

CHAPTER 16

MYTHS & REALITIES

How vulnerable is the United States in the post-September 11 world, and what is America's vision of world order in these turbulent times?

Foreign and Defense Policy



The Dilemma: Dealing with Vulnerability and Responsibility

The efforts of Americans to make sense of their conflicting feelings about domestic policy issues—their suspicions about the government’s intrusion into their lives, and their expectations that government fix problems with the economy, education, energy, and so on—has its equivalent in the fields of foreign and defense policy. Here, however, the nature of the dilemma is a bit different. On the one hand, long before the country emerged as a world superpower, Americans developed a sense of vulnerability that came from its early exposure to foreign forces. In this chapter we look more closely at this *myth of vulnerability*, and we will see the impact it has had on U.S. foreign and military policies for over two centuries. On the other hand, most Americans believe that the country has a responsibility—some would argue a *moral* responsibility—to remain active in global affairs and to help maintain order and stability in the world. To make sense of this, Americans have relied on still another myth: the *myth of the American project*. This myth has provided an important sense of mission and purpose that complements the nation’s sense of vulnerability and need for security.

According to the myth of vulnerability, the United States is constantly under threat militarily, politically, and economically from a variety of external forces.¹ During the decades of the Cold War (the end of World War II to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989), this preoccupation led to an urge to achieve “absolute security” in the face of immediate and potential challenges, both real and perceived. Many observers believed that after the fall of the Soviet Union, Americans would feel less vulnerable

< As the United States emerged as a world leader after World War II, the choices it makes in foreign and defense policies have a global impact.

CHAPTER OUTLINE AND FOCUS QUESTIONS

Changing Parameters of Foreign and Defense Policies

- > What are the factors that are changing U.S. foreign and defense policies?

Vulnerability in Historical Perspective

- > What is the history of U.S. foreign and defense policy, and what does it tell us about America’s role in the world today?

Making Foreign and Defense Policy

- > Who is involved in the making of U.S. foreign and defense policies, and what roles do they play?

Wielding Diplomatic Power

- > What are the sources of diplomatic power available to those who conduct American foreign policy?

Military and Defense Strategies

- > What are the issues and choices facing those who make U.S. defense policies?

and more secure. That, however, has not been the case. From the Persian Gulf War of 1991 to the war on terrorism initiated after the September 11, 2001 attacks, Americans have retained their sense that the United States will never escape the threats of a hostile world.

In its contemporary version, the myth of vulnerability has been accompanied by a belief that America's exposure to threats cannot be addressed by withdrawing behind a "wall" of isolation. Rather, there is a strong commitment to the idea that the country's vulnerability would increase if it ever decided to disengage from world affairs. U.S. policies in the 1920s and 1930s serve as an example: Between the two world wars, the United States only involved itself in events and crises that fit within our narrowly defined national interest. Looking back on that policy, many analysts call American isolationism a major mistake and speculate as to whether a more actively engaged U.S. foreign policy might have prevented the rise of Hitler—and, in consequence, World War II.

A minority, however, take the opposite stand, expressing the position of putting "America first" and calling for the United States to assume a perspective that would minimize its involvement in world affairs.² But as the American public's reaction to September 11, 2001 demonstrated, isolationism has been replaced with a worldview that accepts the inevitability of U.S. involvement in world affairs.

As both a complement and contrast to the myth of vulnerability, the *myth of the American project* has taken several forms. According to foreign policy analyst Walter Russell Mead, historically the United States has linked its interest in security to visions of world order that would make America less vulnerable:³

- *The Wilsonian vision:* The United States seeks to play a major role in establishing and defending a benign international legal order in which democracy and free markets can thrive in peace. Associated with President Woodrow Wilson's efforts to create the League of Nations after World War I, it is a vision that links American security to the support and success of bodies like the United Nations.
- *The Hamiltonian vision:* The United States seeks to foster a world order that best serves the economic interests of the United States. This vision is closely associated with the views of Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, who was committed to doing whatever was necessary to give the new nation a stable economic standing in the world economic order of the day.
- *The Jeffersonian vision:* Stresses the need for the United States to shape its foreign and defense policies to protect and sustain our

country's democratic institutions. Linked historically to the views of Thomas Jefferson, this vision regards the United States as an exceptional political system and society that requires its leaders to guard against risky entanglements that might put the nation's political qualities at risk. The mission of the United States in world affairs is to stand out as an example for others to emulate, but to avoid getting involved in alliances that might sacrifice American democracy.

- *The Jacksonian vision*: Emphasizes the importance of national honor and the wisdom and judgment of the American public and its leaders. Associated with the domestic populism of Andrew Jackson, Jacksonians are explicitly hostile to the idea of engaging in global politics on terms set by other nations. The special status of American democracy extends to how the United States conducts itself once it is drawn into world affairs. Jackson had little tolerance or respect for the niceties of diplomacy, and he felt the United States should follow its own code of behavior in its relations with other nations.

Mead argues that these four visions of the American project (Wilsonian, Hamiltonian, Jeffersonian, and Jacksonian) have, in various forms and at various times in U.S. history, provided the logic for the country's foreign and defense policies. When tied to the diverse feelings of national vulnerability over time, they offer a means for understanding how these policies emerged and how they have changed. For the Wilsonians, Americans will only be safe in a democratic world, and U.S. foreign policymakers should be guided by a sense of moral obligation to promote a world order reflecting democratic values. For the Hamiltonians, the greatest threats come from a world order that undermines the economic interests of the United States, and so American policymakers must see foreign affairs in terms of national economic self-interest. Jeffersonians, by contrast, regard the United States as an exemplar of modern democratic governance—a model to be nurtured and protected as much as possible from the corruption of international entanglements. For Jacksonians, it is the integrity and honor of the United States that is most vulnerable, and U.S. foreign policymakers must be prepared to do whatever is necessary to defeat those who might threaten either.

It is within the context of these myth-driven feelings of vulnerability and mission that we take a closer look at America's foreign and defense policies.

Changing Parameters of Foreign and Defense Policies

> What are the factors that are changing U.S. foreign and defense policies?

Americans tend to think of foreign and defense policies in relatively narrow terms. Most Americans focus on the relations that the president and the U.S. State Department have with foreign nations. Foreign policy, from this perspective, is what happens when the president attends a summit meeting or the secretary of state attempts to resolve a dispute through diplomacy. Such a view would also focus attention on the plan or military strategy our government has for achieving America's goals in the world community.

In today's globalized world (see Chapter 15 on domestic policy and policy-making), a broader perspective of U.S. foreign and defense policies needs to be adopted. The United States doesn't have a single, overarching foreign policy, and its military policies are not limited to strategic plans for the defense of the country. Rather, our foreign and defense policies are as complex as the world they operate in, and they involve many more actors than those in the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon. America's **foreign and defense policies** cover all those governmental decisions and actions that are intended to deal with issues in the international arena, from military threats to the spread of epidemics, such as Ebola. Those policies are constantly being adapted to changes in both the types of issues and the actors found in the international arena.

Foreign and defense policies Those governmental decisions and actions that are intended to deal with problems and issues in the international arena.

Changing Issues

In the past, foreign and defense policies focused primarily on *territorial disputes* and *economic trade issues*. The early history of U.S. foreign policy is filled with examples of actions that were taken to secure or expand the country's borders, the most famous being Thomas Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803. In another example, the first foreign mission conducted by the U.S. Marines was a deployment to Tripoli in 1804 to prevent pirates from operating out of that port and other parts of the Barbary Coast in order to protect America's ability to trade in world markets.

Territorial and economic issues are still important today, but the U.S. government must also contend with more complex questions. *Social issues* receive more attention than ever before, and the United States has responded in a number of ways, from sending relief to areas like Africa's Sahel desert region, which is suffering from starvation as a result of drought, to assisting the worldwide fight against the spread of the Ebola virus or HIV/AIDS. American policymakers have found themselves engaged in international efforts to contend with illiteracy, birth control, slavery, ethnic and gender discrimination, and a wide range of other humanitarian issues.

Environmental issues such as global warming and protecting endangered species have also become an important part of the American foreign policy agenda. And as the financial crisis of 2008 demonstrated, even the traditional economic problems of the past have been transformed by the growth of a globalized economy.

New Actors

The change in issues is also reflected in a fundamental change in the number of international actors that American policymakers have to deal with. In the past, foreign policies were a matter of state-to-state, leader-to-leader negotiations. With the advent of **international organizations** such as the United Nations (UN), the range of relevant actors expanded. Immediately after World War II, there were just over 51 member states in the newly formed UN; today there are 193. The number of international organizations has also proliferated, from the UN itself to more specialized agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO; discussed later in the chapter). The United States is also involved with a growing number of **regional organizations**, such as the Organization of American States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

An even more significant development has been the growth in the number, types, and influence of **transnational organizations**, large-scale nongovernmental organizations that perform relatively specialized functions across international borders. Examples include the Roman Catholic Church, the Red Cross, and Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders). Some are private, for-profit organizations, including **multinational corporations** such as General Electric and media giant Viacom, while others are not-for-profit advocacy and service-oriented groups (usually called **nongovernmental organizations, or NGOs**) such as Greenpeace and the Salvation Army.

Today's international environment and the variety of actors involved poses a challenge not only for U.S. policymakers but also for the average American trying to comprehend the country's role in a globalized world. The first step is to understand the history of U.S. involvement in world affairs.

