Chapter 20
National Security Policymaking
American Foreign Policy: Instruments, Actors, and Policymakers

Instruments of Foreign Policy

- Three types of tools:
  - Military: oldest and still used
    - Limited wars
  - Economic: becoming more powerful
    - Trade regulations, tariffs, and monetary policies
  - Diplomatic: the quietest of the tools
    - Negotiations and summits
American Foreign Policy: Instruments, Actors, and Policymakers

- Actors on the World Stage
  - International Organizations
    - United Nations (UN): created in 1945; an organization whose members agree to renounce war and respect certain human and economic freedoms
  - Regional Organizations
    - NATO: created in 1949; combined military forces of U.S., Canada, and most of Western Europe and Turkey
    - EU: transnational government composed of Western European countries that coordinates economic policies
  - Multinational Corporations
  - Nongovernmental Organizations—groups such as Greenpeace or Amnesty International
  - Individuals
American Foreign Policy: Instruments, Actors, and Policymakers

- The Policymakers
  - The President
  - The Diplomats
    - Secretary of State
  - The National Security Establishment
    - Secretary of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, NSC, CIA—formed after WWII to advise the president and gather intelligence
  - Congress
American Foreign Policy: Instruments, Actors, and Policymakers

Figure 20.1  U.S. Military Interventions in Central America and the Caribbean Since 1900

- 1903: U.S. troops support Panama's attempt to separate from Colombia. Panama's success provides the canal site for the United States.
- 1904-1905: U.S. forces support pro-American government in civil war.
- 1905-1907: U.S. forces occupied Haiti to secure repayment of its foreign debt and eliminate possibility of interventions by France or Germany during prolonged political turmoil.
- 1916-1917: U.S. troops occupied Haiti to ensure repayment of its foreign debt.
- 1948: U.S. sponsored invasion of Cuba failed at Bay of Pigs.
- 1949-1952: U.S. troops occupied the Dominican Republic to block takeover by Communist regime.
- 1956: U.S. forces occupied Haiti to secure repayment of its foreign debt and eliminate possibility of interventions by France or Germany during prolonged political turmoil.
- 1965: U.S. troops sent to control customs, government finances, and cut off military to keep financial problems from escalating during chaotic political situation.
American Foreign Policy: An Overview

- **Isolationism:**
  - Foreign policy where the U.S. tries to stay out of other nation’s conflicts, particularly in Europe

- **Monroe Doctrine:**
  - U.S. official statement of isolationism

- **World War I (1914-1918):**
  - Basically ended the policy of isolationism
American Foreign Policy: An Overview

The Cold War

- Containment Abroad and Anti-Communism at Home
  - Containment doctrine: foreign policy strategy that called for the United States to isolate the Soviet Union, contain its advances, and resist its encroachments by peace or force
  - McCarthyism: the fear, prevalent in the 1950s, that international communism was conspiratorial, insidious, bent on world domination, and infiltrating American government and cultural institutions—named after Senator Joseph McCarthy

- The Swelling of the Pentagon
  - Arms race: competition between U.S. and U.S.S.R. that led to increased procurement of military weapons

- The Vietnam War
American Foreign Policy: An Overview

- The Era of Détente
  - Détente: a slow transformation from conflict to cooperation designed to relax tensions between the superpowers
    - Originally applied to the Soviet Union, and then to China
  - Strategic Arms Limitations Talks: effort to limit the growth of nuclear arms; a product of détente
American Foreign Policy: An Overview

- The Reagan Rearmament
  - Defense budget had been declining since the mid-1950’s (with exception of Vietnam War)
  - Reagan added some $32 billion to the defense budget in his first term in office to oppose the Soviet buildup.
  - Strategic Defense Initiative: using computers and other equipment to defend against Soviet missiles from space—“Star Wars”
American Foreign Policy: An Overview

The Final Thaw in the Cold War

- George H.W. Bush proposed to move beyond containment to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.
- Leadership of the Soviet Union supported the ending of communism and split into separate nations.
- East and West Germany united.
The War on Terrorism

