### US Foreign, Defense, & Nat'l Security Policies: Background for the Class

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# The Roots of U.S. Foreign & Defense Policy

When the United States was founded it was a weak country on the margins of world affairs, with an uncertain future.

- Isolationism
  - A national policy of avoiding participation in foreign affairs
  - Not total; U.S. was a trading nation and did engage in foreign affairs to some extent
- Unilateralism
  - A national policy of acting without consulting others
- Moralism
  - The policy of emphasizing morality in foreign affairs
- Pragmatism
  - Policy of taking advantage of a situation for national gain

## The U.S. Constitution

- Founders desired a stronger national government that would keep the U.S. out of European affairs and vice versa.
- Foreign policy power given to the national government
- Divided this power between the president and Congress
  - Not exclusive to either branch
  - Checks and balances

## The Early History of U.S. Foreign & Defense Policy

- Washington's Farewell Address
  - In it he declared that the U.S. should avoid becoming involved in foreign alliances
  - But he was not an isolationist
  - Accepted the need for trade, but this led to conflict
- Barbary Wars
  - Impressment
  - Embargo Act: passed by the Congress in 1807 to prevent U.S. ships from leaving for foreign ports without the approval of the federal government

- War of 1812
  - Fought between the United States and Great Britain over impressment and U.S. territorial designs on Canada
  - 1814 Treaty of Ghent
- Monroe Doctrine
  - James Monroe's 1823 pledge that the United States would oppose attempts by European states to extend their political control into the Western Hemisphere

## The United States as an Emerging Power

- Process of U.S. emergence as a world power centered on three areas:
  - Trade Policy and Commerce
  - Continental Expansion and Manifest Destiny
  - Interests beyond the Western Hemisphere

## Trade Policy & Commerce

- Principles of trade reciprocity and most favored nations
  - Worked well until the end of the Napoleonic Wars
    - Increased competition
    - U.S. adopted protectionist tariffs designed to keep the home market for domestic producers
    - First protective tariff was passed in 1816
- Tariffs
  - Taxes on imports used to raise government revenue and to protect infant industries
  - "American System" of trade protection
    - Increasing higher tariffs
    - Protected market for American producers, but also cut off foreign markers for American producers due to retaliation of foreign countries

## Continental Expansion & Manifest Destiny

- During the 19<sup>th</sup> century the country expanded
  - Land taken from Native Americans
  - 1846 Mexican War
  - By the end of century, country reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific
- Manifest Destiny
  - Theory that the United States was divinely mandated to expand across North America to the Pacific Ocean

## Interests Beyond the Western Hemisphere

- By mid-nineteenth century, the U.S.:
  - Concluded a commercial treaty with China
  - Limited Europe's ability to restrict U.S. trade with China
  - Opened Japan to Western trade
  - Acquired Hawaiian Islands, Midway Island, Wake Island, and part of Samoa
  - The 1898 Spanish-American War made the world take note of U.S. as a rising power.
    - Acquired Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam and for a few years Cuba
    - Not very much public support for colonialism



## The Roosevelt Corollary

- Concept developed by President Theodore Roosevelt early in the twentieth century that it was the U.S. responsibility to assure stability in Latin America and the Caribbean
  - U.S. intervened in the Caribbean and Latin America many times as Roosevelt and subsequent presidents sent U.S. troops into Latin America.
  - "Colossus of the North"

## World War I

- 1914: WWI broke out in Europe
  - U.S. initially stayed out
    - No U.S. interests were involved.
    - Nation of immigrants—divided as to which side to support
  - U.S.-German affairs worsened
  - Wilson led the nation into conflict in 1917.
    - Entered the war late but its armed forces and economic assistance swung the tide of victory to the Allies' side
  - Wilson put faith in **collective security** after WWI.
    - The concept that peace would be secured if all countries collectively opposed any country that invaded another
    - League of Nations

## Interwar Years

- Senate would not ratify the Treaty of Versailles
  - Never became member of the League of Nations
- Americans supported isolationism and unilateralism
- Tariffs continued
- Great Depression caused shift in public opinion on foreign policy regarding trade

- High tariffs not as popular

 Isolationism was still supported even as aggression developed in Europe.