Vulnerability in Historical Perspective

- > **What is the history of U.S. foreign and defense policy, and what does it tell us about America's role in the world today?**

There has always been some truth to the myth of a vulnerable America. Many historians contend that it was the country's vulnerability to an external attack that convinced many otherwise reluctant leaders to convene the 1787 Philadelphia Convention. That meeting ultimately produced a new constitution that strengthened the central government's capacity to deal with foreign affairs.⁴ From the outset, however, the question "vulnerable to what?" was central to how the sense of vulnerability would shape American foreign and defense policies.

1789–1823: The Foundations of American Foreign Policy

When George Washington assembled his first cabinet, he brought together two individuals who would eventually lay the foundations for American foreign policy: Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton's primary goal was to make certain that the United States would become a viable economic entity, and to that end he sought good trade relations with Great Britain, which at that time had established itself

International organizations

Bodies composed of member states that provide an institutional arena for today's world politics; an example is the United Nations.

Regional organizations

International organizations composed of nations from a particular area of the world that perform defensive or economic functions.

Transnational organizations

Large-scale nongovernmental organizations that perform relatively specialized functions across state borders.

Multinational corporations

Large, private, for-profit organizations that operate transnationally.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)

Transnational, not-for-profit organizations that operate as advocacy groups in the international arena.

Washington's Farewell

Address A statement to the American public by George Washington that is regarded as the basic expression of the foundations of U.S. foreign policy.

Monroe Doctrine An American policy, established in 1823, that warned European nations not to interfere in Latin America while promising that the United States would not interfere in European affairs.

Isolationism A basic tenet of American policy before World War I that advocated American neutrality and avoidance of direct involvement in European affairs. Isolationism was effectively abandoned as a policy option after World War II, although it is still a factor in American attitudes toward world affairs.

Unilateralism The policy of taking action independently in foreign affairs, avoiding political or military alliances. As with isolationism, unilateralism was abandoned as a policy option after World War II, although it is still a factor in American attitudes toward world affairs.

as the world's leading economic power. This ran counter to Jefferson's admiration and support for the French, who were often engaged in conflicts with Britain. Jefferson also had concerns about Hamilton's designs for the country as a "commercial republic," and instead wanted to foster and protect an agrarian democracy that focused attention on the development and needs of local communities. Their fundamental difference in perspectives emerged from distinct views of the new nation's vulnerabilities, yet both men influenced George Washington. This was most evident in **Washington's Farewell Address**, which supported Hamilton's vision of a foreign policy that fostered commercial trade while taking up Jefferson's view of maintaining "as little political connection as possible" with European countries.

The controversies and intrigues of this early period were complicated by events in Europe, particularly the rise of French power (especially under Napoleon) and British efforts to maintain their position as the dominant economic power. Both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were constantly engaged in diplomatic efforts to keep U.S. neutrality intact, yet eventually the United States went to war with Britain. The War of 1812 provided substantial support for the worst fears of the American public, for it demonstrated that the country was in fact vulnerable to direct attack.

The years following the War of 1812 witnessed an acceptance by Jefferson (by now a retired senior statesman) and his followers of the need for an alliance with Great Britain. In 1823, James Monroe issued a policy statement that became the primary position of the United States for decades to come. "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part," declares the **Monroe Doctrine**, "nor does it comport with our policy to do so." Nevertheless, he noted that the United States would regard any intrusion into the affairs of Latin America as an intrusion into the affairs of the United States. The statement was issued with the implied blessing of Britain, which was happy to have the United States take on this role in the Western Hemisphere. America was emerging as a pivotal actor in the complex world economic system that Britain had established.

1823–1914: Isolationism, Unilateralism, and Expansionism

As part of the British-dominated world economic order of the nineteenth century, the United States was in a unique geographic position that permitted it to pursue the basic tenets of Washington's call for commercial relations without political entanglements. These views led to the adoption of policies that stressed isolationism and unilateralism. Combined with the myth of vulnerability, these approaches eventually created an atmosphere conducive to a policy of expansionism.

Isolationism meant that policymakers attempted to maintain American neutrality and to avoid any direct involvement in European affairs that might have dragged the nation into commitments that would have made it politically or militarily vulnerable. Isolationism characterized many American foreign and defense policies until World War I, yet during this period the United States maintained an army and navy, engaged in diplomatic relations, and even took military actions to protect its neutrality and assert its interests in the international arena. What characterized these actions was the second tenet of U.S. foreign policy: **unilateralism**.

Under unilateralism, Americans “went it alone” in world affairs and avoided political or military alliances.

Expansionism, the drive to expand U.S. boundaries, emerged as the third major factor in American foreign policy during the 1800s. During that period, the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory from France, Alaska from Russia, and portions of the Southwest from Mexico. Territorial expansion also played a role in America’s wars with Mexico (1846–1848), with a number of Native American tribes in the West, and with Spain (1898). The Spanish–American War turned out to be an important turning point, for as part of the conflict’s settlement, Spain gave the United States its first colonial possessions: Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guam, and the Philippines.⁵

To some degree, U.S. expansionism in the nineteenth century was a response to Americans’ sense of vulnerability. Efforts to extend American jurisdiction over the Great Plains and the southwestern and western territories were often justified as a means of enhancing the security of U.S. borders and reducing the influence of European powers. American involvement in the Pacific and the Caribbean reflected a growing belief that without such holdings, the United States would remain both militarily and economically exposed to the imperial designs of Great Britain, Germany, Japan, and other world powers.

1914–1960s: America Emerges as World Leader

Between 1914 and 1917, American policymakers faced growing pressure to enter World War I, but isolationist sentiment at home remained strong. The neutrality of the United States was rooted in the Jeffersonian belief that America should not get involved unless its own security was threatened. In 1917, publication of a secret German telegram proposing a military alliance with Mexico, combined with the sinking of ships carrying American passengers by German submarines, led President Woodrow Wilson and others to conclude that the United States must get involved in the conflict on the side of Great Britain and its allies.

When the war was over, Wilson believed that the United States could no longer barricade itself behind an isolationist strategy. Thus he played a major role in writing the treaty to end the war and helped design the League of Nations and the World Court. When Wilson returned from Paris in 1919, however, he was criticized for his internationalist policies. Although he campaigned for ratification of the peace treaty throughout the United States, isolationist attitudes remained powerful and the Senate refused to ratify it.

Isolationism persisted through the 1920s and 1930s. Even when the rise of militarism in Europe and the Pacific grew threatening, many Americans opposed involvement in another international war that did not seem to threaten them directly. It took the Japanese attack on the U.S. naval base at Hawaii’s Pearl Harbor—for many, the ultimate proof of vulnerability—to launch the United States into World War II.

World War II and its aftermath finally convinced many Americans that the United States had to adopt the Wilsonian vision of the American project and play a major role in world affairs. At the outset, America’s leaders were hopeful about the prospects for an era of peace: The wartime alliance among the Big Three powers—the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—had

Expansionism The pre–World War I American policy that led the United States to extend its boundaries to the Pacific while extending its influence in other areas of the world, for example, the Pacific islands, the Caribbean, and Asia.

been successful, and the United States played a major role in creating the United Nations to promote world cooperation and peace. By 1946, however, the Soviet Union was tightening its political hold on Eastern Europe, North Korea, and other occupied areas and was also challenging Britain's influence in Greece, Turkey, and the Middle East.

The United States tried to mediate between its two former allies, but before long it decided to openly support the British. President Harry S. Truman called for a policy that supported the efforts of "free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugations by armed minorities or by outside pressures." He advocated providing economic and financial aid to countries whose political and economic stability was threatened. This general policy marked the beginning of the Cold War.

Cold War The period dating from just after the end of World War II until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, characterized in part by American efforts to win the support of those nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America emerging from colonialism or dictatorship.

The **Cold War** is a term applied to the international situation between 1947 and the late 1980s, characterized by hostile, yet for the most part not violent, relations between a Western alliance led by the United States and an Eastern alliance led by the Soviet Union. During most of the Cold War era, the American public and many policymakers tended to perceive the world as *bipolar*: They saw nations as being allied with one of the two "poles" represented by the United States and the Soviet Union.

For most Americans, Cold War battles raged primarily on the level of ideology: the "democracies" of the West against the "totalitarian regimes" of the East, the capitalism of the West against the communism of the East. At times, the Cold War became hot and bloody. For example, the Korean War (1950–1953) pitted the United States and its allies against North Korean and Chinese troops (see the discussion later in this section). On several occasions the world held its breath as the two major powers confronted each other in crisis situations that could have resulted in a third world war. In 1948 and 1961, for example, the United States and its allies thwarted the Soviet Union's efforts to assume complete control of occupied West Berlin.⁶

In 1948, the United States and its allies challenged a ground-based blockade of Berlin by the Soviet Union by airlifting supplies into the city. The airlift was kept up until the Soviets eventually backed off eleven months later. In 1961, Soviet leaders demanded that the Allies negotiate their withdrawal from the city. President John F. Kennedy replied that the survival of West Berlin was not negotiable. The Soviets, in turn, responded by constructing a wall around the city that physically isolated it and would become a symbol of the Cold War until 1989 when public demonstrations led to its eventual dismantling and removal. Only a ground and air corridor through East Germany linked West Berlin to its base of support in West Germany. As in the case of the 1948 blockade, the Allies, led by the United States, held fast and demonstrated their resolve not to abandon their commitments to West Berlin.

