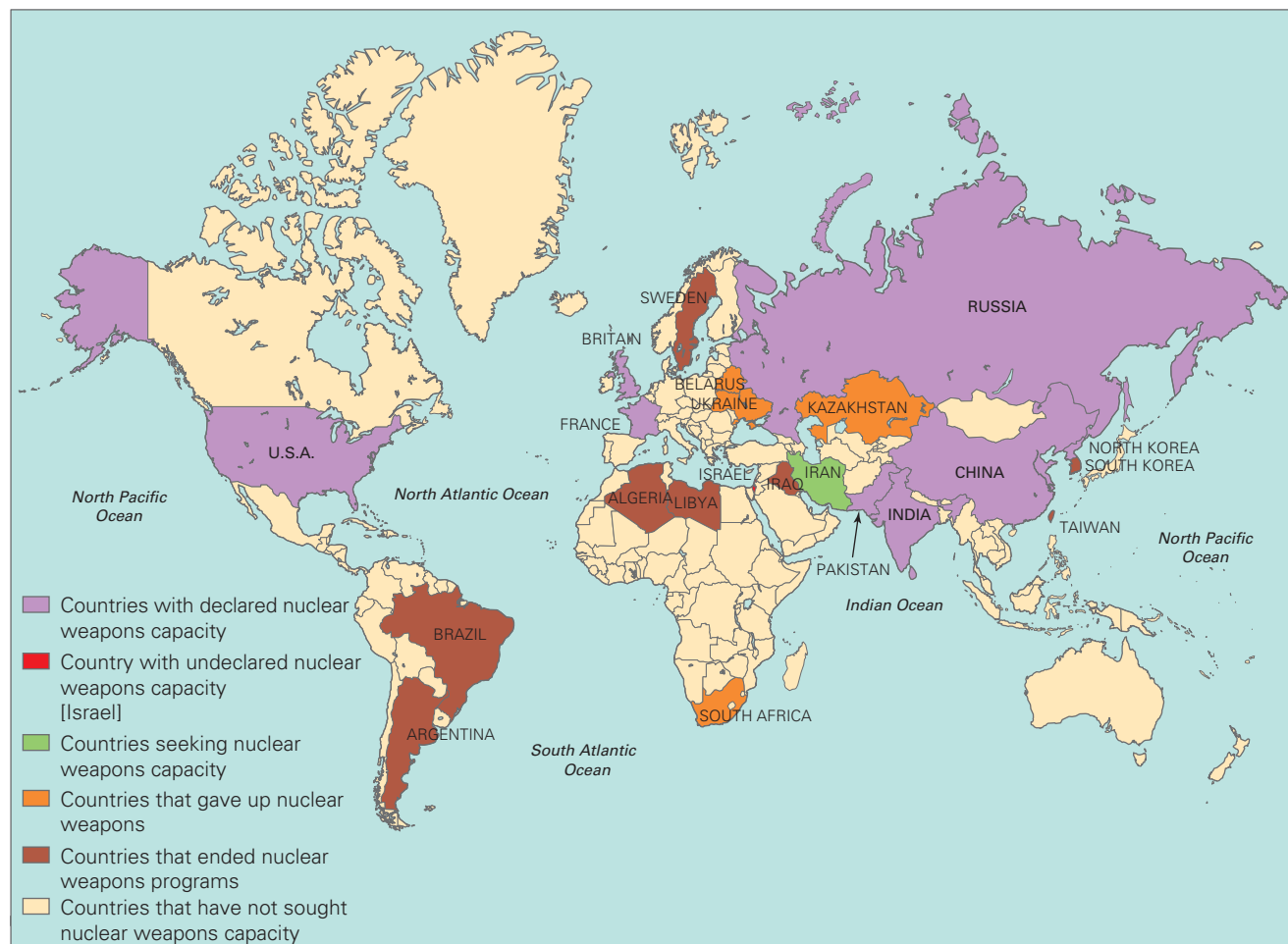
Economic sanctions are often a first resort in times of crises, as a less risky and extreme measure than sending in troops. In many cases, they are the outgrowth of pressure from well-organized domestic political groups concerned about another country's policies related to ethnic or religious groups, the environment, human rights, or economic or other issues. These groups and government officials, in seeking sanctions, may want to curb unfair trade practices, end human rights abuses and drug trafficking, promote environmental initiatives, or stop terrorism.

Some economic sanctions have accomplished their intended goals; for example, sanctions levied against South Africa in the mid-1980s contributed to the demise of apartheid. Most experts, however, view these tools as having limited effect. The economic sanctions on Iran have not prevented it from seeking to build nuclear weapons.

