

## Wilson - Ch. 14 - Making Foreign and Military Policy

**Question 1)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

- A) The U.S. has rarely used military force to further its foreign-policy objectives.  
At the request of the president, the U.S. Congress declared war five times.

On more than 150 other occasions (at least 18 times since 1973), the president has ordered U.S. military forces into foreign combat without a formal declaration of war.

Explanation: Under the provisions of the War Powers Resolution of 1973, the president has requested and Congress has authorized three undeclared wars --

- (1) the Persian Gulf War in 1991 (George H.W. Bush),
- (2) the Afghanistan War in 2001 (George W. Bush),
- (3) and the Iraq War in 2002 (George W. Bush).

- B) The U.S. has sometimes chosen not to use military force to counter military aggression or genocide.  
We chose not to respond militarily when:

China invaded Tibet in 1950,  
the Soviet Union invaded:  
- Hungary in 1956,  
- Czechoslovakia in 1968, and

Explanation: - Afghanistan in 1979.

We did not use military force to stop genocide in:

- Uganda in 1972
- Rwanda in 1994, or
- Darfur (northern Sudan) in 2003.

- C) Alexis de Tocqueville argued that, by their very natures, democracies have serious shortcomings in crafting and executing effective foreign and military policies.

Explanation: Compared to authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, the constitutional limits on democratic governments make it far more difficult to speedily and secretly adopt and pursue effective foreign and military policies.

- D) Wilson states that the U.S. had to retreat in disgrace when it lost the war in Vietnam.

Explanation: Other commentators have taken a quite different view, arguing that the U.S. decision to intervene in the Vietnamese civil war was flawed from the start because it got us into "the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, for the wrong reasons."

- E) None of the above statements, A through D, is false.

**Question 2)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

- A) Before the War Powers Resolution of 1973 was adopted, the U.S. Congress funded over 150 "presidential wars."  
Prior to 1973, the three longest and costliest "presidential wars" funded by Congress were:

Explanation: - the Philippine Insurrection (1899-1913 with 4324 U.S. battle deaths),  
- the Korean Conflict (1950-53 with 33,741 battle deaths), and  
- the Vietnam Conflict (1959-75 with 47,410 battle deaths)

- B) After the adoption of the War Powers Resolution in 1973, various U.S. presidents have used their power as commander in chief to order U.S. forces into foreign areas of hostile fire at least 18 times.

Explanation: The War Powers Resolution of 1973 explicitly recognizes this power of the president. It suggests but does not require that presidents seek prior approval from Congress before ordering U.S. forces into foreign combat.

C) After the adoption of the War Powers Resolution in 1973, 15 of the "presidential wars" were either short enough or non-controversial enough that the president did not seek nor Congress provide explicit approval for those "presidential wars."

- Ford twice (Vietnam and Cambodia rescue missions),
- Carter once (Iran rescue mission),

Explanation: - Reagan 5 times (Central America, Lebanon, Grenada, Libya, & the Persian Gulf),  
- George H.W. Bush 3 times (Panama, Somalia, & Yugoslavia),  
- Clinton 4 times (Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo),

D) After the adoption of the War Powers Resolution in 1973, 3 of the 18 "presidential wars" were expected by the president to be long enough (more than 60 days) or controversial enough to lead the president to request explicit Congressional approval prior to committing U.S. forces to combat.

- George H.W. Bush asked Congress to approve the U.S. military effort to push Iraqi forces back out of Kuwait in 1991.

Explanation: - George W. Bush asked Congress to approve the use of U.S. military forces in both Afghanistan (2001-present) and Iraq (2002-present).

E) None of the above statements, A through D, is false.

**Question 3)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

A) Wilson states that questions of war and peace as well as military spending and arms limitation agreements are all examples of majoritarian policies.

It is true that Wilson does make this assertion. However, you must understand that his assertion is an over simplification that is sometimes false in two important respects.

Explanation: First, although major wars do confer both benefits and costs on almost everybody (WWII was the last clear example), limited wars do not. The current war in Iraq is a clear example. There is no military draft and so the direct casualties of war impact the relatively few families of the all-volunteer military forces. In addition, neither the Bush nor Obama administrations have asked Congress to raise taxes to meet the full economic costs of the war in Iraq, so only future generations will bear those costs in terms of repaying the resulting budget deficits.