Perhaps the "hottest" Cold War encounter between the United States and the Soviet Union came in October 1962, when President Kennedy demanded that the Soviets dismantle the offensive missile sites they had placed in Cuba and halt the shipment of additional missiles to the island. The world stood on the brink of nuclear war for thirteen days as Kennedy and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev bargained back and forth in what became known as the *Cuban missile crisis*.⁷

While such confrontations played an important role in the Cold War, the United States followed a more general policy of containment during the period. According to proponents of **containment**, the Soviet Union was not seeking immediate victories. Instead, it was exercising patience, caution, and flexibility in pursuit of expansionist goals. Only through a policy of “long-term, patient, but firm and vigilant containment” would U.S. efforts succeed in countering the Soviet Union’s commitment to conquering the capitalist world.⁸ In that sense, containment was a further extension of the American belief in the myth of vulnerability: Unless the Soviets were contained, they would soon extend their dominance throughout Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

Containment led to significant changes in American foreign policy. It resulted in greater U.S. expenditures for foreign aid to countries that were vulnerable to Soviet influence. It also caused a major shift in America’s defense policies. In 1949 President Truman signed a treaty establishing NATO, a response to the perceived threat of communist expansion in Europe. It closely tied American security to political conditions in Europe by guaranteeing the maintenance of Western European governments, and it committed the United States to ongoing military collaboration with the armed services of the other members of NATO. Most important, the establishment of NATO signified a break with policies of the past, formally ending the long-standing commitment of American policymakers to unilateralism during peacetime, and reflected American determination to halt communist expansion.⁹ The policy of containment took on more obvious military dimensions in 1950, when President Truman ordered American forces to South Korea after it was invaded by North Korean troops. More than 34,000 American lives were lost in that “police action,” and another 103,000 U.S. personnel were wounded. Throughout the conflict, Truman maintained the limited objective of forcing the North Koreans and their Chinese allies back across the border between the Koreas.

Under Truman’s successor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the United States avoided direct military actions while getting more involved in NATO-like alliances with other nations. By 1960 it was committed to the defense of nations in almost every region of the world. That approach was tested, however, when U.S. policymakers viewed the defense of South Vietnam as an opportunity to demonstrate America’s commitments. A communist-led insurgency against an American-supported government in South Vietnam grew stronger in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon backed U.S. commitments with foreign aid, military assistance, and eventually American forces. Between 1964 and 1973, nearly 3 million American military personnel served in Vietnam; at least 47,355 Americans died in the conflict and more than 300,000 were wounded. These costs proved too great for the American public, and the United States was forced to withdraw from Vietnam in 1975.¹⁰

1970s–1980s: Containment in a Changing World

By the early 1960s, international conditions were changing rapidly. Third World nations emerged as important actors in world affairs. Poor, less-industrialized countries, such as India, Kenya, and Indonesia, sought aid from the industrialized

Containment The U.S. commitment to diplomatically, economically, and militarily counter the expansionist tendencies of the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe and Asia.



POLITICS & POPULAR

CULTURE: Visit the book's companion website at www.oup.com/us/gitelson to read about Americans at War—In the Movies.

Détente The relaxation of tensions between nations. It became the name for President Nixon's policy of taking a more cooperative approach in dealing with Soviet bloc nations while enhancing U.S. security arrangements with its allies.

Balance of power strategy

A “realist’s” approach to foreign policy, based on the need to offset any imbalance in international relations that might lead to one nation becoming too powerful. Advocated by Henry Kissinger, it was the central premise of American foreign policy for most of the 1970s.

world while avoiding excessive dependence on either the United States or the Soviet Union. Furthermore, both the American and the Soviet alliances experienced growing dissent. Within NATO, France developed a more independent foreign and defense policy. In the East, policy disagreements between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China weakened that fragile alliance, as did the desire of some Eastern European countries (for example, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Romania) to conduct their own foreign policies.

In addition, the seeming failure of the containment policy in Vietnam and the negative reaction of the American people to that war led to major changes in U.S. foreign policy. Richard Nixon's administration established a policy of **détente**—or relaxation of tensions—reflecting a more cooperative approach to dealing with Soviet bloc nations, while enhancing U.S. security arrangements with its allies. It was a period of negotiations with the Soviets, bringing an end to direct American involvement in the Vietnam conflict, establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, strengthening NATO and other alliances, and providing indirect assistance to nations threatened by communist takeovers.¹¹

Behind these events was a new way of dealing with the sense of vulnerability and America's role in world affairs: the **balance of power strategy** advocated and implemented by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Foreign policy, Kissinger argued, was not intended to promote idealistic causes, but rather to protect America's national interests (in the Hamiltonian sense), and that could be done only by focusing on maintaining an international balance of power. To accomplish this, Nixon and Kissinger believed that it was necessary to take unprecedented steps in order to counter the growing strength and influence of the Soviet Union. Those steps included supporting regimes and leaders whose behavior might otherwise be seen as deplorable. As a result, Nixon and Kissinger opened diplomatic relations with mainland China, despite a long-standing commitment not to abandon the United States' anticommunist Chinese allies in Taiwan.

Although the balance of power approach seemed to ease the sense of American vulnerability to the perils generated by the Soviet Union and China, it could not stop the anxiety caused by the Middle East and other parts of the oil-producing world. Under the banner of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), oil producers began raising the price and reducing the supply of crude oil during the early 1970s, and in October 1973 the Arab member states of OPEC used their control over oil supplies to punish the United States for its support for Israel. Eventually the “oil embargo” ended, but by the end of 1973 it had significantly changed Americans' view of world affairs and U.S. foreign policy. The embargo marked the high point of an international energy crisis that brought home to Americans just how vulnerable the U.S. economy was to developments in the international arena.

The OPEC embargo was not the only embargo used in international affairs during this period. American policymakers also used that tactic when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. President Jimmy Carter ended the era of détente with the Soviets by imposing a grain embargo, canceling cultural exchange programs, and withdrawing U.S. teams from the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. He pursued more formal relations with China, helped to

negotiate a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt, concluded a treaty to give Panama control over the Panama Canal, and took other actions that helped adjust U.S. foreign and defense policies to the changing international scene of the 1970s.

The continuing energy crisis and events in Iran, however, had the greatest impact on the Carter administration. In 1979, Iranian revolutionaries seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took dozens of Americans hostage. This and similar actions against American citizens added to the general public feeling that America was once again vulnerable. The Iranian hostage crisis preoccupied Americans during 1980, adding to the public's sense of vulnerability in an election year. The crisis lasted more than a year, ending when Iran released the final 52 U.S. hostages on the day President Ronald Reagan was sworn into office in 1981.¹²

During the 1980s, the Reagan administration stressed military superiority over the Soviet Union and the need to strengthen America's leadership in the Western world. Reagan supported stepped-up military spending and increased American involvement in the Middle East, Latin America, and other international "hot spots." In many respects, his policies resembled the containment policies of the earlier Cold War period, but the changing realities of world affairs eventually posed challenges to that approach. At the center of those challenges were the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The emergence of Mikhail Gorbachev as the leader of the Soviet Union in 1985, who emphasized openness and a reorientation of Soviet strategic aims, created a situation that hard-line Cold Warriors in the Reagan administration could not ignore. By 1988, Reagan was walking through Moscow's Red Square with Gorbachev and shaking hands with Soviet citizens. In November 1989, the end of the Cold War was symbolized by the images of protesters tearing down portions of the Berlin Wall. American-Soviet relations had been the pivotal feature shaping U.S. foreign policy since World War II, but with the end of the Cold War, a new opportunity to rethink America's foreign and defense policies presented itself.¹³

1990s: Post-Cold War Strategy

Despite the changes that had occurred, the post-Cold War era was not without its uncertainties.¹⁴ The administration of George H. W. Bush began to articulate a foreign and military strategy based on new assumptions. Central to these assumptions was the sense that the United States, although the one remaining superpower, was still vulnerable to forces it could not control. Therefore, it needed to develop a strategy that would attempt to deter aggression and defend the nation's vital interests.

Although not specific in content, U.S. post-Cold War foreign policy strategy was based on four general principles:

- First, it assumed that American interests would be best served if the United States had a regional focus, as opposed to a more global perspective that ignored specific regional issues;
- Second, it stressed strong alliances within that regional framework rather than unilateral actions;

- Third, the Bush administration would give preference to multinational joint operations when military action was required;
- Finally, the Bush strategy took into account the need to maintain the U.S. capability to act alone if necessary to protect the nation's vital interests.

The myth of vulnerability also remained active in the context of several key domestic issues that had important foreign policy implications. The administration declared a War on Drugs that included strategies to cut off the supply of cocaine and other drugs from Latin America. Environmental concerns also had international repercussions. Canada, for example, put considerable pressure on the United States to address the problem of acid rain caused by U.S. industries. In these and related cases, policymakers felt that their ability to deal effectively with problems was dependent on the actions of others—a situation that extended America's vulnerability in world affairs.

The 1992 election of Bill Clinton marked an important event in the history of American foreign and defense policies. Not only was he the first chief executive elected in the post-Cold War era, but his relative youth (he was forty-six when he was elected) meant that he had not personally experienced the threats posed by the Great Depression, Hitler, and Stalin. Clinton regarded the domestic economy as the top priority for the new administration.¹⁵ The Clinton administration adopted a Hamiltonian vision of the American project and gave top priority to integrating “a healthy American economy into a healthy global economy.” In that context, the next foreign policy priority was “creating and expanding democratic governance and free markets overseas.” By 1994, the more traditional Cold War objectives of national security “through skilled diplomacy and a strong, ready military” were relegated to being the third item on the administration's list of priorities.¹⁶ Trade policies, especially the implementation of NAFTA and the establishment of the WTO, took center stage. On a more general level, the Clinton administration developed policies that would help Americans compete in the emerging global economy, where physical boundaries and traditional national economic controls were becoming increasingly irrelevant.

