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Foreign and Defense Policy

The United States of America has a large foreign policy agenda on the world stage. It involves a broad range of issues, numerous actors, and all parts of the world. On any given day, U.S. foreign policy makers devote attention and resources to problems involving not only terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction but also humanitarian intervention, democratization, trade, economic development, globalization, the environment, oil supplies, and the United Nations, to name but a few.

Since he became president in 2009, Barack Obama has sought a foreign policy that maintains continuity with the past but that also charts a path different from his predecessor, George W. Bush. Upon entering office, President Obama called for a "new era of engagement," pledging to rebuild America's image abroad and strengthen relations—especially in the Middle East—with countries that had become highly critical of U.S. foreign policy as a result of the war in Iraq. He also pledged to bring home American troops from Iraq and wind down the war in Afghanistan.

In Iraq, all American combat forces left the country by the end of 2011, and in Afghanistan, after deploying additional forces for a time to bolster the war effort, the president began withdrawing troops, announcing that "by the end of 2014 the Afghans will be fully responsible for the security of their country."[1] At the same time, the president continued to pursue the war against terrorism, using pilotless drones to conduct attacks against terrorists and keeping the U.S. detainment center at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba open (after pledging to close it). Likewise, civil war and chaos in Iraq and neighboring Syria—along with the emergence of a militant force called ISIS—have prevented the Obama administration from making the clean break with earlier policies that it had initially intended.

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THE PRESIDENT PLAYS A DOMINANT ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY. Above President Ronald Reagan speaks at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, near the Berlin Wall, issuing a challenge to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to "tear down this wall." Below President Barack Obama in Cairo, Egypt, visiting a mosque after speaking at Cairo University, where he called for a new era of cooperation between the United States and Muslims around the world.

foreign policy
Area of policy making that encompasses how one country builds relationships with other countries in order to safeguard its national interest.

defense policy
Area of policy making that focuses on the strategies that a country uses to protect itself from its enemies.

Addressing these problems has been only part of Obama's foreign policy. In Asia, he has pursued a "strategic pivot," seeking to diminish the American focus on the Middle East while investing greater time and attention to the Asia-Pacific region, where economic and military power is rapidly growing, especially in China. This rebalancing of U.S. foreign policy has involved building on previous policy, such as strengthening ties with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and securing congressional approval of a U.S.-South Korea free trade agreement, but it has also meant initiating new and expanded military deployments in Australia and Singapore.

The United States has also sought to reduce the number of nuclear weapons and limit their spread to other countries—long-standing American foreign policy goals—with particular focus on Iran and North Korea. While the United States has been unable to achieve its goals with these two countries, President Obama did sign the New Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty (New START) with Russia, which reduces the number of deployed nuclear weapons in both countries. He also broke with previous U.S. policy by calling for the elimination of all nuclear weapons around the world, though he has pointed out that this is unlikely to happen anytime soon, even in his lifetime.

One highly visible element of U.S. foreign policy in recent years has been the pursuit of women's rights and empowerment, a cause championed by former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, as well as by two of her predecessors as Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice and Madeleine Albright. Stating that "the rights of women and girls is the unfinished business of the 21st century," Secretary Clinton is continuing the work she has done for decades, combating the inequality by which "women are denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers . . . forced into prostitution . . . barred from the bank lending offices and banned from the ballot box."[2]

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Although popular and governmental opinions on the role of the United States in the world have changed dramatically in the past 225 years, many fundamental challenges remain the same. Should the United States, for example, isolate itself from other nations or become engaged in international conflicts? When do diplomatic solutions fall short, necessitating warfare? And, how do economic policies at home and abroad affect these relationships?

Evaluating the potential strengths and weaknesses of U.S. foreign policy today starts with acquiring a broad understanding of past foreign and defense policies and the political forces that have shaped them. We must also look closely at the key issues confronting the United States as it attempts to address emerging issues in foreign and defense policy.

Roots of U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy

18.1 Trace the evolution of U.S. foreign and defense policy.

Foreign and defense policy are two separate areas of policy making. **Foreign policy** relates to how one country (referred to as a state by political scientists) builds relationships with other countries to safeguard its national interests. **Defense policy** comprises the strategies a country uses to protect itself from its enemies. However, foreign policy and defense policy are interrelated. Countries use defense policy for many problems that are better addressed by well-planned foreign policy, and a failure to make good foreign policy can require the use of defense policy.

Like domestic and economic policies, U.S. foreign and defense policies have evolved. Today, the United States is a powerful and influential presence on the world stage. It was not always this way. Upon its founding, the United States was a weak country on the margins of world affairs, with an uncertain future.

The historical roots of American foreign and defense policy are found in the period from the founding of the republic to the period leading up to World War II (1941–1945). The importance of these early experiences comes into clearer focus when we consider three distinct periods: (1) isolation in the early republic; (2) the United States as an emerging power; (3) World War I (1917–1918), and the interwar years (between World Wars I and II).

Isolationism in the Early Republic

Independence did not change the fundamental foreign policy problem faced by colonial America: steering a safe course between Great Britain and France, the two feuding giants of world politics in the late 1700s. For some Framers, the best course of action was to maintain a close relationship with one of these two powers. Alexander Hamilton, for example, became a champion of a pro-British foreign policy, whereas Thomas Jefferson was an early supporter of a pro-French foreign policy.

For other early political leaders, the best course of action was one of neutrality and relative **isolationism,** a national policy that did not mean avoiding participation in foreign affairs but, instead, sidestepping "entangling alliances" with the major European powers. President George Washington articulated this neutrality position most forcefully. In his **Farewell Address,** he called for a policy that would "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

The dual goals of isolationism and neutrality, however, did not guarantee the ability of the United States to always stay out of international conflicts. The United States fought an undeclared naval war in the 1790s with France because France was seizing U.S. ships that were trading with its enemies. Shortly thereafter, the United States fought the Barbary Wars against North African Barbary States, which had captured ships and held sailors for ransom.

Nor was conflict with the British resolved after the American Revolution. In the early 1800s, the ongoing wars between France and Great Britain, British support for American Indian tribes opposing U.S. westward expansion, and the British naval practice of impressment (stopping U.S. ships to seize suspected deserters of the British Royal Navy, and sometimes seizing ships and cargo while forcing American sailors to serve on British ships) led to the War of 1812 between the U.S. and Great Britain.

After the 1815 defeat of French leader Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo, Europe was at peace for the first time in almost two decades. Europeans celebrated, but the United States feared that European powers would try to reestablish control in the Western Hemisphere. To prevent this, President James Monroe issued the **Monroe Doctrine** in 1823. It warned European states that the United States would view "any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." It also promised to continue the American policy of noninterference in the internal concerns of European powers.

The United States as an Emerging Power

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the United States gained territory, developed economically, and emerged as a world power. This process centered on four areas: (1) trade policy and commerce, (2) continental expansion and manifest destiny, (3) dominance over the Western Hemisphere, and (4) interests in Asia.

TRADE POLICY AND COMMERCE The policy of neutrality articulated in Washington's Farewell Address made free trade a cornerstone of early American foreign policy. Reciprocity and most favored nation status were its guiding principles. Reciprocity meant that the U.S. government treated foreign traders in the same way that foreign countries treated American traders. Most favored nation status guaranteed that a country's imports into the United States would be given the lowest possible **tariffs,** or taxes on imported goods.

Increased global trade and competition following the end of the Napoleonic Wars led the United States to abandon the policies of reciprocity and most favored nation

isolationism
The U.S. policy of avoiding entangling alliances with European powers.

Farewell Address
When President George Washington left office, he wrote a letter, addressed to the People of the United States, warning people of the dangers to avoid in order to preserve the republic.

Monroe Doctrine
President James Monroe's 1823 pledge that the United States would oppose attempts by European states to reestablish their political control in the Western Hemisphere.

tariffs
Taxes on imported goods.

manifest destiny
Theory that the United States was divinely supported to expand across North America to the Pacific Ocean.