Secondly, military spending policies are sometimes (not always) better described as client interest-group rather than majoritarian policies. All of us do pay for military spending contracts, but sometimes the resulting weapons systems do not sufficiently add to our national security to justify their costs and hence benefit primarily the manufacturers and not the public who paid for them.

B) Conflicts between rival interest-groups often erupt over our international trade policies.

Explanation: Small business (and the labor unions representing their workers) tend to oppose free trade (because they find it difficult to compete in a global economy) while large corporations (and the labor unions that represent their workers) are more likely to support free trade (because they are better able to compete in a global marketplace).

C) International trade policies rarely generate client interest-group politics.

Explanation: International trade policies OFTEN generate client interest-group politics. Especially when the U.S. government grants favorable tax breaks or other subsidies to corporations doing business in other countries.

D) When the politics of U.S. foreign policy is chiefly majoritarian in nature, the president usually plays the dominant political role; however, when foreign policy politics is clearly rival-interest group in nature, Congress is typically the arena.

Explanation: Rival interest groups have more access to support among the 535 members of Congress compared to the president and his 15 cabinet secretaries.

E) None of the statements, A through D, is false.


**Question 4)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

A) President Truman's racial desegregation of the U.S. armed forces in July of 1948 was an example of entrepreneurial politics.


Explanation: Truman took the risk of trying to convince the U.S. public that the uniformed military leadership was wrong in its

policy of racial segregation. Truman won that battle; he was reelected in November of 1948.

However, in winning this battle, Truman fractured the Democratic Party's New Deal coalition that had joined the white South and the urban North.

 B) President Truman's recognition of the state of Israel in May of 1948 was an example of entrepreneurial politics.


Explanation: Truman risked convincing the U.S. public that he was correct and much of the U.S. foreign-policy establishment was wrong about U.S. recognition of Israel. Truman won that battle.

 C) Lyndon Johnson's 1964 escalation of the U.S. military combat role in Vietnam was an example of entrepreneurial politics.

Johnson overcame considerable opposition in Congress and among the U.S. public.

Explanation:

However, that opposition returned after the Tet Offensive of 1968 and Johnson was forced to withdraw from seeking his party's nomination for reelection in that year.

 D) The Iran-Contra policy of the Reagan administration in 1985 was an example of entrepreneurial politics.

High officials in the Reagan administration pursued a secret and illegal policy of supplying arms to both the Contra guerillas (fighting the Sandinista government of Nicaragua) and to Iran (in return for the release of U.S. hostages held by pro-Iranian forces in Lebanon).


Explanation:

Aid to the Contras was explicitly prohibited by the Boland Amendment and aid to Iran was also prohibited by a trade embargo placed on that nation by Congress after the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Teheran.

When the Iran-Contra policy was exposed by the media in 1986, a number of those Reagan-administration officials were fired or resigned.

 E) None of the statements, A through D, is false.


**Question 5)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

 A) The president appoints all ambassadors, but the Senate can block such appointments by refusing to confirm them.

Confirmation of presidential appointments by the Senate requires a majority vote; however, any Senator objecting can mount a filibuster. To end a filibuster requires a vote on a cloture resolution; the filibuster is ended only if at least three-fifths of all of the Senators vote for cloture.

Explanation:

Cloture resolutions are rarely passed. Both conservatives and liberals have found filibusters useful, and therefore its abolition is unlikely -- even though some Republican Senators have called for the "nuclear" option of reducing cloture votes on presidential appointments to a simple majority.

 B) The president submits all treaties to the Senate for their "advice and consent." The president can ratify a treaty only if two-thirds of the Senate consents.

Explanation:

Wilson (and most American national government textbooks) is incorrect when he says that the Senate ratifies treaties. The Senate gives (or withholds) its consent to presidential ratification of treaties.


 C) Wilson states that the War Powers Act of 1973 has had little effect.

It is true that he makes this statement; however, my view is that his assessment is clearly wrong.

Explanation:

Because the War Powers Resolution requires that Congress must declare war or authorize the continuation of an undeclared "presidential" war within 60 days, we have not had any more lengthy undeclared and unauthorized "presidential" wars since 1973. Before then, we had numerous such unauthorized "presidential" wars that were protracted, costly, and controversial.