2000s: The Response to September 11 and the War on Terror

On September 11, 2001, the foreign and defense policies of the United States were radically altered by the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. It was the ultimate confirmation that the United States, despite its status as the world's “sole superpower,” was still extremely vulnerable. Declaring a “war on terrorism,” the George W. Bush administration focused its foreign policy and military resources on mobilizing the United States and its allies for that war effort. President Bush put the situation to the world community in blunt terms: “Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.”¹⁷

At first, the focus was on Afghanistan, where the ruling Taliban regime was providing a haven for al-Qaeda, the terrorist network suspected of orchestrating the September 11 attacks. By December, the Taliban had been overthrown, and

the United States began to focus on an international effort to eliminate the remaining vestiges of worldwide terrorism networks.

In 2002, the focus of U.S. attention turned to Saddam Hussein's Iraq. With military planning for the invasion of Iraq well underway, key foreign-policy makers in the Bush administration launched a campaign to convince the world (and the American public) of the need to deal with Hussein's regime once and for all. After the United States presented its case before the UN Security Council, asserting that Iraq posed a threat because it sought to develop and deploy **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, America and its allies invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003. Weapons of mass destruction were never found, and the lack of planning for the postwar occupation and an insurgency plagued the U.S. effort to establish a viable regime in Iraq. By August 2006, sectarian violence between Iraq's Shi'a and Sunni populations had become serious enough that top U.S. military commanders were admitting that the situation in Iraq was deteriorating into a civil war.¹⁸ Facing increasing criticism and pressures from within the United States and abroad, the Bush administration made some personnel and strategic changes over the next two years. In mid-September 2008, however, global financial-system problems that had been percolating in the background for more than a year escalated into a major international crisis, bringing some countries to the brink of bankruptcy and generating a multinational effort to contain the damage (see discussion in Chapter 15).

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) A term applied to nuclear, chemical, biological, and radiological weapons subject to indiscriminate use that are likely to cause casualties on a massive scale.

2009–Present: The Obama Presidency

From the outset of his presidency, Barack Obama made clear that his administration's approach to international affairs would be different, stressing a more consultative and cooperative relationship with allies and an effort to reach out to old adversaries. His appointment of Hillary Clinton as secretary of state, as well as a growing reliance on "special envoys" to deal with specific issues and international hot spots, indicated a shift in tone that was welcomed by many actors on the international stage. For many, these changes in approach were sufficient to justify the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Obama in 2009, but others were critical of the slow pace of change in U.S. policies.

By 2010, Obama had shifted the focus of U.S. military activity away from Iraq and back to Afghanistan, where the Taliban had regained a political foothold. In Iraq, the United States began to pull back and turn security operations over to the newly constituted government in Baghdad. By the end of August 2010, all U.S. combat troops had left Iraq and only a contingent of 50,000 U.S. forces remained to help train and support Iraq's military. By contrast, Obama supported a greater commitment of troops to Afghanistan with the express intent of assuring that al-Qaeda would not be able to reestablish a foothold there or in neighboring Pakistan. Based on a military strategy involving a counter-insurgency approach similar to the one used in Iraq, the initiative called for U.S. troop reductions starting in 2011. By the end of 2014, plans for the end of U.S. combat operations in Afghanistan and gradual troop withdrawals continued, and future commitments were contingent on negotiations with newly elected Afghan leaders.

In the meantime, a new threat emerged in 2014 as a group calling itself the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL; also called ISIS) began to extend control over territories in war-torn Syria and northern Iraq. Secretary of State John Kerry succeeded in pulling together an international coalition to provide military support to anti-ISIL forces. While U.S. and coalition military involvement was limited to air attacks, many saw this development as another setback in the Obama administration's efforts to disengage militarily from the region.

In addition, new flashpoints emerged in other parts of the globe as Russia pursued an aggressive policy toward Ukraine and other neighboring states and China began to assert its territorial claims in the Pacific. In short, by the end of 2014, the world of U.S. foreign and defense policies extended beyond combatting terrorism and became increasingly complex—as have the challenges posed for the policymaking machinery that the nation has established to deal with them.

Making Foreign and Defense Policy

> Who is involved in the making of U.S. foreign and defense policies, and what roles do they play?

Foreign and defense policymaking has always been perceived as necessarily different from domestic policymaking in the United States. This is due in part to the constitutional premise that foreign policy is a responsibility of the national government that does not have to be shared with the states. Another factor has been the consensus that the president plays the central role in shaping and conducting foreign and defense policies. Nevertheless, foreign and defense policymaking is still subject to the same political pressures that shape domestic policymaking, including the myth of American vulnerability.

Some observers note how much foreign and defense policy has changed in the post-Cold War era. During the Cold War, there was broad public consensus that the primary objective of American foreign policy was to protect our nation and its allies from the military threats posed by the Soviet Union and its allies. Thus, foreign policy was closely tied to military and defense policies—that is, **national security policies**. Under those conditions, efforts were made to keep foreign-policy decision making relatively centralized and isolated from the partisan and interest-group politics that characterizes domestic policymaking (see Chapter 15 on domestic policy and policymaking). It was an arena dominated by the president, his national security advisers, and military experts.¹⁹

After the Cold War, the making of foreign policy took on some of the characteristics of domestic policymaking, especially in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks that added homeland security to the list of major concerns. Congress and a growing number of interest groups became increasingly involved, and American public opinion became more divided over specific foreign policy issues. Presidential leadership focused more on developing policies that satisfy a wide range of constituencies, and the State and Defense Departments worked more closely with other departments including Treasury, Homeland Security, Justice, Commerce, and the Office of the United States Trade Representative.

National security policies

The actions taken by government to safeguard the physical, economic, and social institutions that are deemed critical to our survival as a country.

The President and the White House

The president's role in foreign and military affairs is rooted in the constitutional provisions that give the president the power to make treaties, appoint ambassadors, receive diplomatic representatives from other nations, and serve as commander in chief of the armed forces (see the discussion of these roles in Chapter 12 on the presidency). Thus, although Congress shares some of the responsibility for shaping, funding, and implementing foreign and defense policies, the lion's share of the power traditionally and constitutionally belongs to the president.²⁰ Prior to the Cold War, there was not much question that U.S. foreign policymaking would be conducted by the president and his secretary of state.

With the advent of the Cold War, however, formulating and implementing foreign and defense policies became a complex affair, and although the presidency remained the most important institution in these areas, presidents found themselves relying more on special advisers. The National Security Act of 1947 authorized the president to establish the **National Security Council (NSC)**, which consisted of the president, the vice president, the secretaries of defense and state, and other officials that the president wished to invite, such as the secretary of commerce, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), or the chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The NSC's primary functions were to advise the president on national security issues and to coordinate the implementation of policy.

The NSC staff also played an important role in shaping U.S. foreign and military policies. Typically, the staff consisted of experts who monitored the world situation for the White House, prepared analyses and policy options for the president's consideration, and oversaw the coordination of foreign and defense policies. This staff was headed by the special assistant to the president for national security affairs, called the **national security adviser**. Under some presidents, the national security adviser strongly influenced foreign and defense policies. In the Nixon administration, for instance, Henry Kissinger played a central role in negotiating agreements with the Soviets, as well as in efforts to end the Vietnam War and to open relations with the People's Republic of China. Eventually, Nixon appointed Kissinger to serve simultaneously as both national security adviser and secretary of state.

In the post-Cold War period, the role of the president and his advisers remained central to the shaping of foreign policy, but on certain issues the White House found itself having to deal with a much more active Congress.²¹ In matters of trade, for example, Congress was reluctant to give President Clinton the **"fast-track" authority** enjoyed by his predecessors. Initially given to President Nixon under provisions of the Trade Reform Act of 1974 fast-track authority allowed the U.S. Trade Representative to negotiate agreements on nontariff barriers to trade with other nations that the president could then present to Congress for its approval within ninety days under a rule that allowed no amendments. It was under fast-track authority that some of the major trade agreements of the 1990s (e.g., NAFTA) were passed. But when that authority came up for renewal in 1998, Congress refused to extend it. The authority was restored in 2002 during the George W. Bush administration, but lapsed in 2007; President Obama sought its renewal but has run into opposition in Congress from both Republicans and

National Security Council (NSC) A council created by Congress in 1947 to advise the president on foreign policy and to coordinate its implementation.

National security adviser The head of the National Security Council staff, who may sometimes have a strong influence on foreign and defense policies.

"Fast-track" authority Also called "trade promotion authority," it allows the U.S. Trade Representative to negotiate an agreement on nontariff barriers to trade with other nations that the president can then present to Congress for its approval without allowing changes.

ASKED & ANSWERED

ASKED: Is the United States an empire?

ANSWERED: Americans do not take kindly to those commentators, foreign or domestic, who use the word *empire* to describe the current U.S. role in world affairs. We typically associate empires with the Dark Side (remember *Star Wars*?) and consider them evil (as when President Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as an “evil empire”). But in recent years a growing number of people have used the word *empire* to describe what the United States has become in the post–Cold War period. Does the label fit?