Roosevelt Corollary
Concept developed by President Theodore Roosevelt early in the twentieth century declaring that it was the responsibility of the United States to ensure stability in Latin America and the Caribbean.

status. Beginning in 1816, Congress adopted the "American System" of trade protection by adding increasingly higher tariffs, sometimes as high as 100 percent of the value of the goods being imported.[3] High protectionist tariffs remained the American norm well into the twentieth century.

CONTINENTAL EXPANSION AND MANIFEST DESTINY During the nineteenth century, the United States acquired immense quantities of land in various ways. It took land from American Indians in wars against the Creek, Seminole, Sioux, Comanche, Apache, and other tribes. It bought territory from the French (the Louisiana Territory), Spanish (Florida), and Russians (Alaska). It also fought the 1846 Mexican War, acquiring a large expanse of Mexican territory in the American Southwest and California.

Manifest destiny is the summary phrase used to capture the logic behind American continental expansionism. According to this idea, the United States had a divinely supported obligation to expand across North America to the Pacific and "overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our multiplying millions."[4] Manifest destiny was viewed as natural and inevitable, far different from the colonial expansion of European states.

DOMINANCE OVER THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE The twentieth century began with a revision of the Monroe Doctrine. In what came to be known as the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine, President Theodore Roosevelt asserted in 1904 that it was the responsibility of the United States to ensure stability in Latin America and the Caribbean. In accordance with this role, the United States would intervene with military force to punish wrongdoing and establish order in these nations when their own governments were incapable of doing so.

Roosevelt was particularly concerned with the Dominican Republic. It was deeply in debt, plagued by growing domestic unrest, and faced the threat of hostile military action by France. Roosevelt blocked French action by taking over customs collection there in 1906. Later, the United States sent troops to other countries, including Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, and Mexico.

HOW DID THE ROOSEVELT COROLLARY AFFECT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY?

In this political cartoon, President Theodore Roosevelt is shown policing Panama, carrying the "big stick" of military intervention proposed by the Roosevelt Corollary.

Although these exercises of military power were significant in establishing regional dominance, the signature event of this period for American foreign policy was the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone. The United States wished to build a canal through Panama, which was then part of Colombia, but when the Colombian government refused to approve the necessary treaty, the Roosevelt administration supported a Panamanian independence movement. When this movement achieved success, the U.S. government quickly recognized the independent state and signed an agreement granting the United States rights to a ten-mile strip of land connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Construction of the Panama Canal began in 1904 and was completed in 1914, providing a way for ships to avoid the long and dangerous trip around South America in reaching western U.S. territories.

Supporting Panamanian independence was not the only way the United States established its influence in Central America and the Caribbean. Beginning with the William H. Taft administration, the United States also began to use its economic power through "dollar diplomacy." Dollar diplomacy was designed to make the United States the banker of the region, and to open up countries throughout all of Latin America to American investment.

INTERESTS IN ASIA The 1898 Spanish-American War, fought between the United States and Spain over Spanish policies and presence in Cuba, gave the United States control over Cuba, as well as other Spanish colonies such as Puerto Rico and the Philippines. As a result, the United States now had an overseas colony and a major stake in Asian affairs. The major problems confronting the United States in Asia were the disintegration of China and the rising power of Japan.

In 1898 and 1899, as European powers were extending their influence in China, the United States issued the Open Door Notes to Russia, Germany, France, and Great Britain, calling upon them not to discriminate against other investors in their spheres of influence. While the United States could not force other countries to agree, the logic behind this Open Door Policy was consistent with long-standing American support for opening up foreign markets to U.S. investment.

In sharp contrast to the unilateral action taken on China, President Theodore Roosevelt sought to contain Japan through a series of international agreements. The most notable of these was the Taft-Katsura Agreement of 1905. This act recognized Japanese preeminence over Korea in return for a Japanese agreement to respect American control over the Philippines and Hawaii.

World War I and the Interwar Years

When World War I broke out in Europe in 1914, the United States remained neutral at first. It was a European war, and no U.S. interests were directly involved. In addition, the United States was largely a nation of European immigrants, and Americans were deeply divided about whom to support. As the war progressed, however, it became increasingly difficult to remain neutral. Under Germany's policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, German subs sank U.S. ships carrying cargo to Great Britain and France. Finally, declaring that the United States was fighting "to make the world safe for democracy," President Woodrow Wilson led the nation into the war in 1917. Wilson also put forward a statement of American aims, the Fourteen Points. The Fourteenth Point was the creation of a League of Nations at the conclusion of the war.

At the Paris Peace Conference following the war, Wilson succeeded in getting the League of Nations established. Its guiding principle was **collective security,** the idea that an attack on one country is an attack on all countries. Wilson failed, however, to build support for the League of Nations at home, and so the United States never joined.

The period between the two world wars saw U.S. foreign policy dominated by two issues: (1) disarmament, and (2) isolationism. In 1920, isolationist Senator William Borah (R–ID) offered a resolution inviting Great Britain and Japan to an arms limitation conference. The result was the 1921 Washington Conference, which left a mixed legacy. Although the conference did not produce lasting security in the Far East or end arms races, it did mark a shift in the global balance of power, because two of the main players represented—the United States and Japan—were from outside Europe.

collective security
The idea that an attack on one country is an attack on all countries.

UN Security Council
A principal part of the United Nations, charged with authorizing peacekeeping operations, international sanctions, and military action in order to maintain global peace and security.

Support for disarmament also led to the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. In this pact, the United States, Japan, and the European powers (including Great Britain, France, and Germany) agreed to renounce war "as an instrument of national policy" and to resolve their disputes "by pacific means." This agreement, however, did not stop the United States from taking defensive actions, such as building new naval vessels.

Second, isolationist sentiment hardened within the United States. This sentiment led Congress to increase tariffs to protect U.S. industry from foreign competition. In 1930, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, and other countries responded by raising their tariffs. The higher tariffs, in conjunction with the Great Depression, had a dramatic impact on world trade. By 1932, trade dropped to about one-third its former level.[5]

Belief in isolationism also led to the passage of four neutrality acts in the 1930s. Among their core provisions were arms embargoes and a prohibition on loans to countries involved in international conflicts. After Great Britain and France declared war on Nazi Germany in the late 1930s, however, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to soften these bans to allow Great Britain to obtain American weapons in return for allowing the United States to lease British military bases (this was the beginning of what was called the "lend-lease" program during World War II).

The United States as a World Power

18.2 Explain U.S. foreign policy as the country rose to become a world power.

The status of the United States as a world power was cemented by its entry into and subsequent victory in World War II. Between World War II and the new millennium, American political leaders guided the nation through two distinct periods: the Cold War and the post–Cold War period. Today, the Obama administration is working to guide the country through a changing world defined by globalization and the rise of emerging powers such as China.

World War II and Its Aftermath

The United States entered World War II with the December 7, 1941, Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. The war was fought on two fronts—in Europe against Nazi Germany and its Axis partners and in the Pacific against the militarist empire of Japan. It concluded in Europe first, in May 1945. It did not end in the Pacific until August of that same year, following the controversial U.S. decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan.

World War II was a watershed in U.S. foreign policy. Prior to the war, isolationist sentiment dominated American thinking on world politics, but after it, internationalism emerged triumphant. In contrast to its earlier rejection of the League of Nations, the United States enthusiastically led in the creation of the United Nations (UN), establishing itself as a permanent member of the **UN Security Council,** along with Great Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union. It also entered into security alliances with countries around the globe, with an understanding that America's role was to be "the leader of the free world."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt took an activist role in World War II diplomacy, holding or attending several major conferences until he died in April 1945. The most significant and consequential of these conferences was the Yalta Conference, held in the Soviet Union in February 1945, to decide the future of Germany and Eastern Europe, and to discuss the development of the UN. It allowed the Soviet Union to occupy the eastern half of Europe, bringing down what British Prime Minister Winston Churchill termed an "iron curtain" across the center of the continent.

In the belief that protectionist trade policies had led to the rise of dictators and the beginning of World War II, the United States moved to create a set of international economic organizations to encourage and manage global trade and finance. Collectively,

HOW DID WORLD WAR II CHANGE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY?