It is quite significant that, since 1973, Congress explicitly shares responsibility with the president for making war. No longer can Congress fund a protracted and controversial "presidential" war while shirking its Constitutional responsibility for explicitly approving such wars.

 D) The key limitation on the president's war making power is not Congress but public opinion.

Explanation:

Between WWI and WWII, U.S. public opinion was strongly isolationist. That changed with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

After WWII, the Cold War rivalry with the Soviet Union maintained U.S. public support for diplomatic engagement

(and sometimes military confrontations) abroad.

The end of the Cold War (with the collapse of the Soviet Union) in 1991 cooled public support for foreign intervention. However, in 2001 the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City and DC re-invigorated U.S. public support for foreign intervention.

It's difficult to predict future public support for foreign intervention. Two key factors will be: 1) the success or failure of U.S. objectives in Iraq and 2) the nature of our relationship with China, our most likely economic and military superpower rival in the 21st century.

E) None of the statements, A through D, is false.

**Question 6)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

A) From the beginning of his presidency, George W. Bush focused on foreign affairs.

Explanation: Before the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, President George W. Bush had expressed little interest in foreign policy and even less in rebuilding foreign nations.

B) Prior to 9/11, U.S. military forces were still chiefly organized around principles learned during the Cold War.

Explanation: Heavily armed divisions with many large tanks were ready to fight similar forces dispatched by a hostile nation.

C) Prior to 9/11, although several national commissions had warned about terrorist attacks, little was done to counter such attacks.

Explanation: As is often the case, military and civilian leaders were better prepared to re-fight the last war than to protect the nation from a new kind of threat.

D) After 9/11, the U.S. sent military forces to Afghanistan and, with the aid of local rebels, overthrew the Taliban regime that was in part supported by the Al Qaeda network run by Osama bin Laden.

Explanation: After 9/11, U.S. and allied intelligence agencies determined that Al Qaeda had recruited and trained the 9/11 hijackers -- many of them recruited in Saudi Arabia and trained in Afghanistan. Some of the hijackers were trained to fly airplanes at a flight school in Florida.

E) None of the statements, A through D, is false.

**Question 7)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

A) Wilson argues that the U.S. succeeded in rebuilding Germany and Japan after WWII but in the 1990s failed in Somalia and Haiti.

Explanation: Wilson also notes that during the 1990s the U.S. and its NATO allies succeeded in nation building in the newly independent Yugoslavian provinces of Bosnia and Kosovo.

B) U.S. nation-rebuilding efforts in both Afghanistan and Iraq have been complicated by disagreements between the State and Defense Departments.

Explanation: Those conflicts have been further complicated by dissenting views from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

C) The U.S. public almost always initially supports a presidential decision to send U.S. troops into foreign combat. This initial support is called the "rally around the flag" effect.

Explanation: However, the U.S. public will sometimes decide that this adventure is "the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, for the wrong reason."

D) A president's popularity tends to dramatically rise and remain high throughout a military crisis.

Initial support for the president can rapidly erode if the public senses that we do not have a clear objective, a winning strategy, and a well-defined exit plan.

Explanation: After the end of the Persian Gulf War in 1991, U.S. Army General Colin Powell (then Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) laid down what has been termed the "Powell Doctrine," which argued that any commitment of U.S. military forces to foreign combat should:

1) come as a last resort and only if the target poses a clear threat to national security;

- 2) our military force is overwhelming;
- 3) there is strong and stable public support; and
- 4) we have a clear exit strategy from the conflict.

E) None of the above statements, A through D, is false.

**Question 8)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

A) President George H. W. Bush did not ask for Congressional authorization for sending U.S. forces to Somalia on a humanitarian mission to restore order during a civil war there.

The senior Bush ordered 25,000 U.S. troops to Somalia in the last month of his presidency. Many of these were withdrawn as other nations also sent troops.

Explanation: However, after 18 U.S. troops were killed and 84 wounded in October 1993 (as dramatized by the movie, "Blackhawk Down,") Congress demanded and President Clinton agreed to withdraw U.S. forces.

Total U.S. battle deaths in Somalia were 29.