- War on Terrorism became highest priority of George W. Bush administration after 9/11
- Bush supported preemptive strikes against terrorists and hostile states.
  - “Axis of evil”
- International relations has entered an era of improvisation.
The War on Terrorism

Afghanistan and Iraq
  - Attack against Afghanistan
    - Taliban regime harbored Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda network
  - War in Iraq
    - Postwar planning was poor.
    - Public support has declined.
  - Terrorism beyond Afghanistan and Iraq will be difficult to combat.
The Politics of Defense Policy

Defense Spending
- Currently takes up about one-fifth of the federal budget
- Conservatives argue against budget cuts that would leave the military unprepared.
- Liberals argue for budget cuts to provide more money for programs here in the U.S.
- Military spending is hard to cut since it means a loss of jobs in congressional districts.
- Trend in reductions reversed after 911
The Politics of Defense Policy

Trends in Defense Spending

The Politics of Defense Policy

- **Personnel**
  - 1.3 million active and reserve troops
  - More reliance on National Guard and reserve troops due to cuts in defense spending

- **Weapons**
  - Reliance on nuclear triad (ICBMs, SLBMs, and strategic bombers) is expensive—$5.5 trillion
  - Treaties (START) signed to reduce nuclear missiles
  - High-tech non-nuclear weapons becoming more prevalent

- **Reforming Defense Policy**
# The Politics of Defense Policy

## Table 20.1 Size of the Armed Forces

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<th>BRANCH</th>
<th>PERSONNEL&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>482,400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>340,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>Air Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marines</td>
<td>175,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>1,332,300</td>
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<td>Reserves</td>
<td>825,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>2007 estimates

The New Global Agenda

The Changing Role of Military Power

- Military might is no longer the primary instrument in foreign policy.
- Losing its utility to resolve many international issues
- Economic Sanctions
  - Nonmilitary penalties imposed on foreign countries as an attempt to modify their behavior
  - Generally the first resort in a crisis
  - Can be effective, but critics argue they only hurt U.S. businesses and provoke a nationalist backlash
Nuclear Proliferation

- Only a few countries have known nuclear weapon capabilities.
- Fear that other “rogue” countries will have nuclear weapons capabilities and use them against their neighbors or the U.S.
- The U.S. will focus on discouraging the deployment of developed nuclear weapons.
The New Global Agenda

Figure 20.3  The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

The New Global Agenda

The International Economy
- Interdependency: mutual dependency in which the actions of nations reverberate and affect one another’s economic lifelines
- International Trade
  - Tariffs: a tax on imported goods to raise the price, thereby protecting American businesses and workers
  - NAFTA and GATT are ways to lower tariffs and increase trade.
  - Congress approved the Central American-Dominican Republic Free Trade agreement in 2005.
- Balance of Trade
  - Ratio of what is paid for imports to what is earned for exports
The New Global Agenda

Since 1975, the United States has imported more than it has exported, resulting in a mounting trade deficit.

The New Global Agenda

- The International Economy (continued)
  - Energy
    - America depends on imported oil, about 60 percent, but not as much as other countries like Japan.
    - Much of the recoverable oil is in the Middle East which is often the site of military and economic conflicts.
    - Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC): controls the price of oil and amount its members produce and sell to other nations
The New Global Agenda

The International Economy (continued)

- Foreign Aid
  - Foreign aid is used to stabilize nations friendly to the United States.
  - A substantial percentage of foreign aid is military.
  - Foreign aid has never been very popular with Americans and is typically cut by Congress.
Understanding National Security Policymaking

- National Security Policymaking and Democracy
  - Americans are more interested in domestic than foreign policy.
  - The opinions of the people are rarely ignored.
  - Separation of powers are important.
  - Pluralism is pervasive in foreign policymaking.

- National Security Policy and the Scope of Government
  - Scope of government is large
The United States has maintained a sizeable defense capability, from the Cold War to the War on Terrorism.

Nuclear proliferation, terrorism, and international economy dictate U.S. foreign policy and international involvement.