World War II cemented America's role as a world power. Here President Franklin D. Roosevelt meets with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet Premier Josef Stalin at Yalta in 1945 to plan the postwar settlement.

they came to be known as the **Bretton Woods System,** after the town in New Hampshire where negotiations were held in July 1944. The **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** was established to stabilize international currency transactions. In addition, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, also called the **World Bank,** was set up to help the world recover from the destruction of World War II and to help poorer countries prosper by providing loans for large economic development projects.

Created in 1947, the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT),** which evolved into the World Trade Organization, had as its mission the facilitation of international trade negotiations and promotion of free trade. This process occurred through negotiating "rounds" or multiyear international conferences.

The Cold War and Containment

The Cold War was the defining feature of the international system from the end of World War II in 1945 until the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It was a period of competition, hostility, tension, and the near outbreak of direct conflict between the Western powers (the United States, Great Britain, and Western Europe) and the communist bloc states (Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union). Although it was frequently intense, the Cold War never escalated into direct and open warfare.

American foreign policy during the Cold War was organized around two key concepts. The first was **containment,** which held that the "the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansionist tendencies."[6] This meant that the United

Bretton Woods System
International financial system devised shortly before the end of World War II that created the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)
International governmental organization designed to stabilize international currency transactions.

World Bank
International governmental organization created to provide loans for large economic development projects.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
Post–World War II economic development treaty designed to help facilitate international trade negotiations and promote free trade.

containment
U.S. policy of opposing Soviet expansion and communist revolutions around the world with military forces, economic assistance, and political influence.

Truman Doctrine
U.S. anti-communist policy initiated in 1947 that became the basis of U.S. foreign policy throughout the Cold War.

Marshall Plan
European collective recovery program, named after Secretary of State George C. Marshall, that provided extensive American aid to Western Europe after World War II.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
The first peacetime military treaty joined by the United States; NATO is a collective security pact that includes the United States, Canada, and Western Europe.

Berlin Wall
A barrier built by East Germany in 1961 to cut off democratic West Berlin from communist East Berlin.

Cuban Missile Crisis
The 1962 confrontation over the deployment of ballistic missiles in Cuba that nearly escalated into nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

States would oppose Soviet expansion with military forces, economic assistance, and political influence. The second concept was nuclear deterrence. From the 1950s through the 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union developed large nuclear arsenals. Having stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction on either side of the conflict ensured that both sides would prevent one another from actually using their nuclear weapons. This created a condition of mutually assured destruction (MAD).

Although the Cold War began in Europe, it quickly became a global conflict. In the 1940s, the conflict spread to Greece and Turkey, leading to the Marshall Plan. It also spread to Latin America, especially Cuba, and to Asia. In 1949, for example, Mao Zedong won the Chinese Civil War and aligned China with the Soviet Union, a move that the United States viewed as significantly increasing Soviet power. This action also precipitated the Korean War of the 1950s and the Vietnam War of the 1960s and 1970s.

THE COLD WAR IN EUROPE Among the first Cold War trouble spots were Greece and Turkey, both of which came under pressure from Communists. In February 1947, Great Britain informed the United States that it could no longer meet its traditional obligations to protect Greece and Turkey. Less than one month later, on March 12, 1947, President Harry S Truman addressed a joint session of Congress and requested economic and military aid for the two countries. The language Truman used as justification was as important as this request for aid. He argued that the United States "must support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure."[7] Known as the **Truman Doctrine,** this policy led the United States to provide economic assistance and military aid to countries fighting against communist revolutions or political pressure, and remained the basis of U.S. policy throughout the Cold War.

Three months later, the United States took a major action consistent with this political worldview. Secretary of State George Marshall announced that the United States would help finance Europe's economic recovery. All European states were invited to participate in the drafting of a European collective recovery plan known as the **Marshall Plan.** Importantly, the Soviet Union chose not to participate and prevented its Eastern European states (East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria) from participating as well. This effectively served to divide postwar Europe into two parts.

In 1949, the economic division of Europe was reinforced by its military partition with the establishment of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).** This alliance, the first peacetime military treaty joined by the United States, was a collective security pact among the United States, Canada, and Western Europe. In retaliation, the Soviet Union organized its Eastern European allies into the Warsaw Pact. This division of Europe was further established by the **Berlin Wall,** built by East Germany in 1961 to cut off democratic West Berlin from communist East Berlin.

THE COLD WAR IN LATIN AMERICA Cold War competition between the United States and the Soviet Union moved to Latin America in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The most intense confrontation involved Cuba, where Fidel Castro came to power in 1959. Following this revolution, President Dwight D. Eisenhower approved a plan to send a small group of Cuban exiles back to Cuba to conduct a guerrilla warfare campaign against the new leader. This plan evolved into the Bay of Pigs invasion, authorized by President John F. Kennedy in April of 1961. The results were disastrous. Some 1,400 Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs and quickly were surrounded and defeated by well-equipped and loyal Cuban soldiers.

The following year, in October 1962, the United States and Soviet Union confronted one another over the deployment of nuclear missiles in Cuba. Perhaps at no time was the world closer to a nuclear war than it was during this event, known as the **Cuban Missile Crisis.** In response, President Kennedy established a "quarantine" on Cuba, a naval blockade that prevented Soviet ships from landing in Cuba. The crisis ended after two weeks, when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev agreed to remove the Soviet missiles.

THE VIETNAM WAR America's involvement in Vietnam began in the 1950s. After the end of World War II, France unsuccessfully sought to reestablish its colonial rule

in Southeast Asia. After being defeated on the battlefield in 1954, France negotiated a withdrawal from Vietnam. The resultant Geneva Peace Accords temporarily divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel, with communist forces in control of the North and a noncommunist government in control of the South. A unification election scheduled for 1956 was never held, as South Vietnam, with the support of the United States, refused to participate. As a result, North Vietnam began a military campaign to unify the country.

The war became increasingly Americanized in the 1960s under President Lyndon B. Johnson. American forces carried out sustained and massive bombing campaigns against the North, and U.S. ground troops began fighting in the South. The war was a difficult one, fought in unfamiliar terrain with little chance of success. Casualties escalated quickly, and the American public soon turned against the war. The peace movement that emerged at this time in response to the war and the military draft significantly influenced public opinion, helping to bring about America's withdrawal from Vietnam.

In the 1970s, President Richard M. Nixon set the stage for American withdrawal by implementing a policy of Vietnamization, under which the South Vietnamese army would do the bulk of the fighting. To prepare for this turnover, the United States invaded Cambodia to clean out North Vietnamese sanctuaries and increased bombing of North Vietnam. The American strategy failed, but in the absence of public support for the war effort, U.S. forces left South Vietnam in 1973 following the Paris Peace Agreement. South Vietnam fell to communism and was reunified with the North in April 1975.

détente
The improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union that occurred during the 1970s.

human rights
The protection of people's basic freedoms and needs.

DÉTENTE AND HUMAN RIGHTS When Richard M. Nixon became president in 1969, he declared it was time to move from "an era of confrontation" to "an era of negotiation" in relations with the Soviet Union.[8] The improvement in U.S.–Soviet relations was called **détente.** At its core was a series of negotiations that aimed to use linked rewards and punishments (rather than military power) to contain the Soviet Union.

Another key element of détente was improved relations with China. Politicians at the time believed that this achievement would give the United States a potential ally against the Soviet Union. A prerequisite for playing the "China card" was diplomatic recognition of China. President Nixon took the first steps in that direction when, in 1971, he announced to a stunned world that the United States would "seek the normalization of relations." He followed up with a visit to China in 1972.

The greatest success of détente was in the area of arms control, most notably with the signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I and SALT II), which limited the deployment of nuclear weapons. The greatest failure of détente, however, was an inability to establish agreed-upon rules to govern competition in the developing world. In Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the United States and Soviet Union each armed and supported competing sides in many civil wars. In Chile, Nixon used covert action to undermine the government of President Salvador Allende and reestablish a strong pro-American regime.