B) In 1991, the senior Bush asked for and received from Congress approval to send U.S. forces to oust Iraqi forces from Kuwait. In 2003, the junior Bush asked for and received Congressional approval for U.S. forces to invade Iraq. President Clinton did not ask Congress for authorization to send U.S. forces to Haiti, Bosnia, or Kosovo in the 1990s.

Explanation: Total battle deaths for U.S. forces were:  
 - Haiti: 4  
 - Bosnia: 9  
 - Kosovo: 2

C) In 2002, President George W. Bush issued a document, that has since become known as the "Bush Doctrine," which endorsed preemptive attacks against "emerging threats before they are fully formed .... before [they] reach our borders" even if it means acting alone without U.N. support.

Some liberals have criticized the Bush Doctrine as setting a bad legal precedent that can now be used by other nations for preemptive strikes that will destabilize world peace.

Explanation:

Some conservatives have argued that the Doctrine has not been appropriately applied to North Korea, which they argue is a far greater threat to the U.S. than Iraq ever was.

D) The U.S. sought and obtained U.N. support for the war in Korea (1951), the Persian Gulf (1991), and the war in Iraq (2003).

We did seek and receive U.N. support in Korea (1951) and the Persian Gulf (1991) and also sought U.N. support for the war in Iraq in 2003 but did not receive that support.

Explanation:

We invaded Iraq any way, with major military support from the U.K. and Australia.

E) None of the statements, A through D, is false.

**Question 9)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

A) Initially, about one-fifth of all Americans strongly opposed going to war in Iraq (2003), about the same percentage as at the start of the war in Korea (1951) and the escalation of U.S. forces in South Vietnam (1964).

This opposition to the use of military force is USUALLY greatest among women, liberals, Democrats, African Americans, and persons with college degrees.

Explanation: However, criticism of U.S. entry into the Iraq War has risen to the point where a majority of the U.S. public now thinks that entry into this war was a mistake.

However, as Wilson notes, Republican conservatives were most opposed to the use of U.S. military force in Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo during the 1990s. Furthermore, the isolationist sentiment in the pre-WWII U.S. was led by conservative Republicans.

B) Conservative Republicans in the U.S. public are considerably more likely than liberal Democrats to endorse a

preemptive war started by the U.S.

Explanation: You will recall that the Bush Doctrine of 2003 first committed the U.S. to a policy of preemptive war.

C) Wilson states that the gender gap (in which women were much less likely than men to support defense spending and the use of military force) existed before 9/11 but has gone away since then.

Explanation: However, Wilson's conclusion about the disappearance of the gender gap seems to be time bound. There are a number of more recent public-opinion polls that show the gender gap re-emerging on these two issues.

D) Policy decisions about closing stateside military bases often generate client interest-group politics.

Explanation: Each base has a client consisting of local governments and businesses near the base that benefit from the employment and sales that a base can generate.

E) None of the statements, A through D, is false.

**Question 10)** Which one of the following statements, A through D, is false?

A) It is especially difficult for Congress to cut military spending because of client politics.

Explanation: Every weapons manufacturer is located in one or more states and congressional districts and is therefore guaranteed the support of those Senators and Representatives. Legislative log rolling (you vote for my defense contractor and I'll vote for yours) will often generate total defense spending bills that exceed what the president requested.

B) Military modernization often reflects entrepreneurial policies.

Explanation: Such policy entrepreneurs are often dissident military officers. A classic example was General Billy Mitchell of the U.S. Army Air Corps, who was court-martialed in 1925 for advocating a separate U.S. Air Force. Mitchell prophesized that some Sunday morning Japanese air power could cripple the US navy at Pearl Harbor.

C) Both the former and current Secretaries of Defense (Donald Rumsfeld and Robert Gates) are examples of policy entrepreneurs who argued (with only partial success) for the transformation of U.S. military forces into smaller, high-tech, and more mobile units.

Explanation: Rumsfeld and Gates' policy changes have been opposed by many (but not all) high-level generals and admirals.

D) In comparison to federal civilian departments and agencies, the uniformed military services have much smaller bureaucracies.

Explanation: The military, like their civilian counterparts, is composed of large bureaucracies with long traditions, conventional career paths, and a commitment to strategies and tactics proven in past wars.

E) None of the statements, A through D, is false.