#### U.S. as a World Power WWII and Its Aftermath: 1941 to 1947

- Pearl Harbor
  - U.S. naval base in Hawaii attacked by Japan on December 7, 1941, initiating U.S. entry into WWII
- Entry into the war transformed American society
  - Birth of the nuclear age
  - Focus on keeping the peace
- United Nations
  - An international governmental organization created shortly before the end of WWII to guarantee the security of nations and to promote global economic, physical, and social well-being
  - International governmental organization (IGO)
    - Organization created by at least two and often many countries that operates internationally with the objectives of achieving the purposes that the member countries agree upon

## WWII and Its Aftermath: 1941 to 1947

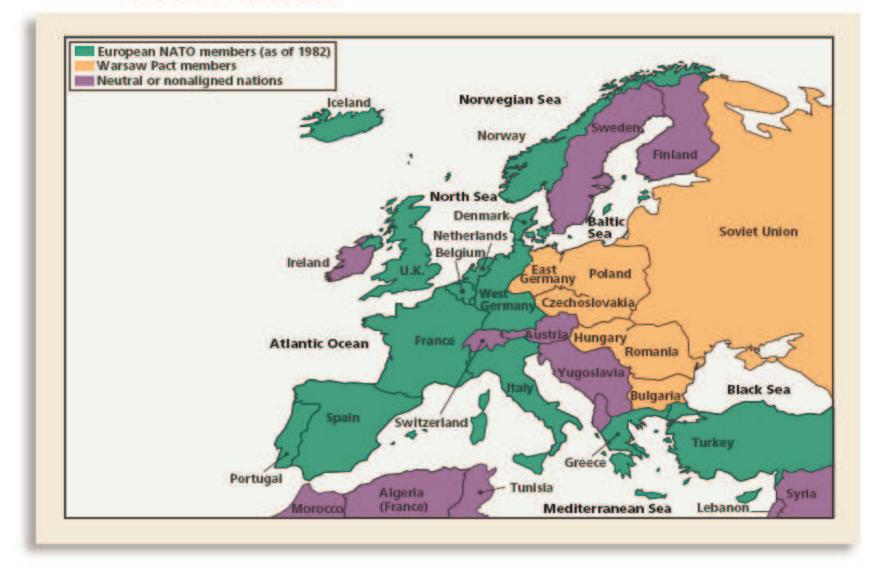
- Bretton Woods Agreement
  - International financial agreement signed shortly before the end of WWII that created the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund
- International Monetary Fund
  - Mandate is to stabilize international financial relations through fixed monetary exchange rates
- World Bank
  - Provides loans for large economic development projects
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
  - Devised shortly after WWII as an interim agreement until a World Trade Organization could be created to help lower tariffs and increase trade
- Multilateralism: U.S. foreign policy in which actions should be taken in cooperation with other states after consultation

# The Cold War & Containment: 1947-1960, 1961

- Truman Doctrine
  - U.S. policy initiated in 1947 of providing economic assistance and military aid to countries fighting against communist revolutions or political pressure
- Marshall Plan
  - European Recovery Program, named after Secretary of State George
    C. Marshall, of extensive U.S. aid to Western Europe after WWII
- Containment
  - Strategy to oppose expansion of Soviet power, particularly in Western Europe and East Asia, with military power, economic assistance, and political influence
  - North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
    - The first peacetime military treaty the United States joined
    - NATO is a regional political and military organization created in 1950.

#### FIGURE 19.1 COLD WAR ALUANCES IN EUROPE

In 1949, the United States sponsored the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), an alliance of Western European nations, the United States, and Canada. Greece and Turkey were formally admitted to NATO membership in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982. In response to the creation of NATO, the Soviet Union and seven other communist countries established a rival alliance, the Warsaw Pact, in 1949.