When Jimmy Carter became president in 1977, he changed the emphasis of American foreign policy from the management of the Cold War to the promotion of **human rights,** the protection of people's basic freedoms and needs. Carter's policies targeted the dictators that the United States had relied upon to contain communism. Among these was the shah of Iran, who had committed many human rights abuses against his own people. Popular unrest forced the shah into exile in 1979, but after his ouster, radical Iranians, with the support of Iran's fundamentalist Islamic government, overran the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and held the embassy staff captive for 444 days. The nation watched and waited in dismay as negotiations and military efforts to free the hostages failed. They were not released until the day Carter left office in 1981, only minutes after Ronald Reagan was sworn in as president.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR Republican President Ronald Reagan replaced Carter in the White House in January 1981. Reagan promised to reestablish American credibility and restore American military strength. The Reagan administration's commitment to combating communism by providing military assistance to anti-communist groups

Reagan Doctrine
The Reagan administration's commitment to ending communism by providing military assistance to anti-communist groups.

Contras
An armed guerilla organization that opposed Nicaragua's Sandinista government and received funding and arms from the U.S.

democratic enlargement
Policy implemented during the Clinton administration in which the United States would actively promote the expansion of democracy and free markets throughout the world.

World Trade Organization (WTO)
An international organization that replaced the GATT in 1995 to supervise and expand international trade.

European Union
An organization that joins 27 countries in Europe into a union that includes free trade, a central bank, a common currency, ease of immigration, a European Parliament, and other political institutions to govern and administer the organization.

became known as the **Reagan Doctrine.** Two prominent examples of the Reagan Doctrine include support for anti-communist forces in Nicaragua and Afghanistan.

In Nicaragua, forty years of pro-American dictatorial rule ended in July 1979. The new Sandinista government soon began assisting rebels in El Salvador who were trying to bring down another pro-U.S. right-wing government. To block this effort, Reagan authorized creation of the **Contras,** an armed guerilla organization that opposed the Sandinista government. A connection between the controversial creation and funding of this rebel group and the sale of unauthorized arms to Iranian militants later surfaced. This resulted in what is now known as the Iran-Contra Affair, which led to congressional oversight hearings, as well as the firing and conviction of several members of the Reagan administration.

American interest in Afghanistan resulted from the Soviet Union's 1979 invasion of that country, which supported a pro-Soviet government in power. The Soviet occupation army grew to 110,000 soldiers but could never defeat the guerrilla forces, known as the mujahedeen. American military aid to the mujahedeen rose from $120 million in 1984 to $630 million in 1987, contributing to the Soviet defeat and its eventual withdrawal.

The Soviet retreat from Afghanistan was part of a larger change in Soviet policy, which resulted from the ascent of Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev entered into nuclear arms control agreements with the United States, and reduced foreign aid to Soviet allies. He also implemented a series of political and economic reforms that were meant to strengthen communism, but instead they undermined it throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, leading in 1989 to the collapse of communist governments in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and East Germany, where the Berlin Wall came down. Two years later the Soviet Union collapsed and broke apart into 15 separate countries. These surprising and long-sought developments ended the Cold War, and represented the most significant occurrence in U.S. foreign policy since World War II.

The Post–Cold War World

President George H. W. Bush, who became president in 1989, sought to navigate through this new, post–Cold War world. In sharp contrast to the deep divisions of the Cold War, Bush was able to assemble a unified and overwhelmingly effective response to the 1990 invasion by Iraq of its oil-rich neighbor, Kuwait. Proclaiming that the end of the Cold War was ushering in a "new world order" unaffected by the superpower rivalry, Bush turned to the United Nations, whose members voted to impose economic sanctions and authorized the use of force. During the ensuing Gulf War, the U.S.-led coalition forces were victorious in removing Iraqi forces from Kuwait after just six weeks.

The United States also sought to strengthen ties with China. However, on June 4, 1989, Chinese troops attacked pro-democracy demonstrators on Tiananmen Square, killing hundreds of people. As a result, President Bush suspended political contact and imposed economic sanctions, but he also secretly sent a delegation to China to make sure that broader U.S. security and economic interests were not permanently harmed.

Bush's successor in office, Bill Clinton, sought to define a clear role for the United States in world affairs now that a dismantled Soviet Union no longer posed a clear and present danger. The president chose to pursue a policy of **democratic enlargement,** or actively promoting the expansion of democracy and free markets throughout the world.

Economic enlargement centered primarily on the issue of trade and the expansion of globalization. Clinton secured Senate approval for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), an agreement promoting free movement of goods and services among Canada, Mexico, and the United States. He followed up this success by obtaining Senate approval for permanent most favored nation status for China and completing negotiations that led to the establishment of the **World Trade Organization (WTO),** which replaced the GATT, expanding its scope and adding a new judicial body to resolve trade disputes. Democratic enlargement involved securing democratic change in Eastern Europe by bringing former Soviet allies into the NATO alliance, and supporting their admission into the **European Union.**

Explore Your World

All countries spend some proportion of their national budget on military and defense expenditures, but no country spends as much as the United States. In 2011, the United States spent $711 billion, accounting for 41 percent of the world's total military spending ($1.7 trillion). The next highest spender, China, accounts for only one-fifth of the U.S. total.

The United States spends far more on its military than any other country. This is reflected in U.S. bases around the world, military operations in places like Iraq and Afghanistan, and the significant foreign policy role that the United States plays involving issues and problems around the world.

Country	Dollars (billions)	% of World Total
United States	711.0	41.0%
China	143.0	8.2%
Russia	71.9	4.1%
United Kingdom	62.7	3.6%
France	62.5	3.6%
Japan	59.3	3.4%
Saudi Arabia	48.5	2.8%
India	48.9	2.8%
Germany	46.7	2.7%
Brazil	35.4	2.0%
Italy	34.5	2.0%
South Korea	30.8	1.8%
Australia	26.7	1.5%
Canada	24.7	1.4%
Turkey	17.9	1.0%
Rest of the World	312.6	18.0%

SOURCE: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "The 15 Countries with the Highest Military Expenditure in 2011," www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/resultoutput/milex_15.

In spite of the close economic ties that the United States and China maintain, many in the United States believe that China represents a rising threat and is likely to become a significant strategic competitor to the United States in the coming decades.

Historically, countries with the strongest economies have enjoyed the greatest military power. The graph demonstrates that today, this is still the case, as countries that currently have large and/or rapidly growing economies top the list of military spending.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Are these numbers surprising? Why or why not?
2. What do you think accounts for the high level of U.S. military spending?
3. In 2004, China spent $57.5 billion on defense, representing 4% of the world's total military spending. Now it spends far more. How might China's rapid increase in military spending impact its relations with the United States?

At the same time, the United States aimed to address the civil wars and ethnic conflict that had erupted in several failed states. In Somalia, clashes with rebels killed eighteen American soldiers in 1993, producing vivid media images and the withdrawal of U.S. forces. In Yugoslavia, which began to splinter in 1991, the government unleashed a campaign of "ethnic cleansing," which included: (1) the deliberate, forcible removal of particular ethnic groups from parts of the disintegrating country; (2) the killing of thousands of people; and, (3) the mass raping of women and girls. In 1995, international pressures and American involvement allowed for a political resolution to this conflict. In 1999, ethnic cleansing and fighting in Kosovo, a part of Yugoslavia, led to American intervention and the fall of the Yugoslav government, whose leader was later put on trial for human rights violations against his own people. And in Haiti, thousands took to the sea and headed to the United States in makeshift boats to flee the violence that followed the ouster of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide by the military. The United States threatened invasion to restore Aristide to power, but this was avoided when a delegation led by former President Jimmy Carter arranged for the return of Aristide to office peacefully.

September 11, 2001, and the War on Terrorism

During the 2000 presidential campaign, George W. Bush greatly criticized President Bill Clinton's foreign policy. Bush's soon-to-be National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, summarized his views on foreign policy when she wrote that their administration would "exercise power without arrogance" and forsake an overly broad definition of American national interests that led to frequent interventions into humanitarian crises.[9]

At first, the Bush administration largely adhered to this agenda and distanced itself from Clinton's foreign policy legacy. The administration rejected the international global warming treaty known as the Kyoto Protocol, withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and refused to participate in the formation of the International Criminal Court. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, however, ushered in a new era in American foreign policy.