To succeed, sanctions generally must have broad international support, which is rare. Unilateral sanctions are doomed to failure. The barriers of sanctions leak, and the real losers may be, say, U.S. companies that are forced to cede lucrative markets to competitors around the globe. For example, when President Carter imposed a grain embargo on the Soviet Union in 1980 in retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, only U.S. farmers were hurt; the Soviet Union simply bought grain elsewhere.

In addition, critics argue that sanctions are counterproductive because they can provoke a nationalist backlash. The decades-old sanctions against Cuba did not oust Marxist

FIGURE 18.4 THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS



dictator Fidel Castro, and threats of sanctions against China at various times typically resulted in a hardening of China's attitude regarding human rights and other matters.

□ Nuclear Proliferation

The spread of technology has enabled more countries to build nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them. Policymakers in the United States and other countries have sought to halt the spread of nuclear weapons, notably through the framework of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, signed in 1968. The primary means of accomplishing this goal has been to encourage nations to agree that they would not acquire—or, at least, would not test—nuclear weapons. As you can see in Figure 18.4, only eight countries have declared that they have nuclear weapons capacities: the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan, and North Korea. Israel certainly also has nuclear weapons. South Africa and three countries that used to be part of the Soviet Union—Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine—have given up nuclear weapons. Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Libya, South Korea, Sweden, and Taiwan have ended their nuclear weapons programs.

Currently, policymakers are most concerned about North Korea and about Iran, which is actively developing nuclear weapons capabilities. These nations pose serious threats to their neighbors and perhaps to the United States as well. Over the last two decades, the United States has promised a range of aid and other benefits to North Korea in return for ending its nuclear weapons program. These incentives have not worked, as North Korea tested a nuclear weapon in 2006 and now possesses a few nuclear weapons. Iran does

You Are the Policymaker

Defanging a Nuclear Threat

One of the highest priorities of U.S. foreign policy is stopping the spread of nuclear weapons, especially to countries hostile to America. Some experts estimate that Iran will need only a few more years to build its first nuclear bomb.

Nuclear weapons in Iranian hands is not a comforting thought. The State Department has designated Iran as the world's leading sponsor of terrorism. The mullahs running the country support organizations such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Islamic Jihad; may be providing weapons and training to terrorists inside Iraq; and have sheltered senior members of Al Qaeda. The current president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, has declared that Israel should be "wiped off the map." Iran has missiles that can now reach Israel and U.S. forces in Afghanistan and is developing missiles that can reach Western Europe and North America.

How should we deal with this threat? The first response was diplomacy. The United States and its Western European allies sought to convince Iran to stop its nuclear research, and the International Atomic Energy Agency sealed some nuclear research facilities. In 2006, however, Iran removed the seals and declared that it had every right to develop atomic energy.

We could embargo Iran's main export, oil, but that would drive up energy prices everywhere and is unlikely to receive the international support necessary for economic sanctions to succeed. Curtailing foreign travel will

have little impact on a people who currently do not travel much outside their borders.

Another option is ordering the CIA and other agencies to encourage an overthrow of the government. The chances of succeeding in such a venture are small, however.

There are also military options. In theory, the United States could invade, but the U.S. military is overstretched with its responsibilities in Iraq and Afghanistan. That leaves only one serious option—air strikes by Israel or the United States, possibly accompanied by commando raids. It is doubtful that bombs could eradicate Iran's nuclear program (much of which is underground), but it is possible they could set it back for years, possibly long enough for the regime to implode.

Of course, Iran is not likely to react passively to such a strike; the mullahs would almost certainly order terrorist retaliation against the United States and Israel and increase their efforts to sabotage our activities in next-door Afghanistan and Iraq. Iran could also become a rallying point for the Islamic world, which already is deeply suspicious and often disdainful of American policy. One result could be a further radicalization of millions of Muslims and an increase in the pool of potential recruits to terrorism.

What do you think? President Obama faces a dilemma regarding Iran. If you were president, what would *you* do?

not yet possess nuclear weapons, although it has taken a defiant stance and refused to cooperate fully with international weapons inspectors. In response, the United States has aggressively pushed for economic sanctions against Iran to encourage it to end its pursuit of nuclear weapons. These U.S. efforts have received wide support but have been opposed by Russia and China. Iran is likely to occupy a prominent position on the foreign policy agenda for some time (see “You Are the Policymaker: Defanging a Nuclear Threat”).

Other nations have serious security concerns when faced with hostile neighbors possessing nuclear weapons, concerns that can contribute to nuclear proliferation. When India resumed testing of nuclear weapons in 1998, neighboring Pakistan quickly tested its first nuclear weapons. The two nations’ possession of nuclear weapons is a matter of special concern because of their history of conflict over Kashmir. In addition, political instability in Pakistan raises concern over the government’s control of its nuclear weapons.