The answer depends on which image of *empire* you adopt. If you think of an empire in classical, military terms—as the direct rule of conquered foreign lands without the political involvement or endorsement of their inhabitants—then perhaps not. The United States has from time to time acted as an occupying force after winning a war, as it did in Japan and Germany after World War II and more recently in Iraq, but those were regarded as periods of transition, after which rule was turned over to the citizens of the occupied nations.

But more contemporary views of *empire* regard it as the capacity of one nation to indirectly but effectively exercise power over the political, economic, and cultural aspects of another. Under that view, one can argue that we are indeed operating as an American empire. There is no question that the United States is willing to use direct military intervention in its dealings with less powerful countries, but there is a sense that such actions should be limited and taken only when necessary. This has led some analysts to term the United States a “reluctant sheriff” or “reluctant imperialist.”

British analyst Niall Ferguson points out that we often go out of our way to avoid calling the United States an empire. Instead, we rely on other terms, such as the world’s “sole superpower” or “global power”

exercising “primacy” in world affairs. Lawrence Summers, former treasury secretary under President Clinton, called the United States the world’s first “nonimperialist superpower.” Walter Russell Mead labels the present era “Pax Americana”—literally, “American Peace.”

For many analysts, however, the most relevant word to apply to the United States is not empire but *hegemon*. Today, “hegemony means more than mere leadership, but less than outright empire.” A hegemon, rather than using conquest and coercion to assert its dominance in the world, emerges as the dominant actor through its possession of some critical resource and its capacity to form alliances with other major regional and local powers. As a hegemonic superpower, the United States has interests in every corner of the world, but in order to pursue those interests effectively, it must deal with regional powers. In attempting to develop a diplomatic solution to the threats posed by North Korea, the United States finds itself relying increasingly on China and Japan. In planning its invasion of Iraq in 2003, the United States required the assistance of several countries in the Persian Gulf region. In the effort to deal with the problems of Afghanistan, the Obama administration has pushed for greater involvement and commitments from other nations that are part of the U.S.-dominated International Security Assistance Force. In other words, a hegemon may look like an empire, but it operates under severe limits.

For a discussion of the American empire, see Niall Ferguson, Colossus: The Price of America's Empire (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), especially pp. 3–13; the quote is from p. 9. See also Joseph Nye Jr., “The Changing Nature of World Power,” Political Science Quarterly 105, no. 2 (1990): 177–192; Lawrence Summers, “America: The First Nonimperialist Superpower,” New Perspectives Quarterly 15, no. 2 (1998): 34–35; and Walter Russell Mead, Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), chap. 3.

Democrats.²² But in matters that are regarded as highly volatile, the president is still given considerable discretion in the foreign and defense policy arenas.

The Bureaucracies

The **Department of State** is the oldest agency associated with the conduct of foreign affairs. Its personnel manage the day-to-day operations of American foreign relations. They operate American embassies, look after U.S. interests abroad, conduct formal negotiations between the United States and other nations, and provide advice and assistance to the president and other foreign policymakers. At the heart of the State Department is the **Foreign Service**, consisting of approximately 3,500 people with expertise and training in diplomacy. Although secretaries of state now share their role as major foreign policy advisers to the president with others, the position remains an important and highly visible one.

The **Department of Defense** (also called the Pentagon) is the agency that is most closely linked to military policymaking. It formally comprises three subordinate agencies—the Departments of the Navy (which includes the U.S. Marine Corps), Army, and Air Force—that are responsible for managing their respective branches of the armed services. The civilian leaders of the Defense Department strive to integrate the policies and programs of the different military branches. In those tasks they are assisted by the **Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)**, a group of high-ranking military officers representing the navy, army, air force, and marines. The Joint Chiefs of Staff also advise the president and the National Security Council when requested, and in recent years, the chair of the JCS has played a key role in advising the president.²³

No foreign or defense policymaking can take place without information provided through **intelligence-gathering agencies**. When policymakers need detailed or hard-to-get information, they often rely on the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA obtains much of its information from newspapers, magazines, public documents, and other openly available material, but it also conducts covert, or secret, operations. In addition, the National Security Agency (NSA), a once highly secretive unit located outside Washington, D.C., uses sophisticated surveillance technologies to gather intelligence by monitoring various forms of information and communications technology, from telephones to e-mail and the Internet.

Both agencies have been the subject of criticism in recent years. The CIA was criticized for its inability to provide information that might have prevented the September 11 attacks, as well as its use of “enhanced interrogation techniques” by its counterterrorism units.²⁴ In addition, word was leaked to the press that the NSA, acting under presidential directive and without court-issued warrants, had been monitoring phone calls of U.S. citizens. These and related problems led to several changes in the intelligence bureaucracy, including a 2004 reorganization that established an **Office of the Director of National Intelligence**, which assumed overall responsibility for the activities of intelligence agencies and serves as the chief advisor on intelligence matters for the president, the National Security Council, and the Department of Homeland Security. Nevertheless, their activities have continued to raise issues about the implications of such intelligence gathering. The release of volumes of classified documents by WikiLeaks in 2012

Department of State The cabinet department responsible for the day-to-day operation of embassies, the protection of U.S. interests abroad, formal negotiations between the United States and other nations, and the provision of advice and assistance to the president.

Foreign Service The core personnel system of the State Department, consisting of some 3,500 people with expertise and training in foreign policy.

Department of Defense The agency most closely linked with military policymaking. It includes the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) A group of high-ranking military officers who represent the army, navy, air force, and marines. They provide advice to the president and coordinate military actions undertaken by U.S. forces.

Intelligence-gathering agencies Organizations such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA) that are responsible for gathering and analyzing information relevant to foreign and defense policymaking.

Office of the Director of National Intelligence

Created by the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, this agency has overall responsibility for the activities of intelligence agencies and serves as the chief advisor on intelligence matters for the president, the National Security Council, and the Department of Homeland Security.

and former NSA contractor Edward Snowden in 2013 revealed just how extensive the operations of these agencies have been, and has led to increased calls for greater oversight and reform.²⁵

The Congressional Role in Policymaking

While the Constitution does confer major foreign policy responsibilities on the presidency, it also gives the Senate and the House of Representatives roles to play as well. Congress can rely on several mechanisms when it seeks to influence both foreign and defense policies.²⁶ The Senate can affect presidential policies through its *power to ratify treaties* negotiated by the White House. The ratification of NAFTA and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (ratified in 1994; now part of the WTO) turned into national debates over free trade; both treaties did ultimately obtain the required sixty-seven votes, but the issue was highly divisive and eventually resulted in Congress refusing to renew fast-track authority (see the previous discussion in “The President and the White House”). The Senate can also express its displeasure with White House policies indirectly by delaying or denying the confirmation of a presidential appointment to a high-level post in the foreign or defense policy bureaucracy or to an ambassadorship.

Both the House and the Senate can influence foreign and defense policies through direct legislation. In 1973, for example, Congress approved the War Powers Resolution, limiting the president’s power to commit U.S. troops overseas without congressional authorization (see Chapter 12 on the presidency). The act’s provisions have been applied less strictly than intended, however, especially the requirement that Congress be consulted before U.S. forces are committed. More often, the White House adheres to the provision that requires that the president submit a “report” about each use of U.S. forces within a certain number of days. By September 2012, 136 such reports had been submitted to Congress since the act went into effect.²⁷

Congressional control of the nation’s purse strings provides an additional source of influence over foreign and defense policies. In 1974, for example, Congress passed a budget authorization bill for military assistance that included a provision urging the president to substantially reduce assistance to any government that violated “internationally recognized human rights.” Over the years, similar and often stronger provisions have been included in military aid and economic assistance budget authorizations.²⁸

When considering legislation or appropriations, members of Congress have an opportunity to question key foreign or defense policymakers. The secretaries of state and defense, the director of the CIA, and other agency chiefs or their assistants often appear before congressional committees and subcommittees to answer questions on a broad range of policy concerns. The right to conduct these and similar investigations gives Congress leverage in shaping U.S. foreign and defense policies.²⁹ Although congressional involvement in foreign affairs is increasing, in recent years, congressional deference to the White House has waned. The Obama administration has been subject to increased criticism concerning issues about U.S. commitments in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria, as well as its approaches to negotiations related to international peace and trade.

The Mass Media and Attentive Publics

The media influence foreign and defense policymaking in several ways.³⁰ In their search for stories that will stir the interest of their readers and listeners (see Chapter 10 on media and politics), news reporters constantly monitor American involvement in world affairs. News reports from Vietnam, for example, greatly affected public attitudes toward that war, and the lessons of it have not been lost on policymakers. The White House is especially sensitive to the need to gain and hold the attention of the American public on important policy matters.

The main audience for most media coverage of foreign and defense policies is not the mass public, but segments of the public that are normally more interested in and informed about relevant issues. Called **attentive publics**, these groups typically make up less than one-fifth of the American public. An important characteristic of the attentive publics is that many of them join and support organizations and groups that have specific positions on U.S. foreign and defense policies. Although these interest groups (see Chapter 9) do not play a formal role in deciding national security policy, they are often highly influential.