SEPTEMBER 11 AND THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN On September 11, 2001, the vulnerability of even the American homeland was demonstrated to devastating

HOW DID THE SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS AFFECT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY?

The twin towers of the World Trade Center collapsed September 11, 2001, after they were struck by hijacked airplanes. The attacks caused enormous loss of life and resulted in the beginning of an ongoing war on terrorism.

effect when nineteen members of the al-Qaeda terrorist organization headed by Osama bin Laden simultaneously hijacked four U.S. commercial airliners and crashed two of them into the World Trade Center in New York City and one into the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. The fourth plane crashed into an open field in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. More than 3,000 people lost their lives that day.

In response, the United States declared a **global war on terrorism** to weed out terrorist operatives throughout the world. It demanded that the **Taliban**-led government of Afghanistan expel Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda and sever its ties with international terrorist groups. When this did not occur, the United States began aerial strikes against terrorist facilities and Taliban military targets inside Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. On the ground, the United States and a range of NATO allies sent troops, who relied heavily on support from troops provided by the Northern Alliance, a coalition in the country that opposed the Taliban. The Taliban proved no match for this combination of air and ground power, and its last stronghold fell on December 16. However, the leader of al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, was not captured, and the Taliban and al-Qaeda began pursuing a guerrilla war against American troops and the new Afghan government. The conflict in Afghanistan eventually became America's longest war, continuing into the tenure of President Barack Obama.

THE WAR IN IRAQ A broader foreign policy agenda emerged in President Bush's 2002 State of the Union Address. In this speech, Bush identified Iraq, North Korea, and Iran as an "axis of evil" that threatened American security interests. Claiming that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was actively pursuing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the administration moved toward war with Iraq. It also enunciated a new doctrine of "preemption," in which threats to American interests would not be allowed to grow, as had al-Qaeda, but proactively pursued by whatever means necessary.

The Bush administration did not prepare for a long or contested occupation of Iraq, but the reality of ground warfare soon challenged this vision. Forces opposing the new government and the presence of American troops launched a guerrilla war. American casualties began to rise. By mid-2008, more than 4,000 U.S. military personnel and Department of Defense civilians had died in Iraq, and 30,000 had been wounded, prompting increased calls for an end to the war. The Obama administration had pledged to end the war in Iraq, and by 2011 all U.S. troops had been withdrawn. However, in 2014, when a violently militant force called ISIS overran major cities and threatened the central government, the U.S reengaged in Iraq through limited aerial bombing and humanitarian relief missions.

global war on terrorism
An international action, initiated by President George W. Bush after the 9/11 attacks, to weed out terrorist operatives throughout the world.

Taliban
A fundamentalist Islamic group that controlled Afghanistan from 1996 until U.S. military intervention in 2001. The Taliban provided refuge for al-Qaeda, allowing terrorist training camps to operate in the country.

Foreign and Defense Policy Decision Making

18.3 Outline the factors that shape foreign and defense policy decision making.

The basic structure of foreign and defense policy decision making is laid out in the Constitution. The executive branch is the most powerful branch of government in the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign and defense policy. Congress also influences and shapes policy through oversight, treaties, appointments, appropriations, and the War Powers Resolution. The judiciary has a more limited role in foreign and defense affairs, usually addressing questions of executive authority. In addition, interest groups such as the military-industrial complex also play an important role.

The Living Constitution

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States . . . —ARTICLE I, SECTION 8

A fundamental weakness of the Articles of Confederation was that it did not grant the national government adequate means for national defense. This defect hampered the Revolutionary War effort. These clauses of the Constitution consequently give the federal government the authority to call up the state militias in times of national emergency or distress. The clauses address the understanding that military training, proficiency, and organization should be uniform across state and national forces, to ensure effectiveness and efficiency in military operations.

Despite the fact that the militia clauses passed the convention, many Anti-Federalists were concerned that the federal government would call together the state militias for unjust ends. They believed that state governments should control their militias in order to prevent any deceit on the part of the federal government. To this end, the Constitution gives the states authority to name militia officers and train their forces. During the War of 1812—to the consternation of President James Madison—two state governments withheld their militias from the national government. The Supreme Court has since held that, except for constitutional prohibitions, the Congress has "unlimited" authority over the state militias. In addition, the National Defense Act of 1916 mandated the use of the term "National Guard" and gave the president authority to mobilize the National Guard during times of national emergency or war.

Throughout U.S. history, the National Guard has proven effective and essential in defending the United States. The National Guard, for example, plays a significant role in American efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The militia clauses ensure the unity, effectiveness, and strength of the U.S. military not only during wartime but also during other national emergencies.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. According to the Constitution, the president is the commander in chief of the armed forces. But, Congress has the power to organize the military, fund it, and call it to duty. How does this division of authority work in practice?
2. Should individual states retain the right to withhold National Guard troops if the state government does not approve of the way the president intends to use them?

The Constitution

When the Framers of the U.S. Constitution met in Philadelphia in 1789, they wanted a stronger national government to keep the United States out of European affairs and to keep Europe out of American affairs. As a result, they bequeathed the power to formulate and implement foreign policy to the national government rather than the states. In addition, many foreign and military powers not enumerated in the Constitution were accorded to the national government.

The Framers of the Constitution divided national authority for foreign and military policy functions between the president and Congress. The Framers named the president commander in chief of the armed forces but gave Congress power to fund the army and navy and to declare war. The president has authority to negotiate and sign treaties, but those agreements take effect only after the Senate ratifies them by a two-thirds majority. Similarly, the president appoints ambassadors and other key foreign and military affairs officials, but the Senate grants advice and a majority of senators must give their consent to nominees. Ultimately, all such actions are subject to judicial review, although the judiciary tends to provide the elected branches with a great deal of latitude on foreign and military affairs.

The Constitution provides a starting point for understanding the way in which the president and Congress come together to make U.S. foreign policy. It does not, however, provide the final word on how they will interact. As we are often reminded, the Constitution is best seen as an "invitation to struggle." Consider, for example, the war powers. Congress

has declared only five wars: (1) the War of 1812; (2) the Spanish-American War; (3) the Mexican-American War; (4) World War I; and, (5) World War II. However, presidents have deployed troops overseas without congressional approval more than 125 times.[10]

The Executive Branch

The executive branch is the central place for creating and implementing U.S. foreign and defense policy, and within the executive branch, the president is the most important individual. Among executive departments, the Department of State is primarily responsible for diplomatic activity and the Department of Defense for military policy. Other parts of the executive branch, such as the National Security Council, the National Security Agency (NSA), and the Central Intelligence Agency, provide additional resources for the president. The Department of Homeland Security also functions in foreign and defense policy making.

THE PRESIDENT The president is preeminent in foreign and defense policy. As the Framers intended, presidents have greater access to and control over information than any other government official or agency, and presidents alone can act with little fear that their actions will be countermanded. As such, we tend to discuss U.S. foreign policy in terms of presidential action. For example, Ronald Reagan ordered air strikes against Libya and the invasion of Grenada, and Barack Obama committed additional U.S. troops to Afghanistan.

Presidents have also come to rely increasingly on organizations and individuals located within the White House to help them make foreign policy. The most notable of these organizations is the National Security Council (NSC), led by the national security adviser. The NSC brings together key foreign policy actors, including the vice president, the secretaries of state and of defense, intelligence officials, military leaders, and other presidential advisers. The organization's primary goal is to advise and assist the president on foreign and defense policy, particularly in crisis situations when speed in decision making is essential. Originally, the national security adviser was a neutral voice in the decision-making process, but today this appointee can be a significant player in foreign policy. Prominent national security advisers include Henry Kissinger, Colin Powell, and Condoleezza Rice.

WHO ARE THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY ADVISERS?

The secretaries of state and defense, along with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the intelligence community, are among the most important advisers to the president. Here, President Obama announces his first-term national security team, including Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, Vice President Joe Biden, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, National Security Advisor General James Jones, and Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice.

18.1

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Department of State
Chief executive branch department responsible for formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy.

Department of Defense
Chief executive branch department responsible for formulation and implementation of U.S. defense and military policy.

