Chapter 14: Making Foreign & Military Policy

I. Untitled introduction: challenges of foreign & military policy making
   A. Military intervention
      1. Rejected
         a. Chinese invasion of Tibet (1950)
         b. Soviet invasion of
            (1) Hungary (1956)
            (2) Czechoslovakia (1968)
            (3) Afghanistan (1979)
         c. Genocide in
            (1) Uganda (1972)
            (2) Rwanda (1994)
            (3) Darfur, Sudan (2003 - )
      2. Adopted
         a. Declared wars: (5)
         b. Undeclared wars (presidents order U.S. military forces into foreign areas of hostile fire)
            (1) Funded by Congress
               (a) Before the War Powers Act (150+) - longest & costliest = Philippines (1899-1902),
                   Korea (1950-53), & Vietnam (1959-75)
               (b) After the War Powers Act (at least 18)
                  i) Ford: 1975 -
                     a) Vietnam evacuations
                     b) Mayaguez rescue
                  ii) Carter: 1980 - unsuccessful Iran hostage rescue
                  iii) Reagan:
                     a) 1981-83: U.S. military advisers in El Salvador & Honduras
                     b) 1982-84: U.S. Marine peacekeepers in Lebanon
                     c) 1983: U.S. invasion of Grenada
                     d) 1986: U.S. bombing of Libya
                     e) 1987-88: U.S. escort of tankers in Persian Gulf during the Iraq/Iran war
                  iv) G. Bush:
                     a) 1989-90: U.S. invasion of Panama
                     c) 1993: U.S. peacekeepers in Yugoslavia
                  v) Clinton:
                     a) 1994: U.S. peacekeepers in Somalia
                     b) 1994-95: U.S. invasion of Haiti
                     c) 1994-95: U.S. peacekeepers in Yugoslavia
                     d) 1999: U.S. peacekeepers in Kosovo
            (2) Three undeclared wars explicitly authorized by Congress under the provisions of the War
                Powers Act
               (a) G. Bush: 1991 Persian Gulf War
               (b) G. W. Bush:
                  i) 2001-present: Afghanistan War
                  ii) 2002-present: Iraq War

   B. Alexis de Tocqueville: democracies at a disadvantage to authoritarian or totalitarian regimes

II. Kinds of foreign policy
   A. Majoritarian politics: U.S. in WWII (after Pearl Harbor)
   B. Rival interest-group politics
      1. Trade policies
      2. Middle-East policies
   C. Client interest-group politics: corporate tax policies
D. Entrepreneurial politics
   1. President Truman’s
      a. Recognition of the new state of Israel in May of 1948
      b. Desegregation of U.S. armed forces in July of 1948
   2. President L. B. Johnson’s escalation of the Vietnam War in August of 1964
   3. President Reagan’s Iran-Contra policy in 1985-
   4. President G. W. Bush’s pre-emptive war policy in Iraq in 2003-

III. The constitutional framework – separation of powers and checks-and-balances make legislative-executive relations especially important
   A. Checks on the president include Congress, the federal courts, and a number of executive branch agencies
   B. Most important check, however, is public opinion

IV. The new international world – 11 September, 2001 demonstrated the importance of terrorism
   A. Presidential interest in foreign affairs
   B. Military force structure and strategy

V. Three major problems
   A. Rebuilding nations (like Afghanistan and Iraq)
      1. Lessons learned from past efforts include …
         a. Do not leave the country quickly – rebuilding takes a long time
         b. Organize your agencies so that they are closely coordinated and can learn from their experiences
         c. Carefully coordinate military and civilian efforts in the country
      2. Each lesson is very difficult to implement – public opinion, bureaucratic tensions, and fragmented power all have their impact
   B. Foreign policy and terrorism
      1. War formally declared in only 5 of 14 major wars fought by the U.S.
      2. Constitutional division of power and War Powers Act do not greatly limit the president, if the president has public support for military action
      3. President must be able to articulate clear principles that govern the military decisions, which is especially challenging today
         a. Previously a bipolar world of two super-powers
         b. Currently a unipolar world – U.S. the only superpower, but still vulnerable to attack
         c. China is an emerging superpower and is the only one likely to challenge the U.S. militarily and economically in the near future
      4. Bush doctrine of preemption, attacking a determined enemy before it attacks the U.S.
         a. Highly controversial among public, analysts, and Congress
         b. Congressional debates have re-introduced partisanship to foreign policy
      5. U.S. has only sometimes sought the support of U.N. for its interventions
   C. Changing the military
      1. President G. W. Bush & Defense Secretary Rumsfeld proposed redesigning the military so it could move quickly, in smaller units, with close collaboration between the services
      2. Still, traditional military structures endure
         a. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), advisory group of presidential nominees
         b. U.S. military is controlled by civilians – president, defense secretary, etc.
      3. Change is very difficult due to the strong socialization of officers, frequent transfers of personnel, and enduring relationships with Congress

VI. The politics of foreign and military policy
   A. Majoritarian politics: war and peace decisions
      1. Unanimous outrage may not last when military responses are made (ex., September 11th and Iraq)
      2. Are also likely to see different positions taken by the general public and by foreign policy elites, because the general public is more influenced by events
   B. Interest group politics: free trade debates (NAFTA, tariffs)
   C. Client politics: military base closures, military contracts
   D. Entrepreneurial politics: special forces, ICBMs, establishment of the JCS

VII. Summary: reconsidering the enduring questions