The activities of interest groups in the foreign and defense policy arenas are diverse. Groups such as the influential Council on Foreign Relations have worked to increase citizens' awareness of foreign and defense policy issues. Other groups have promoted a specific ideological perspective, such as defeating international communism. Still others have advocated particular goals, such as support for the United Nations or promotion of human rights. Many more are devoted to advancing specific community or business interests. Trade associations representing almost every sector of the U.S. economy—from farmers seeking international markets for their surplus crops to automobile manufacturers seeking protection from Japanese imports—have also frequently become involved in the foreign-policy-making process. Even lobbyists who represent foreign governments seek favorable policies from the White House and Congress.³¹ One of the most influential interests in the foreign policy arena has been the pro-Israel lobby. Of particular significance have been the activities of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, which has had significant influence on U.S. policy in the Middle East.³²

Attentive publics The segments of the population that are normally more interested in and better informed about relevant issues than the general public. These groups are the main audience for media coverage of foreign and defense policies.

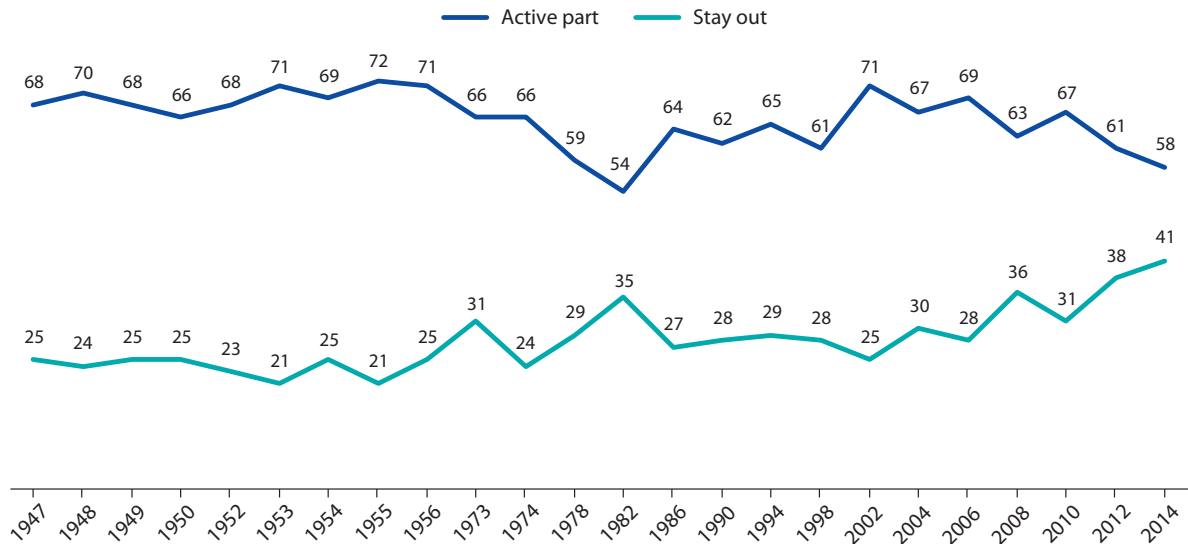
The Role of Public Opinion

For most Americans, domestic policy concerns and personal affairs overshadow world affairs. Most look to the president and other policymakers for leadership in foreign and defense matters. When it is aroused, the mass public's interest in foreign and defense policies usually focuses on some immediate threat or crisis.³³

For example, until the Arab oil embargo of 1973, few Americans knew how heavily the United States relied on imported oil. Nor could most Americans point to Vietnam on a world map until thousands of American troops were sent there in the early 1960s. When the general public does pay attention to a national security issue, its responses are often highly volatile and based on scant information.

The volatility of public opinion poses a dilemma for policymakers. To gain public support in foreign and defense affairs, they must often oversell the challenges

Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs? (%)



Trend data from 1947 through 1973 come from the following national surveys conducted by NORC in Chicago: Study T-49, 151, 156, 169, 295, 332, 348, 355, 370, 399, and the 1973 General Social Survey. The 1974 survey was conducted by Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.

FIGURE 16.1 Preferred U.S. Role in World Affairs

Americans have consistently favored an active role for the United States in world affairs since the end of World War II. This has remained true during the post-Vietnam and post-Cold War periods as well, although in recent years a growing number have favored a less active role.

Source: Dina Smeltz, Ivo Daalder, and Craig Kafura, *Foreign Policy in the Age of Retrenchment: Results of the 2014 Chicago Council Survey of American Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy* (Chicago: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2014), p. 7.

Mood theory The theory that the public's main influence on policy is indirect, in that the public's perceived willingness to accept certain programs carries weight in policy decisions.

being faced or the need for the administration's programs. Presidential trips abroad and summit meetings with leaders of other nations become media events that frequently dominate the news.

Some analysts believe that the mass public's main influence on policy derives from its attitude, or mood, regarding U.S. involvement in world affairs. According to this **mood theory**, the general public has very little direct impact on specific foreign and defense matters. But its perceived willingness to accept certain views, tactics, and programs carries considerable weight in policy decisions.³⁴

Historically, the public's mood has fluctuated between a willingness to accept greater U.S. involvement in world affairs and a contrary urge to withdraw from the international scene. When the public mood favors involvement, policymakers find it easier to engage in diplomacy or military ventures. When the public mood favors withdrawal, policymakers are reluctant to sign treaties, increase foreign aid, or commit U.S. troops abroad.

One of the consequences of September 11 and the war on terrorism that followed is that it has defined a new, yet elusive, common enemy for the public to focus on. The question remains whether the general public will be as supportive

in the long run of efforts to conduct this new form of warfare. By 2013, as U.S. involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan was reduced, there was widespread agreement that the American public was “war weary.” As indicated by the findings of an annual poll of public opinion, in recent years there has been increased sentiment to “stay out” of world affairs (see Figure 16.1). However, in the face of deteriorating conditions in Syria and the emergence of ISIL in 2014, there were signs that the public would support military involvement if necessary.

Wielding Diplomatic Power

> What are the sources of diplomatic power available to those who conduct American foreign policy?

As with other areas of modern governance, power plays a key role in the conduct of foreign and defense policies. Joseph S. Nye, former dean of Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, posits that there are at least two types of power that a nation such as the United States can use in world affairs: *hard power* that relies on coercion, and *soft power* that relies on attraction. Hard power, he argues, depends on military force (or the threat of its use) or on economic power in the form of payments or market incentives. Soft power attracts through exposure to cultural norms and values—to education and the exchange of ideas, to movies and music, to its promise of freedom and individual choice. As with all forms of potential power, however, the success of hard or soft power depends on how it is applied.³⁵

Diplomatic Tools

Like all nations, the United States uses several diplomatic tools in its relations with other countries. One of the most common tools is formal recognition of another nation. For the United States, **formal recognition** means that the president publicly accepts and acknowledges the sovereignty of another nation and receives its ambassador in Washington as that country’s official representative. Granting or withdrawing formal recognition is a powerful tool of foreign policy. In 1948, President Truman formally recognized the State of Israel within hours of receiving word that the new nation had been formed. Because controversy and violence accompanied Israel’s birth, diplomatic recognition by the United States was critically important and helped to establish a close relationship between the two countries. Similarly, as the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, many of the emerging republics sought recognition from the United States as a signal to the rest of the world of their legitimacy.

In contrast, when the United States fails to recognize a nation or breaks off formal diplomatic relations, it clearly signals its views on that country’s leadership. American policymakers were often reluctant to extend recognition to communist countries even before the Cold War era. Although the Russian Revolution took place in 1917, the United States did not establish formal relations with the Soviet Union until 1933. Similarly, after a communist regime took over in China, nearly thirty years passed before the United States and the People’s Republic of China agreed to exchange ambassadors.

Formal recognition The act whereby the president publicly accepts and acknowledges the sovereignty and government of another nation and receives its ambassador in Washington as that country’s official representative.

Breaking off diplomatic relations is an extreme step in international affairs and is usually a response to some dramatic event. The United States ended its formal recognition of Cuba in 1961 when Fidel Castro seized American property without compensation and entered into a close relationship with the Soviet Union. In 1979, President Carter broke off formal ties with Iran after the American embassy was seized and its employees taken hostage. In other cases, however, the United States has maintained formal relations with a country even if it objected to that country's policies. For example, the United States maintained its relations with South Africa throughout the 1970s and 1980s, despite widespread public condemnation of that country's apartheid policies.

Foreign aid Assistance provided by the United States to another country. This usually takes the form of a grant of money or supplies, but it can also be a low-interest loan.

Marshall Plan The popular name given to the European Recovery Program (ERP), which was initiated after World War II by the United States to help rebuild war-torn Europe. Announced by then secretary of state George C. Marshall in 1947, it covered the period of 1948–1952 and is regarded as the basis for today's European Union as well as a model for foreign assistance programs.

Treaties Legally binding pacts by which two or more nations formalize an agreement reached through negotiation.

Foreign aid is another major diplomatic tool. It usually takes the form of a grant of money or supplies to another nation, although it can also be a low-interest loan. The best-known example of foreign aid as a tool of U.S. foreign policy was the **Marshall Plan**, officially titled the European Recovery Program (ERP). Proposed in 1947 by the then secretary of state, George C. Marshall, the ERP provided financial aid and low-cost loans to help the countries of Western Europe rebuild and strengthen their economies after World War II. The initiative for today's European Union can be traced to that effort.