## Containment, Cuba, & Vietnam: 1961-1969

- John F. Kennedy
  - Continued containment policy, but expanded it to incorporate establishing cordial relations
    - Met Khrushchev in Vienna, but it did not go well
  - Soviets deployed intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Cuba.
    - Cuban Missile Crisis
      - U.S. reacted strongly; placed naval blockade around Cuba
      - Khrushchev backed down.
      - There would be no nuclear war.
      - Resulted in the installation of a "hotline" between the two countries
    - Vietnam War

## Détente and Human Rights: 1969-1981

- Nixon: "era of confrontation" to an "era of negotiation" with the Soviet Union
  - Détente: the relaxation of tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that occurred during the 1970s
  - Nixon Doctrine
    - The policy implemented at the end of the Vietnam War — the United States would provide arms and military equipment to countries but not do the fighting for them

## Détente and Human Rights: 1969-1981

- Jimmy Carter
  - Emphasized human rights
  - Morality in human rights
  - Iranian hostage crisis
    - Crisis during the Carter Administration when Iranian students with support of the Iranian government took over the U.S. embassy in Tehran, holding all the personnel hostage
    - Détente died in 1979.
  - Carter Doctrine
    - Policy announced after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the Persian Gulf area was a vital U.S. interest and the United States would fight to maintain access to it

# Containment Revisited & Renewed: 1981-1989

- Reagan
  - Confrontational relationship with Soviet Union
  - "Star Wars" strategic defense system
  - Heightened aggression by Soviets
    - Korean airline incident
    - Invasion of Grenada
    - Afghanistan activity
    - Soviet walkout from arms talk in Geneva
  - Reagan Doctrine
    - Policy in which the United States would provide military assistance to anti-communist groups fighting against pro-Soviet governments

# Containment Revisited & Renewed: 1981-1989

- Soviet Union also had serious internal problems.
  - Economic
  - Leadership crisis
    - Three leaders died between 1982 and 1985.
- Gorbachev and Reagan
  - Focus on improving relations with U.S
  - Eventually agreements were signed that would facilitate the destruction of all intermediate nuclear forces.
  - End of the Cold War

## Searching for a New International Order: 1989-2001

- 1989 Revolt by Eastern Europe
  - Communist governments fell and the Soviet Union did nothing to quell the rebellion.
  - U.S. helped with transitions to democracy as did other countries.
- 1990 Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait
  - Operation Desert Storm
- Powell Doctrine
  - Advocates an all-or-nothing approach to military invention. Among other criteria, it emphasizes the use of overwhelming force to ensure a quick and decisive victory, and the adoption of an exit strategy prior to any intervention

## Searching for a New International Order: 1989-2001

- 1991 Soviet Union collapsed
- 1993 United States had multifaceted foreign and military policy agenda
  - Somalia
  - Yugoslavia
- Clinton faced complex world
  - Engagement: Policy implemented during the Clinton administration the United States would remain actively involved in foreign affairs
  - Enlargement: Policy implemented during the Clinton administration the U.S. would actively promote the expansion of democracy and free markets throughout the world
  - NAFTA, Free Trade Area of the Americas, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation agreement and the World Trade Organization

#### The Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) aka "The Long War:" 2001 to the Present

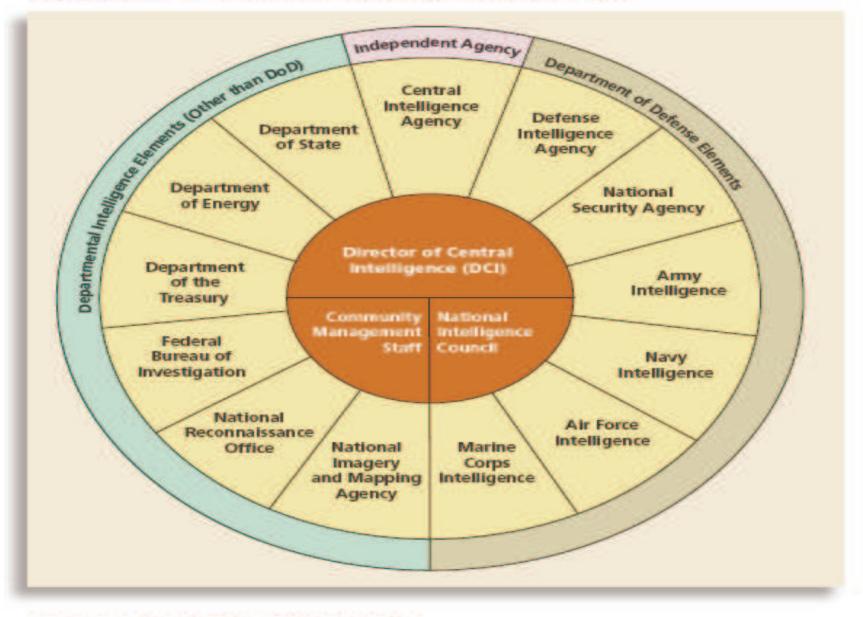
- September 11
  - Al-Qaeda
  - War on Terrorism
  - Taliban
  - Afghanistan
- Bush Doctrine
  - Policy advocated by President G.W. Bush of using preemptive military action against a perceived threat to U.S. interests
  - WMD
  - War in Iraq