□ The International Economy

At one time, nations’ international economic policymaking centered largely on erecting high barriers to fend off foreign products. Such economic isolationism would no longer be feasible in today’s international economy, characterized above all by **interdependency**, a mutual reliance in which actions in a country reverberate and affect the economic well-being of people in other countries. The health of the American economy depends increasingly on the prosperity of its trading partners and on the smooth flow of trade and finance across borders (see “Young People and Politics: Embracing Globalization”).

The *International Monetary Fund* (IMF) is a cooperative international organization of 185 countries intended to stabilize the exchange of currencies and the world economy. In the late 1990s, the decline of currencies in a number of Asian countries, including South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines, threatened to force these nations to default on their debts—and, in the process, throw the international economy into turmoil. To stabilize these currencies, the IMF, to which the United States is by far the largest contributor, arranged for loans and credits of more than \$100 billion. In 2011, the IMF worked with European leaders to help debt-ridden countries such as Greece avoid defaulting on their debts. The risk of default sent shockwaves to stock markets across the globe, dramatically illustrating the world’s economic interdependence.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE Since the end of World War II, trade among nations has grown rapidly. American exports and imports have increased 20-fold since 1970 alone. Among the largest U.S. exporters are grain farmers, producers of computer hardware and software, aircraft manufacturers, moviemakers, heavy construction companies, and purveyors of accounting and consulting services. Foreign tourist spending bolsters the U.S. travel, hotel, and recreation industries. American colleges and universities derive a significant portion of their revenue from educating foreign students. The globalization of finances has been even more dramatic than the growth of trade. Worldwide computer and communications networks link financial markets in all parts of the globe instantaneously, making it easier to move capital across national boundaries but also increasing the probability that, say, a steep decline on Wall Street will send the Japanese stock market plummeting.

interdependency

Mutual reliance, as in the economic realm, in which actions in nations reverberate and affect the economic well-being of people in other nations.

Why It Matters to You

Economic Interdependence

The world economy is increasingly interdependent. This increased interdependence means, for example, that investments and markets in other countries provide economic opportunities for Americans but also that Americans are more dependent on the strength of other countries’ economies and that U.S. products and workers face increased competition.

Young People & Politics

Embracing Globalization

The protests that regularly occur during economic summit meetings of the leaders of the world's most economically developed countries might lead you to conclude that young adults are in the forefront of opposition to globalization, the process by which national economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a globe-spanning network of communication, travel, and trade. Actually, the facts are quite different, according to the Pew *Global Attitudes Project* surveys.

In every country, globalization has produced some political tensions. However, strong majorities in all regions believe that increased global interconnectedness is a good thing, and in most regions young people are more likely than their elders to see advantages in increased global trade and communication, and they are more likely to support “globalization.”

The hesitation among some older citizens to embrace the movement toward globalization may be due in part to national pride. Although people in all countries and of all ages are proud of their cultures, in North America and Western Europe in particular, that pride is markedly stronger among the older generations, with younger people tending to be less wedded to their cultural identities. In the United States, 68 percent of those aged 65 and older agree with the statement “our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior,” while only 49 percent of those aged 18 to 29 agree. The generation gap in Western Europe is similar.

Despite the general attraction of globalization, solid majorities everywhere think their way of life needs to be protected against foreign influence. Again, that desire cuts across all age groups everywhere, but in the United States and Western Europe, there is a generation gap, with older people much more worried than are the young about protecting their country's way of life. In the

United States, 71 percent of people aged 65 and older agree that they want to shield their way of life from foreign influence, while just 55 percent of those aged 18 to 29 agree. This generation gap is even greater in France, Germany, and Britain, where older people are twice as likely as young people to be worried about erosion of their way of life.

Skepticism about foreign influence is evident in widespread, intense antipathy toward immigration. Majorities in nearly every country surveyed support tougher restrictions on people entering their countries. Again, however, age makes a difference. Immigrants are particularly unpopular across Europe, especially among the older generation, where half of those surveyed said they agreed completely with the statement that additional immigration controls were needed. In the United States, for example, 50 percent of those aged 65 and older indicate strong support for additional controls compared to only 40 percent of young people.

There are many reasons why young adults may be more supportive of globalization than are their elders. Better educated, more widely traveled, and more accustomed to the Internet, young adults seem to be less parochial, have less fear of change, and have more appreciation for the benefits of other cultures. Partially as a result of these attitudes, we should expect the trend toward globalization to accelerate over the coming decades.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Do you think young people fear foreign competition?
2. Do you agree that education and experience are the best explanations for the greater support of globalization among young people?

tariff

A special tax added to imported goods to raise their price, thereby protecting businesses and workers from foreign competition.