The United States provides an increasing amount of direct and indirect assistance for economic development. Foreign aid is also used to support and reward governments that are threatened by internal rebellions or hostile neighbors. Most such aid was intended to strengthen the military capabilities of the recipient governments. During the 1980s, for example, President Reagan supported sending millions of dollars of military aid to El Salvador and other Central American nations as "security assistance" to help them withstand what the Reagan administration saw as the spread of Soviet influence in the region. Very little of that assistance was devoted to building schools and highways or promoting effective health care and birth control programs. The withholding of aid can also prove to be an effective tool; the Reagan administration showed its displeasure with the Nicaraguan government by halting U.S. aid to that nation. Many observers believe that this aid cutoff contributed to the economic problems that eventually led Nicaraguan voters to elect the opposition in 1990.

In the post–Cold War era, foreign aid has taken on new roles. Humanitarian aid was sent to the Kurdish people of Iraq after the Persian Gulf War and to the Ethiopian people, who suffered from both war and drought during the 1980s. George H. W. Bush's administration also provided some assistance to the republics emerging from the former Soviet Union as a means of supporting the move toward democracy and free-market economies in that region. When hundreds of thousands of Rwandans escaped to Zaire in 1994 following ethnic conflict that had resulted in the slaughter of thousands, the United States joined other nations in a major effort to provide shelter and clean water.

Treaties, a third major tool of diplomacy, are legally binding pacts by which two or more nations formalize an agreement reached through negotiation. Some treaties form the basis of international or regional organizations—for example, the United Nations Charter. Others establish standards of behavior among the nations that sign them—for example, in the area of human rights, international

agreements on the treatment of prisoners of war such as the Geneva Convention of 1949, or a 1986 treaty outlawing genocide (the mass murder of a specific group of people, such as occurred in Hitler's Germany during World War II).

Because they require a two-thirds vote of the U.S. Senate and have a unique legal standing under the Constitution, treaties are often too cumbersome and controversial to use as diplomatic tools. More often the president will rely on Executive Agreements as a means for diplomacy. **Executive Agreements** take a number of forms, but they are effectively negotiated agreements between the president of the United States and the leaders of other nations. Some executive agreements, especially those related to trade, such as the NAFTA and GATT agreements, require the backing of a joint resolution of Congress. Others are regarded as arrangements a president can negotiate with other nations without having to seek congressional approval. For example, when the United States arranges to station military personnel in other countries for an extended period, the president (as commander in chief) negotiates with the host country Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs) that cover a wide range of issues that can arise. The United States has been operating bases in Japan, Germany, and Korea under SOFAs for most of the post-World War II period, and these agreements are renegotiated and renewed with modifications from time to time. In 2008, however, the United States engaged in protracted and heated discussions with the Iraqi government over the provisions of a Status of Forces Agreement that would lay out the rules for an extended U.S. presence in that country.

Covert actions—activities that are intentionally hidden from public view—can also have a considerable impact. Sometimes these actions are justified on the grounds that the operation could not be successfully conducted in full public view. At other times they are justified by the need to protect the lives of those involved. Nevertheless, the secrecy surrounding covert actions frequently raises questions about their legality. Covert actions range from gathering intelligence through bugging devices, to paying an informant, to planning the overthrow or assassination of another nation's leaders. The controversy that emerged in 2006 surrounding the news that the NSA had been monitoring U.S. domestic phone calls involving suspected terrorists was one of the rare instances when that agency's activities were scrutinized. The central issue was not the monitoring itself, but the fact that it involved domestic surveillance—something that is not permitted under normal circumstances.

Covert actions have played a significant role in the post-9/11 world as the United States attempted to conduct military actions against al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups operating in countries that were not actively hostile to the United States. Reports of American unmanned drone aircraft being used to both monitor and attack these groups in Pakistan, Yemen, and other locations has made it difficult to keep such actions hidden from view, but few question the existence of these and other covert operations that play a major role in U.S. foreign and defense policies.

In recent years there has been more attention paid to a tool called **public diplomacy**, “the government's process of communicating with foreign publics to create understanding of U.S. ideas and ideals, institutions and culture, and

Executive Agreements

Agreements with other nations that are made by the president without the Senate's consent. They have all the legal force of treaties but, unlike treaties, are not binding on succeeding presidents.

Covert actions Activities—ranging from gathering intelligence to assassinating foreign leaders—that are intentionally hidden from public view and may be of questionable legality.

Public diplomacy The officially sanctioned use of media and other information technology, cultural and educational programs, and related means to promote the understanding and acceptance of a country's values and interests.

current goals and policies.”³⁶ With its primary focus on the promotion of America’s soft power, public diplomacy is seen by its critics as a means to disseminate propaganda on behalf of U.S. policy. Others see it as a crucial part of American foreign policy in countries that get most of their impressions of the United States through U.S.-produced films and television shows that send mixed messages about American life.

Public diplomacy is associated with a variety of mechanisms such as book distribution; educational and cultural exchange programs; and broadcasting programs such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, which reports the news in twenty-one countries where a free press is banned or not fully established, including Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Russia. Prior to its integration into the State Department in the late 1990s, the United States Information Agency was the major agency engaged in public diplomacy efforts, and its functions are now centered in the Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs.

Military and Defense Strategies

> What are the issues and choices facing those who make U.S. defense policies?

During the Cold War, American policymakers were convinced that the greatest threat posed by the Soviet Union and its allies was military in nature. They believed that communist influence could expand only through military conquest or through insurgent revolutions backed by the Soviet Union or China. It is little wonder, therefore, that so much of American foreign policymakers’ attention was focused on military and defense strategies.

Two issues dominated the debate about America’s military expenditures throughout the Cold War period and after:

- How much money should be spent on defense? This issue is at the heart of the “guns-or-butter” debate—a debate between those who believe that defense expenditures must take priority and those who think that additional funds should be spent on consumer goods and social services.
- How should the funds devoted to “guns” be spent? What is the most effective way to allocate our defense dollars?

Guns or Butter?

The key question in the guns-or-butter debate is how much of our nation’s resources should go to defense. Before the Cold War, our military expenditures consumed only a small portion of our economic resources—about 1 percent of GDP.

By 1950 the United States was a world power, and its leadership of the Western alliance made a large and costly military establishment necessary. That same year the Cold War became more costly when the United States sent troops to help South Korea repel an attack by North Korea. The defense budget more than tripled, from \$12.2 billion in 1950 to about \$43 billion just five years later. During

the Vietnam War, defense spending climbed to more than \$80 billion annually. After American forces withdrew from Vietnam in the early 1970s, defense expenditures continued to grow, though at a slower rate.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, advocates for maintaining high levels of U.S. defense spending pointed out that international threats remained—if not from the Soviets, then from the growing number of nuclear-armed Third World nations, international terrorists, and leaders such as Iraq’s Saddam Hussein. At the same time, a growing chorus of analysts and policymakers claimed that America neither needed nor could afford to spend more on defense.

The events of September 11, 2001, however, left no doubt about the need for more military spending. The Fiscal Year 2015 budget request for the Department of Defense was \$495.6 billion; nearly fourteen years earlier (FY 2001), the request from the Clinton administration was for \$305.4 billion. But the Defense Department budget was only part of the picture. Requests for spending on all defense-related functions for FY 2015 totaled \$636.6 billion, with another \$161 billion for Veterans benefits. This amounted to a significant portion of the discretionary (or nonmandatory spending) part of the federal budget and meant, of course, that even less federal spending would be added to the “butter” side of the ledger.

Alternative Military Strategies

Throughout most of the Cold War, the debate over how to allocate defense spending focused on what mix of nuclear and conventional forces would best meet the challenge posed by the Soviet Union. It relied on a consensus that the primary objective of military strategy was the containment of the Soviet threat. Today that consensus is gone, and the debate is more difficult.

The first and only use of nuclear weapons in time of war occurred in 1945, when the United States dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nevertheless, the weapon changed the nature of war and military strategy. A special report prepared in 1950 by National Security Council staff underscored that change. It argued for a **deterrence strategy** based on the buildup of nuclear and conventional (nonnuclear) forces, so that any potential enemy would hesitate to attack the United States or its allies.

At first the council’s appeal for a strategy based on both nuclear and conventional forces was ignored. During the 1950s, the principal defense strategy emphasized nuclear weapons. Called **massive retaliation**, this strategy entailed stockpiling nuclear weapons and warning the Soviet Union and its allies that any aggression against the United States or its allies could result in the destruction of Moscow and other major cities. However, the enormous buildup of the Soviet nuclear arsenal during the 1950s and 1960s focused attention on the dangers of massive retaliation as a policy. Given the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRVs), and other delivery technology, now the Soviet Union could devastate American cities. A new strategy emerged based on **mutual assured destruction (MAD)**: Each of the nuclear powers would hold the other in check by maintaining the ability to annihilate the other in any major confrontation.

Deterrence strategy The buildup and maintenance of nuclear and conventional forces and large stockpiles of weapons to discourage any potential enemy from attacking the United States or its allies.

Massive retaliation The military strategy favored by the United States during the 1950s, which involved warning the Soviet Union and its allies that any military confrontation could produce an annihilating nuclear attack on Moscow and other Soviet cities.

Mutual assured destruction (MAD) The strategy that evolved in the 1960s whereby each of the nuclear powers would hold the other in check by maintaining the ability to annihilate the other in any major nuclear confrontation.

Flexible response The military strategy adopted by the United States during the 1960s, which shifted emphasis from solely nuclear weapons power to increasing the United States' ability to engage in limited, conventional wars in order to make deterrence more credible.