# The Executive Branch & Foreign Policy Making

- The President
  - Preeminent in foreign policy and military policy but does not have absolute power
    - Access to and control of information
- Department of State and Defense
  - Responsible for formulations and implementation of U.S. foreign policy
- Central Intelligence Agency
  - Responsible for collection and analysis of information and intelligence about foreign countries and events
- National Security Council
  - Responsible for advising the president about foreign and defense policy and events
- Department of Homeland Security
  - Cabinet department created after the 9/11 attacks to coordinate domestic U.S. security efforts against terrorism
  - 9/11 Commission
    - Bipartisan, independent group was authorized by congress and President Bush in 2002 to study the circumstances surrounding the September 11 terrorist attacks

#### FIGURE 19.2 THE UNITED STATES INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY



Source: Central Intelligence Agency, http://www.odci.gov/io/icroll.htm.

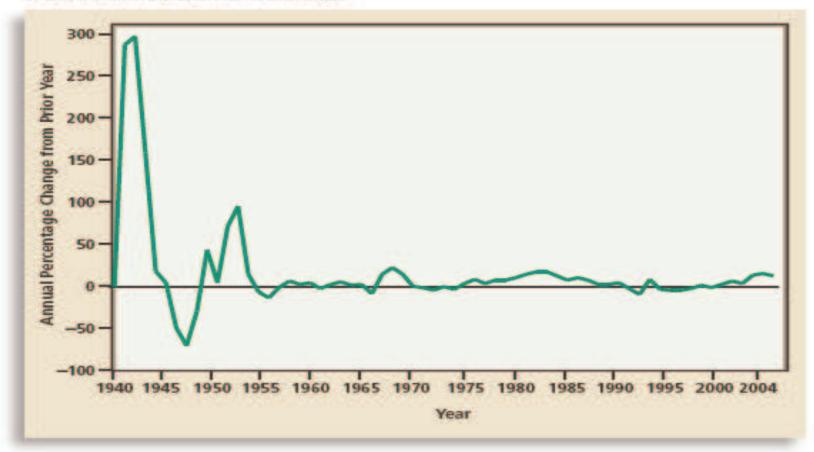
## Groups that Influence Foreign Policy

- Congress
  - Congressional
    Leadership
  - Congressional Oversight
  - Treaties and Executive Agreements
  - Appointments
  - Appropriations

- War Powers Act
  - Passed by Congress in 1973; the president is limited in the deployment of troops overseas to a sixty-day period in peacetime (which can be extended for an extra thirty days to permit withdrawal) unless Congress explicitly gives its approval for a longer period

#### FIGURE 19.3 U.S. DEFENSE SPENDING, 1940-2010

The figure shows the percentage change from the prior year in the amount of current dollars spent on U.S. defense. As the figure illustrates, nothing in modern American history compares to the increase in spending after the United States entered World War II in 1941. Other significant increases in defense spending were related to the Cold War in the early 1950s and the Vietnam War in the mid to late 1960s. President George W. Bush's defense increases to fight the war on terrorism after 2001 are the highest since the end of the Cold War in the 1980s.



Source: Harold W. Stanley and Richard G. Niemi, eds., Vital Statistics on American Politics, 2005–2006 (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2006). Reprinted by permission.