Coping with foreign economic issues is becoming just as difficult—and, increasingly, just as important—as coping with domestic ones. In a simpler time, the main instrument of international economic policy was the **tariff**, a special tax added to the cost of imported goods. Tariffs are intended to raise the price of imported goods and thereby protect the country's businesses and workers from foreign competition. Tariff making, though, is a game everyone can play. High U.S. tariffs encourage other nations to respond with high tariffs on American products. The high tariffs that the government enacted early in the Great Depression (and that some say aggravated this economic crisis) were the last of their kind. Since that time, the world economy has moved from high tariffs and protectionism to lower tariffs and freer trade. In recent decades, various agreements have lowered barriers to trade, including the 1993 *North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)* with Canada and Mexico, the 1994 *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)*, the 2005 Central American–Dominican Republic Free



International trade is a controversial subject. Opponents believe that it undermines U.S. laws that protect the environment and workers' rights, costs some employees their jobs, and encourages exploitation of foreign workers. Proponents argue that everyone benefits from increased trade. U.S. companies, such as McDonald's, aggressively seek to expand international sales.

Trade Agreement, and the free trade agreements with South Korea, Columbia, and Panama in 2011.

However, nontariff barriers such as quotas, subsidies, and quality specifications for imported products are common means of limiting imports. In recent decades, for example, the United States has placed quotas on the amount of steel that could be imported and has negotiated voluntary limits on the importation of Japanese automobiles. Such policies do save American jobs involved in producing steel and automobiles, but they also raise the price of steel and automobiles that Americans buy, and, since increased steel prices raise the costs of making products that use steel, they also wind up costing American jobs. Both the United States and European countries provide significant subsidies for a range of agricultural products, subsidies that have sometimes proved to be obstacles to negotiating tariff reductions.

More foreign-owned companies are building factories in the United States—just as American companies have plants around the globe. Thus, many Hondas and Toyotas are made in the United States. Foreign-owned firms in the United States employ about 5 percent of the workforce and account for a significant percentage of research-and-development spending and investment in plants and equipment. These firms also pay more on average than do their counterparts in the rest of the U.S. economy.²¹ As a result of the foreign investments in the United States, it is increasingly difficult to define “imports.”

BALANCE OF TRADE When Americans purchase foreign products, they send dollars out of the country. Thus, for example, when a tanker of oil from Saudi Arabia arrives in Houston, dollars travel to Saudi Arabia. If other nations do not buy as much from us as we buy from them, then the United States is paying out more than it is taking in. A country's **balance of trade** is the ratio of what a country pays for imports to what it earns from exports. When a country imports more than it exports,

balance of trade

The ratio of what is paid for imports to what is earned from exports. When more is paid than earned, there is a balance-of-trade deficit.

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

An economic organization consisting primarily of Middle Eastern nations that seeks to control the amount of oil its members produce and sell to other nations and hence the price of oil.

it has a balance-of-trade *deficit*. Year after year, the American balance of trade has been preceded by a minus sign; in 2011, for example, the deficit for the balance of trade was \$558 billion. Although the United States runs a surplus in exporting services (such as financial services), it runs a large deficit in manufactured goods.²²

A balance of trade deficit can lead to a decline in the value of a nation's currency. If the dollar's buying power declines against other currencies, Americans pay more for goods that they buy from other nations. This decline in the value of the dollar, however, also makes American products cheaper abroad, thereby increasing our exports. Since the late 1980s, the United States has experienced an export boom, reaching \$2.1 trillion in 2011.²³ Exports account for about 10 percent of the GDP. About 5 percent of all civilian employment in the United States is related to manufacturing exports. A substantial amount of white-collar employment—in the area of financial services, for example—is also directly tied to exports.

□ Energy

In 1973, the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries** (OPEC) responded to American support of Israel in its war against Egypt that year by embargoing oil shipments to the United States and Western European nations. The fuel shortages and long lines at gas stations that resulted from the 1973 oil embargo convincingly illustrated the growing interdependency of world politics.

More than half the world's recoverable reserves of oil lie in the Middle East; Saudi Arabia alone controls much of this resource. Within the United States, states such as Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Alaska produce considerable amounts of oil but far from enough to meet the country's needs. America imports nearly half of its annual consumption of oil from other countries, particularly from countries in the Middle East. The United States is less dependent on foreign sources of oil than are many European countries, like France or Italy, which have virtually no oil of their own, or Japan, which imports all its oil. On the other hand, America's dependence on foreign oil makes the United States vulnerable, especially because the Middle East remains unstable. The decision to respond to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 was based in large part on the fact that Kuwait produces about 10 percent of the world's oil, and its neighbor, Saudi Arabia, also vulnerable to attack by Iraq, possesses about a quarter of the world's proven oil reserves.