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) A plan endorsed by President Reagan that called for the development of a space-based defense shield against nuclear attack. Also referred to as "Star Wars."

Massive retaliation and its MAD variant were very risky and controversial strategies. In spending so much on nuclear weapons, the policymakers had let conventional forces deteriorate. By 1960, many felt that the United States had lost its capacity to respond effectively to small, localized conflicts. Thus, during the 1960s, the emphasis shifted to a strategy of **flexible response**, which called for the buildup of America's nonnuclear, limited-war capabilities. Advocates of this strategy believed that strengthened conventional troops would make deterrence more credible, for the United States could counter enemy aggression with the right amount of force. During the 1980s, the Reagan administration called for maintaining a weapons force to provide a margin of safety over the Soviets while seeking more spending on new, more sophisticated nonnuclear weapons. But it was the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)** that drew most of the attention during the latter part of the Reagan years. Often referred to as "Star Wars," it was a proposed \$90 billion space-based weapons system that would render nuclear threats "impotent and obsolete."³⁷ It came the closest to reflecting the urge for absolute security embodied in the myth of vulnerability.

In the post-Cold War era, attention focused on the development of a "balanced" approach that would allow the United States to deter aggression and protect national interests. The Clinton administration articulated an approach calling for a military capacity to deal with both peacetime operations and major military confrontations. On one hand, the military must be ready to engage in a full range of small-scale unilateral and joint military operations, such as interventions, limited strikes, and humanitarian assistance. On the other hand, it must also maintain a capacity to fight and win "two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts" anywhere in the world. There was no grand strategy involved in this approach, perhaps reflecting the absence of a clearly defined enemy or overarching military objective such as winning a war. The goal was simply to maintain the armed forces in a state of readiness.³⁸

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the Defense Department issued a review of U.S. defense policies reflecting an approach that had been quickly adapted to the new realities of the war on terrorism. It called for shifting to a "capabilities-based model—one that focuses more on how an adversary might fight than who the adversary might be and where a war might occur." Such an approach "broaden[s] the strategic perspective. It required identifying capabilities that U.S. military forces will need to deter and defeat adversaries who will rely on surprise, deception, and asymmetric warfare to achieve their objectives."³⁹

Equally significant, the report placed a high priority on providing defense for the territory of the United States. Although the word *defense* had often been used in discussions of U.S. military policy since World War II, little attention had been paid to actually developing defensive strategies for the United States, since an attack on American soil seemed unlikely. After September 11, however, defending the country became the Pentagon's top priority.

One consequence of this shift was a reorganization of the military's "joint command structure." Under the old structure, American forces were allocated

to four major **Joint Commands**: USPACOM, which had responsibility for military activities in the Pacific and most of Asia; USEUCOM, which covered Europe and most of Africa; USSOUTHCOM, which focused on South America and the Caribbean; and USCENTCOM, which covered most of the Middle East and Persian Gulf regions. Responsibility for the defense of North America was left to a Joint Forces Command that had general responsibility for projects and tasks that did not fall under the other four major Joint Commands. In April 2002 the Pentagon announced the creation of a Northern Command—USNORTHCOM—that would have responsibility for coordinating the defense of the United States, Mexico, and Canada.

Just as significant, however, was the development of a strategic approach in the War on Terror expressed by President George W. Bush and formally issued in a statement released by the National Security Council in September 2002: “While the United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country.” Known as the **Bush Doctrine**, this policy highlights the administration’s willingness to engage in preemptive attacks and “preventive wars” to deal with threats to U.S. security.

President Obama did not establish any formal strategic doctrine related to defense during his first years in office, but he clearly abandoned the inclination to engage in preemptive or preventative wars. Regarded as more of a pragmatist, he stressed the use of diplomacy and alliances and supported the more restrained and “reasoned” counterinsurgency approach in Iraq and Afghanistan. In his December 2009 Nobel Peace Prize speech, he made it clear that he was not averse to the use of force, but both the tone and words of his presentation indicated his approach would regard preemptive military action as unnecessary. In September 2014, however, when faced with an emerging crisis in Syria and Iraq, Obama articulated two basic principles that some call the Obama Doctrine. First, the U.S. will “use force against anyone who threatens America’s core interests.” Second, wherever possible, the U.S. will rely on the mobilization of allies to address “broader challenges to international order.” And finally, those benefiting from U.S. support should know that America cannot—and will not—do for others “what they must do for themselves.”⁴⁰

Conclusion

American foreign and defense policies have undergone periods of change, reflecting the many changes that have taken place in the world arena. The intrigues of European politics played a central role in shaping U.S. foreign and defense policies during the 1800s, while pressures created by European imperialism and America’s own urge to extend and protect its economic influence helped mold those policies at the turn of the twentieth century. World wars and shifting international power helped define U.S. international activity until the middle of

Joint Commands The basic command structures used by the U.S. military to coordinate operations in various regions of the world.

Bush Doctrine A post-9/11 foreign policy statement by President George W. Bush noting his administration’s willingness to engage in preemptive attacks and “preventive wars” to deal with threats to U.S. security.

the twentieth century, and the mantle of international leadership passed to American presidents during the Cold War.

Throughout the nation's history, there has been a constant urge to protect the country from the dangers of political, military, and economic vulnerability. Complementing those efforts to deal with perceived vulnerabilities have been at least four visions (Wilsonian, Hamiltonian, Jeffersonian, and Jacksonian) informing the U.S. role on the world stage. Faced with economic challenges in the form of energy shortages or competition from East Asia and Europe, U.S. foreign-policy makers see their mission as the re-creation of a world order more favorable to American interests. In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the rise of fundamentalist regimes, the United States engaged in Wilsonian efforts to support emerging democracies. And there is no doubting the Jacksonian nature of the Bush administration's initial reaction to the events of September 11, 2001—an immediate declaration of an all-out war on terror. The vision of the Obama administration seems to reflect a combination of both the Wilsonian and Hamiltonian themes that have played such a central role in American history.

The events of September 11, the war in Iraq, continued instability in the Middle East, global financial crises, and other changes in the international arena continue to reshape U.S. foreign and defense policies. The myth of vulnerability remains a powerful factor that guides America's policymakers and helps many Americans make sense of the U.S. role in world affairs. The consequences of attachment to this myth can be both positive and negative. On the positive side, the myth creates a sense of caution that can result in more thoughtful decisions. On the negative side, there is always the danger that the urge for absolute security can distort the perspectives and choices of America's policymakers. Therefore, the central question remains: Which vision of the American project—or which mixture of visions—will emerge from the ongoing war on terrorism?

Key Terms

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|------------------------------------|--|--|
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| Balance of power strategy p. 16-11 | Foreign and defense policies p. 16-5 | Mood theory p. 16-21 |
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Focus Questions Review

1. What are the factors that are changing U.S. foreign and defense policies? >>>

American foreign and defense policies have been influenced by a myth of vulnerability and a resulting urge to minimize insecurity.

2. What is the history of U.S. foreign and defense policy, and what does it tell us about America's role in the world today? >>>

Initially, American policies were guided by the principles of isolationism and unilateralism established by George Washington and other early presidents. Combined with a sense of vulnerability, these principles led to American expansionist policies during the 1800s.

Although U.S. involvement in world affairs increased significantly from the 1890s through the 1930s, not until World War II did American policymakers and the American people accept the nation's role as an international leader.

After World War II, U.S. international involvement continued, but in response to the perceived threat of Soviet expansionism. That involvement took the form of a policy of containment.

The Cold War put an end to unilateralism, and the United States entered into formal alliances with the nations of Western Europe to form NATO. Other alliances followed.

In more recent years, the United States has adapted its foreign and defense policies to changes in world affairs. Among the most important of these changes have been the emergence of Third World nations and an end to the bipolar world situation as countries such as France and the People's Republic of China became more independent of their respective alliances.

The collapse of the Soviet Union has had a significant impact on the conduct of foreign policy.

One major transformation during the Clinton years was the increased emphasis on economic security as a primary goal of U.S. foreign policy.

3. Who is involved in making U.S. foreign and defense policies, and what roles do they play? >>>

Making U.S. foreign and defense policies involves a distinct set of policymaking institutions, although many factors help determine the decisions in each arena.

During the Cold War, the crucial decision makers in foreign and defense matters were part of an inner circle centered in the White House. However, the moods and attitudes of the general public also influenced the decisions made in both arenas.

In the post-Cold War era, the nature of foreign and defense policymaking has been changing, with a greater role for both Congress and the public.

4. What are the sources of diplomatic power available to those who conduct American foreign policy? >>>

U.S. policymakers have a variety of foreign policy tools, or sources of power, at their disposal. These include:

- Formal recognition
- Foreign aid
- Treaties
- Covert actions

5. What are the issues and choices facing those who make U.S. defense policies? >>>

Two issues have marked American defense policies since the start of the Cold War: how much money to spend on defense and which defensive strategies to rely on. The end of the Cold War did not close that debate, but rather has changed the nature of the issues and questions being raised.

The events of September 11, 2001, have resulted in a sharp alteration of both foreign and defense policies, and the myth of vulnerability remains a powerful force as well.

Review Questions

1. How is the American anxiety over vulnerability reflected in the history of the country's foreign and defense policies?
2. What are the various diplomatic tools the United States uses in the conduct of its foreign policy, and how do they reflect the wielding of power in America's relations with other nations?



For more information and access to study materials, visit the book's companion website at www.oup.com/us/gitelson.

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