Joint Chiefs of Staff
Military advisory body that includes the Army chief of staff, the Air Force chief of staff, the chief of naval operations, and the Marine commandant.

Department of Homeland Security
Cabinet department created after the 9/11 terrorist attacks to coordinate domestic security efforts.

THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, DEFENSE, AND HOMELAND SECURITY According to tradition, the **Department of State,** the oldest of all Cabinet agencies created by George Washington, is the chief executive branch department responsible for formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy. The Department of State serves as a link between foreign governments and U.S. policy makers and as a source of advice on how to deal with problems.

Today the Department of State's position of prominence has been challenged from many directions. Within the White House, the national security adviser may have competing views. In addition, the complexity of foreign policy problems has increased the importance of views held by the Departments of Defense, Treasury, and Commerce. Within each foreign country, the U.S. ambassador is often described as head of the "country team" that operates inside a U.S. embassy. In the U.S. Embassy in Mexico, for example, this means not only coordinating Department of State officials but also individuals from the Departments of Defense, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and Homeland Security, as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Agency, and the U.S. Trade Representative.

The **Department of Defense** is the chief executive branch department responsible for formulation and implementation of U.S. military policy. The Secretary of Defense is the nation's chief civilian military official, subordinate only to the president. Still, within the department numerous lines of disagreement exist. Among the most prominent are those between professional military officers and civilians working in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and between the separate branches of the armed services (Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines) over missions, weapons, and priorities. To overcome these differences in outlook, the president relies on the **Joint Chiefs of Staff,** the military advisory body that includes the Army chief of staff, the Air Force chief of staff, the chief of naval operations, and the Marine commandant.

The **Department of Homeland Security,** the Cabinet department created after the 9/11 terrorist attacks to coordinate domestic security efforts, straddles the line between foreign and domestic policy making. The department brought together twenty-two existing agencies and 180,000 employees into a single agency. Among its key units are the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), the organization responsible for aviation security; the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the primary federal disaster relief organization; Customs and Border Protection; the U.S. Coast Guard; the Secret Service; and immigration services and enforcement.

THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY The intelligence community is a term used to describe the agencies of the U.S. government that are involved in the collection and analysis of information, counterintelligence (the protection of U.S. intelligence), and covert action. The head of the intelligence community is the Director of National Intelligence (DNI). Until this position was created after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) held this position.

Beyond the CIA, other key members of the intelligence community include the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the Department of State, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the military service intelligence agencies, the National Security Agency (NSA) in the Department of Defense, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Department of Homeland Security. Coordinating these units can be difficult. Each has control over its own budget, and they do not always share intelligence information with each other. Some branches have also come under significant scrutiny and criticism for overstepping their established boundaries, for example, regarding the use of extreme interrogation measures by the CIA and the extensive and invasive monitoring of electronic communications by the NSA.

Congress

While the U.S. Constitution specifies several responsibilities for Congress, in practice it has much less influence over foreign and defense policy than does the president. Similarly,

the Courts tend to defer to the "elected branches" except in areas pertaining to certain narrow legal issues. Congress particularly tends to be deferential to the executive in times of war or threats to national security. For example, the attacks on September 11, 2001, prompted adoption of the USA PATRIOT Act, a law proposed by the Department of Justice and passed by Congress in October 2001. The law gave the government greater law enforcement authority to gather intelligence domestically, detain and deport immigrants, search business and personal records, and conduct wiretaps, most of which has not been seriously challenged by the courts. Although the old adage that "politics stops at the water's edge" may be an overstatement, usually there is greater agreement and even unity on foreign and military affairs in the United States than on most domestic issues. Nevertheless, the legislative branch plays a significant role in the policy process. Congress influences foreign and defense policy through its congressional leadership, oversight, approval of treaties and appointments, appropriations, and the War Powers Resolution.

OVERSIGHT The most common method of congressional oversight is holding hearings that monitor agency activities, as well as the content and conduct of U.S. policy. Another method is the establishment of reporting requirements. The Department of State, for example, is required to submit annual evaluations of other nations' human rights practices, religious freedoms, anti-drug and narcotics efforts, stance on human trafficking, and nuclear proliferation activities. A particularly famous reporting requirement is the Hughes-Ryan Amendment, passed in 1974, which requires that "except under exceptional circumstances" the president notify Congress "in a timely fashion" of CIA covert actions. Members of Congress also engage in oversight of foreign and defense policy by visiting other countries, where they conduct "fact finding" missions and meet with political leaders, businesspeople, and even dissidents.

TREATIES AND EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS The Constitution gives the Senate explicit power to approve treaties, but the Senate has rejected treaties only twenty

HOW DOES CONGRESS EXERCISE FOREIGN AFFAIRS OVERSIGHT?

One of the roles of Congress is to oversee U.S. foreign policy. This includes not only Congressional hearings and legislation, but also fact finding trips overseas and meetings with foreign leaders. Here, former Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi meets with former Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki of Iraq.

War Powers Resolution
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.

times in U.S. history.[11] The most famous of these unapproved treaties is the Treaty of Versailles, which established the League of Nations, later to be replaced by the United Nations by Senate confirmation. More recently, in 1999, the Senate rejected the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which prohibits testing of nuclear weapons among the 157 countries that have currently approved it.

Presidents can avoid the treaty process by using executive agreements, which, unlike treaties, do not require Senate approval. Prior to 1972, the president did not have to inform Congress of the text of these accords. Although many executive agreements deal with routine foreign policy matters, a great many also involve major military commitments on the part of the United States. Among them are agreements allowing for military bases in the Philippines (Truman) and defense in Saudi Arabia (George Bush).

APPOINTMENTS Although the Constitution gives the president the power to appoint ambassadors and others involved in foreign and defense policy, it bestows upon the Senate the responsibility to provide advice and consent on these appointments. The Senate has not exercised this power in any systematic fashion. It has approved nominees with little expertise largely on the basis of their party affiliation and contributions to presidential campaign funds. It has also rejected otherwise qualified nominees because of objections to the president's foreign policies.

Presidents have long circumvented congressional approval by using and creating new positions not subject to Senate confirmation. Most recent presidents have created policy "czars" to coordinate the administration's foreign policy in specific areas. President Obama, for example, has established czars for the Middle East peace process, border security with Mexico, and the war in Afghanistan.

APPROPRIATIONS Congress also shapes foreign and defense policy through its power to appropriate funds, and it influences when and where the United States fights through its control of the budget. Although the power to go to war is shared by the executive and legislative branches of government, the power to appropriate funds belongs to the legislature alone. One example of this appropriation power occurred in 2007, when Congress considered several bills introduced to end U.S. military involvement in Iraq. The proposals, which did not pass, called upon President George W. Bush to begin withdrawing troops from Iraq, and would have prohibited funding for U.S. combat operations beyond a fixed date.[12]

A significant problem faced by Congress in using budgetary powers to set the foreign policy agenda is that after the president publicly commits the United States to a high-profile course of action, it is hard for Congress to stop effort on that initiative. This is why trying to to stop the war in Iraq by cutting appropriations failed. Once U.S. troops were already involved in combat, any effort to cut funding was seen as a lack of support for American troops (see Figure 18.1).

THE WAR POWERS RESOLUTION Frustrated with its inability to influence policy on Vietnam, a war that deeply divided the nation, Congress passed the **War Powers Resolution** in 1973 to try preventing future interventions overseas without specific congressional approval. Under the resolution, the president is required to consult with Congress before deploying American troops into hostile situations. Under certain conditions, the president is required to report to Congress within forty-eight hours of the deployment. A presidential report can trigger a sixty-day clock that requires congressional approval for any continued military involvement past the sixty-day window. If Congress does not give explicit approval within sixty days, the president then has thirty days to withdraw the troops. Under the resolution, the president can respond to an emergency such as rescuing endangered Americans but cannot engage in a prolonged struggle without congressional approval.