□ Foreign Aid

Presidents of both parties have pressed for aid to nations in the developing world. Aside from simple humanitarian concern, these requests have been motivated by, for example, a desire to stabilize nations that were friendly to the United States or that possessed supplies of vital raw materials. Sometimes aid has been given in the form of grants, but often it has taken the form of credits and loan guarantees to purchase American goods, loans at favorable interest rates, and forgiveness of previous loans. At other times, the United States has awarded preferential trade agreements for the sale of foreign goods in the United States.

A substantial percentage of foreign aid is in the form of military assistance and is targeted to a few countries the United States considers to be of vital strategic significance: Israel, Egypt, Turkey, and Greece have received the bulk of such assistance in recent years. Foreign aid programs have also assisted with goals, including agricultural modernization and irrigation as well as family planning in countries where high population growth rates are a problem. Food for Peace programs have subsidized the sale of American agricultural products to poor countries (and simultaneously given an economic boost to American farmers). Peace Corps volunteers have fanned out over the globe to provide medical care and other services in less developed nations.

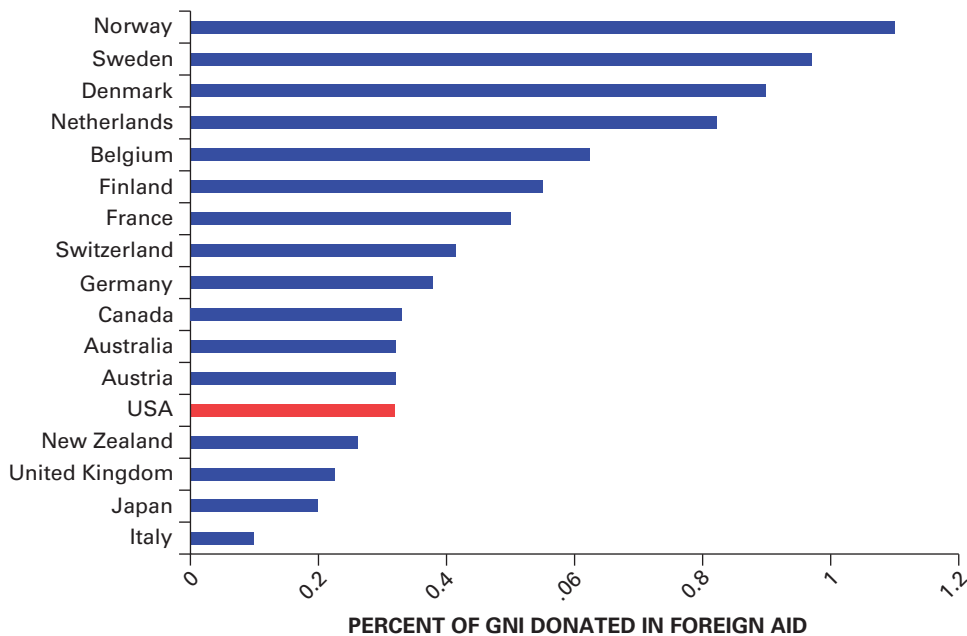
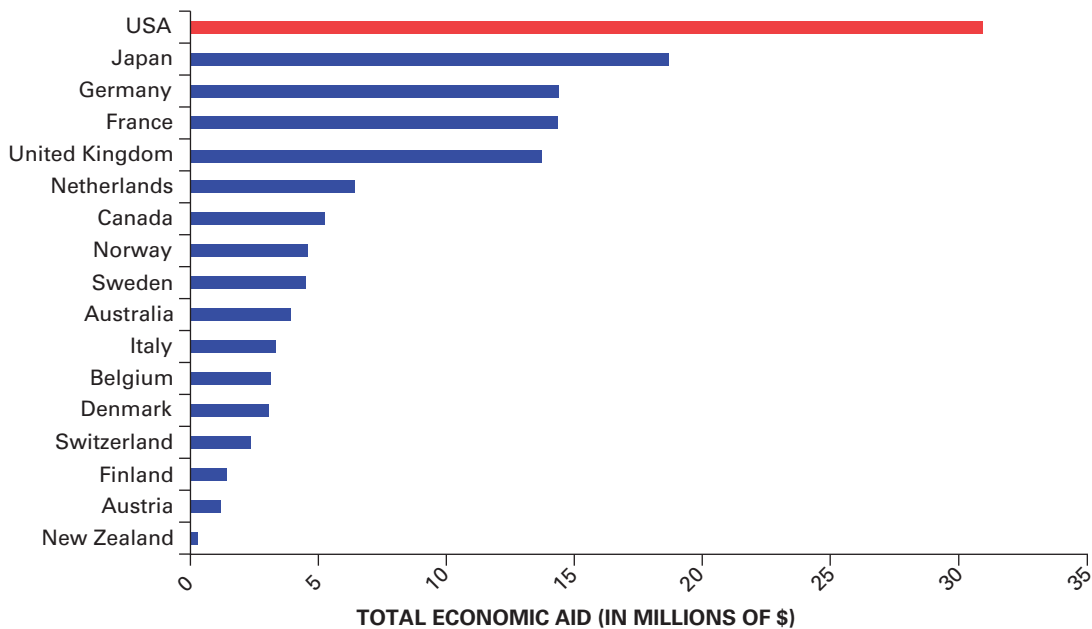
Nevertheless, foreign aid has never been very popular with Americans, who tend to greatly overestimate the extent of it. It is not surprising that Congress typically cuts the president's foreign aid requests; such requests lack an electoral constituency to support