## The Military Industrial Complex

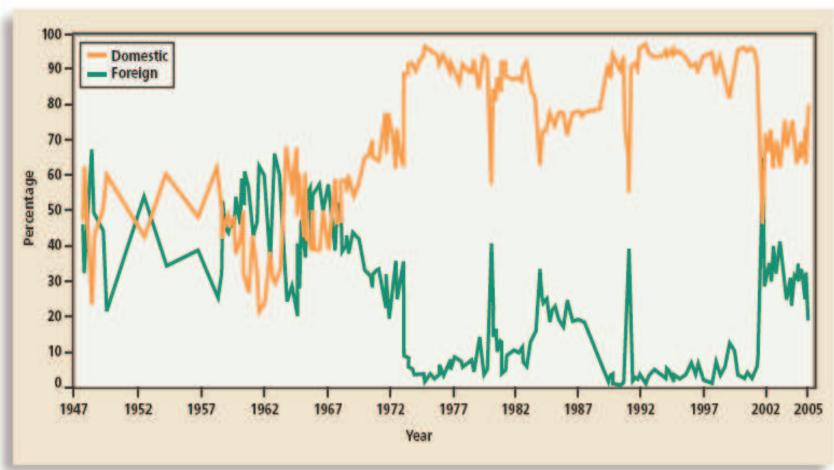
- The grouping of the U.S. armed forces and defense industries
  - Economic clout
  - Access to technical expertise and political information
  - Share many interests
  - Personal and professional relationships are close
  - Military and defense industry officials work closely with legislators and their staffs.

## The News Media

- Key participants in foreign and military policy formulation and implementation
- Roles:
  - Reporting and investigation
  - Agenda setting
  - Influencing public opinion

## The "Mass Publics" Thesis

- Some scholars suggest that public opinion on issues of foreign affairs and defense has two dimensions resulting in four opinion groups.
  - Militarism/nonmilitarism
  - Isolationism/internationalism
- Generally more interested in domestic rather than foreign affairs
- Elections are a means to express approval or disapproval of existing policy
- Public Action
  - Example of widespread resistance to the draft during the Vietnam War
  - May work through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as Amnesty International



#### FIGURE 19.4 THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM: DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN, 1947–2005

Note: Typical question: "What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?"

Source: Harold W. Stanley and Richard G. Niemi, eds., Vital Statistics on American Politics, 2005–2006 (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2006). Reprinted by permission.

## Twenty-First Century Challenges

- How does the Obama Agenda differ from the Bush one?
- Bush Agenda: A new order?
  - Relations with Mexico and other Latin American States
  - European and Russian meetings with heads of state
  - Intention to pursue ballistic missile defense
  - Intrusion of 9/11
  - Focus on combating terrorism
    - War on Terrorism: multifaceted, global undertaking
- Priorities: defense of the homeland and war on terrorism
- Other areas: strategic stability with Russia
  - Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction Treaty

## Iraq War

- Bush administration made clear in the summer of 2002 that Saddam Hussein was an immediate danger to the security of the U.S.
- WMDs and U.N. Inspectors
- Bush and Blair convinced other countries of the need for ousting Hussein, but did not convince the U.N. Security Council.
  - France and Russia in opposition
  - Proceeded anyway and Hussein overthrown in the spring of 2003
  - Aftermath complex and difficult in terms of maintaining order.
  - Abu Ghraib
  - Elections
  - Ongoing effort



#### Other Twenty-First Century Challenges

- Identifying policies to pursue in the national interest
- Balancing foreign and domestic affairs
- Meeting threats from weapons of mass destruction and information warfare
- Addressing drug and environmental problems
- Deciding when to intervene overseas
- Choosing between unilateralism and multilateralism

## Building a Grand Strategy

- Refers to the choices a government makes to balance and apply economic, military, diplomatic, and other resources to preserve the nation's people, territory and values
- First component: "What should our grand strategy be?"
- Second component: "How can we develop consensus for a grand strategy?"
- Third component: Leadership to implement the policies.
- Today the U.S. is the world's only superpower, yet is vulnerable to terrorist attacks.
- How to take current challenges and turn them into a strategy is the greatest challenge of all.