The War Powers Resolution is controversial and has not been an effective restraint on presidential military authority. No president has recognized its constitutionality, nor has any president felt obligated to inform Congress of military action. Most recently,

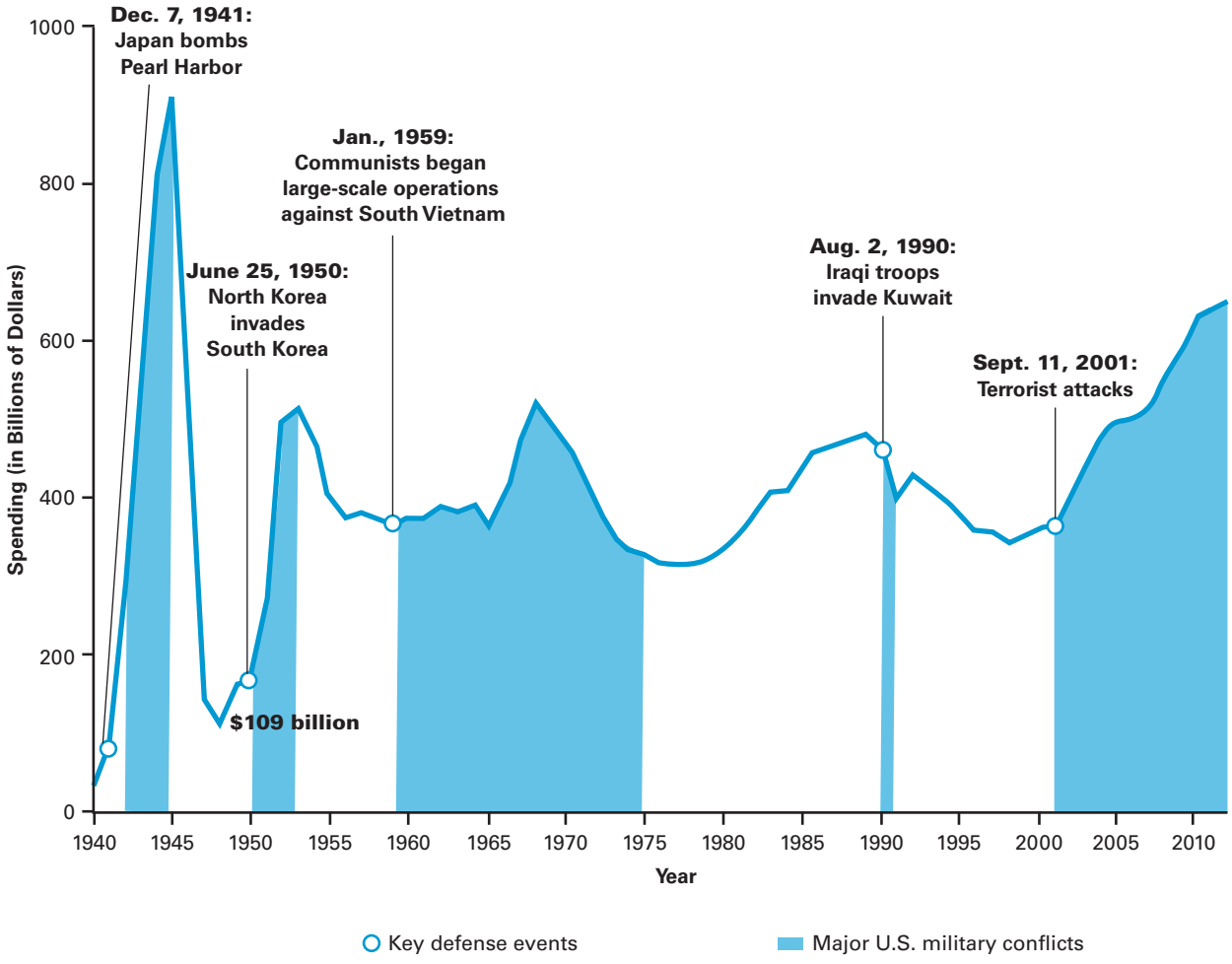


FIGURE 18.1 HOW HAS DEFENSE SPENDING CHANGED OVER TIME?

Defense spending was at its highest absolute levels during World War II. Today, as a result of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, it continues to stand at relatively high levels, about $644 billion constant dollars in 2010.

SOURCE: Mackenzie Eaglen, "U.S. Defense Spending: The Mismatch Between Plans and Resources," *The Heritage Foundation* (June 7, 2010): www.heritage.org.

President Barack Obama employed technicalities to avoid going to Congress after the use of military air power in Libya exceeded the time limit. He further muddied this already confused area of the law when in 2013 he claimed the right to attack Syria unilaterally, then said he would seek congressional support anyway, and then in the face of likely defeat in Congress decided to pursue a diplomatic solution.

The Judiciary

The area of war powers remains perhaps the most potent and yet unsettled area of constitutional law, in part because of the unwillingness of the federal courts to intervene on such topics. The judicial branch has a limited role in foreign policy, as the courts have usually avoided clearly demarcating executive and legislative functions in this area. The judiciary has generally regarded most disputes over foreign policy to be political in nature, and thus not subject to judicial rulings. For example, with regard to the War Powers Act, at times the president's authority to deploy troops has been challenged by members of Congress. In all instances, however, the courts have dismissed the cases. Most recently, a lawsuit filed by ten members of Congress against President Obama for sending U.S. forces to Libya was thrown out of court.

Sometimes, however, the courts do step in to determine the appropriate role for each branch when a dispute arises in the realm of foreign policy. Such cases most likely involve the extent of executive authority with respect to protecting the nation's security. And, just like Congress, the courts tend to be deferential to the president in times of war or threats to security.

military-industrial complex
The network of political and financial relations formed by defense industries, the U.S. armed forces, and Congress.

During the Civil War, the Supreme Court ruled in *The Prize Cases* on the powers of the president as sole commander in chief of the armed forces, authorizing President Abraham Lincoln's deployment of troops without a declaration of war from Congress.[13] In another case from this period, the Supreme Court held in *ex parte McCardle* that the suspension of habeas corpus initiated by the president in certain cases was constitutional, since the jurisdiction of the courts in such cases had been stripped by Congress.[14]

During World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt adopted the policy of forcing Japanese Americans from their homes and into internment camps, on the understanding that they represented a threat to national security. When this policy was challenged in *Korematsu* v. *United States* (1944), the Supreme Court upheld the policy as constitutional, saying that it was not a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, nor a violation of the government's constitutional authority.[15] Korematsu's conviction was reversed by a federal district court in 1983, but the Supreme Court's decision was never overturned although Congress finally appropriated reparative funds.

More recently, the U.S. response to the attacks of 9/11 has resulted in several instances of judicial rulings on presidential powers, the most significant of which have involved the U.S. detainment center in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. In these cases, the courts have not been consistently deferential to the executive—the record has been mixed. For example, the federal courts have ruled on habeas corpus with respect to detainees at Guantanamo Bay, some of whom have been held for years. In *Boumediene* v. *Bush* (2008), the Supreme Court held that detainees should not be denied access to petitions of habeas corpus, ruling against the executive and overturning the actions of lower courts, which had routinely denied such reviews.[16] In 2012, however, the Supreme Court seemed to ignore its earlier ruling, upholding the actions of lower courts by denying review of the petitions of several detainees. The Supreme Court also ruled against the executive in *Hamdan* v. *Rumsfeld* (2004).[17] The Court said that the military tribunals set up to try detainees at Guantanamo could not proceed, since they did not conform to U.S. law. Subsequent legislation, however, authorized the military tribunals, and the Court has upheld this authority.

Interest Groups

Four types of interest groups are especially active in trying to influence foreign and defense policy decisions. Business groups are the first type that lobbies heavily on foreign policy issues. Particularly controversial is the lobbying carried out by defense industries, often in cooperation with the military. These groups are often identified as part of the **military-industrial complex,** a term coined by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Ethnic interest groups are a second type of group heavily involved in foreign policy decision making. The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and the Cuban-American National Foundation (CANF) are generally the two most influential groups. Periodically, Trans Africa has also emerged as an important foreign policy lobbying force for the African American community. Among the most significant new ethnic lobbying groups are ones centered on Indian Americans and Pakistani Americans.