Ranking Largesse

The United States is the largest donor of foreign aid, but it ranks lower than most industrialized nations in the percentage of its gross national income (GNI) it spends on economic development aid for needy nations. American private giving, which is not reflected in these figures, is substantial, however, and is typically much greater than private giving from other nations.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Which is the more informative measure of a nation's giving, total aid or percent of GNI?
2. Should the United States be giving more aid to underdeveloped nations?



SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *OECD Factbook 2011–2012* (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2012).

them, and many people believe that aid provided to developing nations serves only to further enrich their elites without helping the poor. Currently, Congress appropriates less than 1 percent of the federal budget for economic and humanitarian foreign aid. Although the United States donates more total aid (both for economic development and military assistance) than any other country, it devotes a smaller share of its GDP to foreign economic development than any other developed nation (see “America in Perspective: Ranking Largesse”). It is important to note, however, that the United States provides a great deal more aid through grants from private voluntary organizations, foundations, religious organizations, corporations, universities, and individuals.²⁴

Understanding National Security Policymaking

18.6 Assess the role of democratic politics in making national security policy and the role of national security policy in expanding government.

Although national security policy deals with issues and nations that are often far from America’s shores, it is crucially important to all Americans. And the themes that have guided your understanding of American politics throughout *Government in America*—democracy and the scope of government—can also shed light on the topic of international relations.

□ National Security Policymaking and Democracy

To some commentators, the conduct of America’s international relations is undemocratic in the sense of having little to do with public opinion. Because domestic issues are closer to their daily lives and easier to understand, Americans are usually more interested in domestic policy than in foreign policy. This preference would seem to give public officials more discretion in making national security policy. In addition, some say, those with the discretion are elites in the State Department and unelected military officers in the Pentagon.

There is little evidence, however, that policies at odds with the wishes of the American people can be sustained; civilian control of the military is unquestionable. When the American people hold strong opinions regarding international relations—as when they first supported and later opposed the war in Vietnam—policymakers are usually responsive. Citizens in democracies do not choose to fight citizens in other democracies, and studies have found that well-established democracies rarely go to war against one another.²⁵

In addition, the system of separation of powers plays a crucial role in foreign as well as domestic policy. The president takes the lead on national security matters, but Congress has a central role in matters of international relations. Whether treaties are ratified, defense budgets are appropriated, weapons systems are authorized, or foreign aid is awarded is ultimately at the discretion of Congress, the government’s most representative policymaking body. Specific issues such as the proper funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative rarely determine congressional elections, but public demands for and objections to policies are likely to be heard in Washington.

When it comes to the increasingly important arena of American international economic policy, pluralism is pervasive. Agencies and members of Congress, as well as their constituents, all pursue their own policy goals. For example, the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board worry about the negative balance of trade, and the Department of Defense spends billions in other countries to maintain American troops abroad. The Department of Agriculture and Department of Commerce and their constituents—farmers and businesspeople—want to peddle American products abroad and generally favor freer trade. The Department of Labor and the unions worry

that the nation may export not only products but also jobs to other countries where labor costs are low. Jewish citizens closely monitor U.S. policy toward Israel, while Cuban Americans aggressively seek to influence U.S. policy toward Cuba. Even foreign governments hire lobbying firms and join in the political fray. As a result, a wide range of interests are represented in the making of foreign policy.

□ National Security Policymaking and the Scope of Government

America's status and involvement as a superpower have many implications for how active the national government is in the realm of foreign policy and national defense. The war on terrorism, treaty obligations to defend allies around the world, the nation's economic interests in an interdependent global economy, and pressing new questions on the global agenda such as global warming all demand government action.

By any standard, the scope of government in these areas is large. The national defense consumes about a fifth of the federal government's budget and requires more than 2 million civilian and military employees for the Department of Defense. The United States has a wide range of political, economic, and other interests to defend around the world. As long as these interests remain, the scope of American government in foreign and defense policy will be substantial.

Review the Chapter



Listen to Chapter 18 on MyPoliSciLab

American Foreign Policy: Instruments, Actors, and Policymakers

18.1 Identify the major instruments and actors in making national security policy, p. 611.

The use and potential use of military force, economic policies, and diplomacy are the main instruments of national security policy. Nations, international and regional organizations, multinational corporations, nongovernmental organizations, terrorists, and individuals influence American national security policy. The president is the main force in national security policymaking, and he is assisted by the Departments of State and Defense and by the CIA and the rest of the intelligence establishment. Congress also plays an important role in national security policy.

American Foreign Policy Through the Cold War

18.2 Outline the evolution of and major issues in American foreign policy through the end of the Cold War, p. 618.

Until the mid-twentieth century, American foreign policy emphasized keeping a distance from the affairs of other countries, with the notable exception of countries in Latin America. Following World War II, the United States became locked in an ideological conflict with the Soviet Union and focused its foreign policy on containing communism and Soviet expansion. This competition came to include a nuclear arms race and U.S. involvement in wars in Korea and Vietnam against communist forces, but never war between the United States and the Soviet Union. There were efforts to relax tensions, but the Cold War did not end until the breakup of the Soviet Union and the liberalization of governments in Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, the United States maintained an enormous defense capability.

American Foreign Policy and the War on Terrorism

18.3 Explain the major obstacles to success in the war on terrorism, p. 624.

The U.S. defense capability has been put to new use with the war on terrorism, the struggle that is at the top of America's national security priorities. It is difficult to defend against terrorism in an open society. Terrorists have the advantage of stealth and surprise and, often, of a willingness to die for their cause. They are also generally decentralized, so we cannot defeat them simply by attacking another nation. Moreover, winning the war on terrorism requires political as well as military successes. The United States' wars with

Iraq and Afghanistan were motivated by the fight against terrorists. However, ensuring legitimate, effective governance remains difficult, and a terrorist haven has emerged in remote regions of Pakistan.

Defense Policy

18.4 Identify the major elements of U.S. defense policy, p. 627.

The United States spends about one-fifth of its budget on national defense, and it has 1.4 million men and women in the active duty armed services and another 845,000 on the National Guard and reserves. Modern weapons systems are sophisticated, expensive, and dangerous, and the United States has entered a number of important agreements to reduce nuclear weapons. Recent reforms in defense policy, intended to reshape it for changed threats, have placed more emphasis on lighter, faster, and more flexible forces, the more effective use of intelligence, the use of Special Forces, and counterterrorism.

The New National Security Agenda

18.5 Analyze the evolving challenges for U.S. national security policy, p. 631.

Although the United States has great military power, many of the issues facing the world today are not military issues. Nuclear proliferation and terrorism present new challenges to national security, challenges not easily met by advanced weaponry alone. Global interdependency in economics, energy, the environment, and other areas has also become important, revealing new vulnerabilities and thus additional challenges for national security policy. The effective use of foreign aid is also a perennial policy concern.

Understanding National Security Policymaking

18.6 Assess the role of democratic politics in making national security policy and the role of national security policy in expanding government, p. 640.

Although there are different opinions over how much discretion to accord policymakers in national security policy, policies at odds with the public's wishes cannot be sustained, and Congress can be a crucial check on the executive. As long as the United States is fighting a war on terrorism, has treaty obligations to defend allies around the world, participates actively in an interdependent global economy, and must deal with pressing questions such as energy supplies, global warming, and nuclear proliferation, the scope of American government in foreign and defense policy will be substantial.

Learn the Terms



foreign policy, p. 611
United Nations, p. 612
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, p. 613
European Union, p. 613
secretary of state, p. 615
secretary of defense, p. 616

Joint Chiefs of Staff, p. 616
Central Intelligence Agency, p. 617
isolationism, p. 619
containment doctrine, p. 620
Cold War, p. 620
arms race, p. 621
détente, p. 622

interdependency, p. 635
tariff, p. 636
balance of trade, p. 637
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, p. 638

Test Yourself



1. Which of the following is NOT true concerning the United Nations?

- a. The United States often plays an important role in implementing UN policies.
- b. The Security Council is the key decision-making body in the UN.
- c. General Assembly resolutions are legally binding on members.
- d. Peacekeeping is an important function of the UN.
- e. The General Assembly includes almost 200 nations.

2. Which of the following organizations was created to help the president coordinate American foreign and military policies?

- a. the Department of Defense
- b. the National Security Council
- c. the State Department
- d. the North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- e. the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

3. Economic instruments have become almost as important as military power in a nation's foreign policy.

True _____ False _____

4. What role does Congress play in American foreign policy and what role does the president play? Do these roles ensure a balance of power between the legislative and the executive in the area of foreign policy? Why or why not?

5. Concerning the policy of détente, which of the following is NOT true?

- a. It represented a turn toward more cooperative thinking in U.S. foreign policy.
- b. It sought to relax tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.
- c. It assumed that a nuclear war should be unthinkable.
- d. It sought firm guarantees of mutual security.
- e. It represented an era of increased defense spending in the United States.

6. The policy of containment called for the United States to stop the spread of terrorism.

True _____ False _____

7. What goals were pursued during the era of détente and during the Reagan rearmament? Briefly describe the situation and major issues in these two time periods. What foreign policy actors and tools were especially involved in these eras and what role did they play?

8. Which of the following statements is correct?

- a. The end of the Cold War resulted in the emergence of global terrorism.
- b. Punishing countries employing terrorism does not discourage terrorism.
- c. Planning for the postwar period in Iraq was unusually effective.
- d. Terrorists have become increasingly decentralized.
- e. Pakistan has largely freed itself from terrorists.

9. Compare and contrast the challenges of the Cold War with the challenges of combating global terrorism. What makes terrorism so difficult to defend against? Support your answer with examples from the text.

10. Which of the following statements is correct?

- a. Evidence shows that there is a clear trade-off between defense and domestic policy expenditures.
- b. Defense spending amounts to about one-fifth of the budget.
- c. The United States has about 5 million active duty troops.
- d. Recently, defense policy has emphasized improving conventional warfare capabilities.
- e. Military power is central to resolving almost all international issues.

- 11.** What position do conservatives and liberals each take on defense spending, and what arguments do they make in support of their position? Whom do you agree with more and why?
- 12.** How have defense policy experts suggested that the U.S. military be reformed? Explain the various factors that have led to these suggestions.
- 13.** To succeed, economic sanctions typically have to
- have broad international support.
 - follow targeted military strikes.
 - have support within the targeted nation.
 - involve the nations of North America.
 - None of the above.
- 14.** Currently, efforts to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons are focused mainly on Iran and North Korea.
True _____ False _____
- 15.** U.S. foreign aid has typically received widespread support from the American people.
True _____ False _____
- 16.** Why is America's dependence on foreign oil increasingly relevant to American foreign policy? What are some examples of how energy has affected U.S. foreign policy, both militarily and economically?
- 17.** How has the role of U.S. military power as a tool of influence over global affairs changed over time? What are the pros and cons of two other tools besides military power that the United States can use to influence global affairs? Why is a combination of tools likely to be needed?
- 18.** Which of the following statements is correct?
- Civilian control of the military is unquestionable.
 - Democracies often go to war against one another.
 - Congress has little role in national security policy.
 - National security policy has little impact on the scope of government.
 - Interest groups have little impact on national security policy.
- 19.** Assess the extent to which U.S. national security policymaking is undemocratic. If a foreign policy decision is seen to be undemocratic, what is the likelihood that such a policy can be maintained by policymakers? Explain your answer.
- 20.** How does national security policy contribute to an expanded scope of government? Can you think of any ways to reduce spending on national defense? In your opinion, would it be wise to do so? Why or why not?

Explore Further

WEB SITES

www.state.gov

Information about the Department of State and current foreign policy issues.

www.defense.gov

Information about the Department of Defense and current issues in national security policy.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>

The *CIA World Factbook*.

www.oecd.org/home

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development provides a wealth of economic information on the world's nations.

www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/index.htm

Contains background and activities of NATO.

www.un.org/en

Background on the United Nations and its varied programs.

www.cfr.org

The Council on Foreign Relations is the most influential private organization in the area of foreign policy. Its Web site includes a wide range of information on foreign policy.

www.nctc.gov

The National Counterterrorism Center, with information on terrorism and on responses to terrorism.

FURTHER READING

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power*. New York: Basic Books, 2012. Assesses the current state of world affairs as the center of gravity is shifting from the West to the East.

Easterly, William. *The White Man's Burden*. New York: Penguin, 2006. Why the West's efforts to aid the rest of the world have not been more effective.

Howell, William G., and Jon C. Pevehouse. *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007. Shows how Congress can influence decisions on war.

Ikenberry, G. John. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011. The American-led liberal international order has brought peace and prosperity to millions around the globe, but the rise of the East and global interdependence challenge this order.

Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Case for Goliath: How America Acts as the World's Government in the Twenty-First Century.* New York: Public Affairs, 2006. Explains the ways in which the United States provides the world critical services, ranging from physical security to commercial regulation and financial stability.

Nye, Joseph S., Jr. *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Although the United States is militarily and economically supreme, it is increasingly dependent on other nations to accomplish its goals.

Nye, Joseph S., Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Argues that national security hinges as much on winning hearts and minds as it does on winning wars.

Yergin, Daniel. *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World.* New York: Penguin Press, 2011. A gripping account of the quest for sustainable sources of energy.

Yergin, Daniel. *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977. An excellent political history of the early years of the Cold War and containment.

Zelizer, Julian. *Arsenal of Democracy: The Politics of National Security—From World War II to the War on Terrorism.* New York: Basic Books, 2009. Makes the case that domestic politics shapes foreign policies.