Foreign governments and companies are a third type of organized lobbying interest. The most common concerns of foreign governments are acquiring foreign aid and preventing hostile legislation from being passed. Turkey, for example, has lobbied extensively to prevent Congress from passing resolutions cutting off foreign aid and labeling as genocide the deaths of Armenians at the hands of Turks around the time of World War I. Foreign companies also actively lobby to gain access to the American market and improve the terms under which their investments in the United States are made.

Ideological-public interest groups are the final type of group active in foreign policy lobbying. This broad category encompasses think tanks such as the left-leaning Brookings Institution and the conservative Heritage Foundation, activist nongovernmental organizations such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace, and religious organizations. Opinions on major foreign policy issues such as military interventionism, free trade, and environmental agreements often vary widely on the basis of the political ideology held by these organizations.

Contemporary Challenges in Foreign and Defense Policy

18.4 Identify contemporary foreign and defense policy challenges confronting the United States.

The United States faces a series of foreign and defense policy challenges. In this section we highlight three of the most persistent and pressing concerns: (1) trade; (2) terrorism; and, (3) the spread of nuclear weapons. For each, we present an overview of basic concepts, a survey of policy options, and a case study.

Trade

Countries adopt one of three basic approaches in constructing their international trade policy: (1) protectionism; (2) strategic trade; and, (3) free trade. In practice, most countries use some elements of each approach. First, countries may engage in **protectionism.** In this trade policy, a country takes steps to limit the import of foreign goods. It may also provide domestic producers with subsidies to help them compete against foreign imports. The early American system was rooted in protectionist thinking. So, too, was global trade policy in the 1930s, when, as a result of the Great Depression, the United States and other countries tried to "export unemployment" and protect jobs.

Second, countries may embrace a **strategic trade policy.** Under such a policy, governments identify key industries that they want to see grow. They then provide those industries with economic support through tax breaks, low-interest loans, and other benefits. In the United States, computers, aerospace, and biotechnology are sectors that have often been singled out for support. The driving force behind modern American strategic trade policy is China. It is now the second largest market for new cars. General Motors has sold millions of cars in China over the past several years, after going through a bankruptcy managed by the U.S. government. In 2011, the United States exported $104 billion worth of goods to China while at the same time importing $399 billion worth of goods from China, for a trade balance deficit of $295 billion.[18]

Finally, countries may choose to participate in an international **free trade system.** The hallmark of such a system is limited government interference in international trade. Instead, goods and services cross borders according to supply and demand, as well as the principle of comparative advantage, in which countries sell goods they can produce most efficiently and buy from countries what they cannot. Creating and supporting a free trade system has been a major goal of U.S. trade policy since World War II.

MAKING TRADE POLICY Three broad policy options exist for the United States under a free trade approach. The first is to emphasize bilateral trade, or that between two nations. Bilateral agreements have a rich history in the United States and continue to be used today. President George W. Bush was able to gain congressional approval for bilateral trade agreements with Australia, Chile, and Singapore. Under President Obama, Congress approved long-stalled trade agreements with South Korea, Colombia, and Panama.

In an attempt to adapt to globalization and incorporate a greater number of trading partners, presidents have increasingly turned to regional trade agreements. Such agreements involve more than two but as few as three states. This was the case with the 1994 **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA),** which further unites the economies of Mexico, Canada, and the United States. NAFTA created the world's largest regional free trade area with a market of some 450 million people and $17 trillion in goods and services produced annually. American exports to Canada and Mexico have increased greatly, and the U.S. economy has grown significantly since NAFTA was enacted, but criticism of the agreement is widespread. The major criticisms are that

protectionism
A trade policy wherein a country takes steps to limit the import of foreign goods through tariffs and subsidies to domestic firms.

strategic trade policy
A trade policy wherein governments identify key industries that they wish to see grow and enact policies to support their development and success.

free trade system
A system of international trade that has limited government interference on the sale of goods and services among countries.

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
Agreement that promotes free movement of goods and services among Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

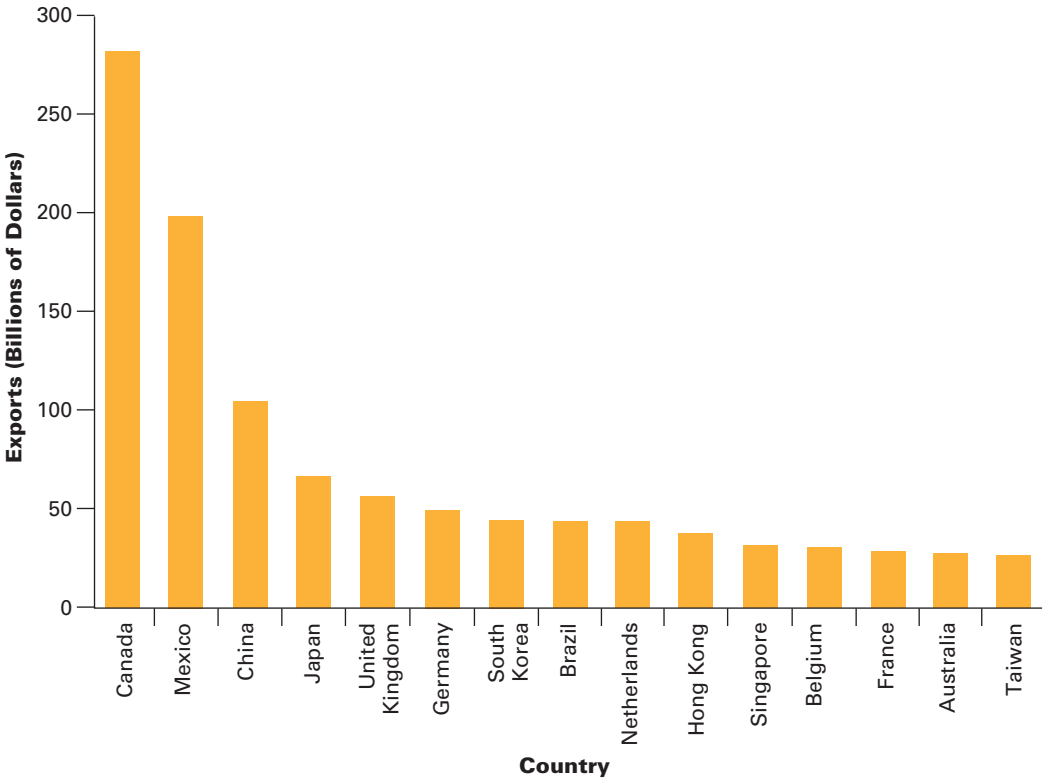


FIGURE 18.2 WHO ARE THE UNITED STATES' MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS?

The United States exports more goods to Canada than any other country. China, Mexico, and Japan also account for large shares of U.S. exports.

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, Foreign Trade Statistics.

American manufacturing jobs have been lost to companies establishing operations in Mexico (where labor is cheaper) and that salaries have stagnated for jobs in the United States. (To learn more about the United States' major trading partners, see Figure 18.2.)

A wide variety of issues produce congressional opposition to bilateral and regional trade agreements. Among the most frequent are concerns for workers' rights, labor standards, and environmental protection policies. Presidents have sought to overcome congressional opposition and tried to stop legislators from inserting amendments to these agreements by obtaining what is known as fast track authority. Congress gives this power to the president for a specific period of time. It requires that Congress may vote on—but not amend—trade agreements concluded by the president.

Most modern trade agreements are concluded under a global free trade system. The best known (but not always the most successful) example of this system is the WTO, the international organization created in 1995 to replace the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and to supervise and expand international trade. Like its predecessor, GATT, the WTO reaches agreements through negotiating rounds. The latest round of WTO talks began in 2001 and has involved more than 150 countries. It quickly stalled as rich and poor countries found themselves in deep disagreement over free trade in agricultural products and clothing, protecting the environment, and intellectual property rights. Negotiations have continued, but as of 2014 no agreement has been reached.

THE CASE OF CHINA From 1949 to 1979, China and the United States existed in virtual economic isolation from one another. The total value of U.S.-China trade during this time was about $1 billion. A far different picture exists today. China and the United States are major bilateral trading partners and powerful voices in the WTO. They also are competitors in global trade, competing for markets worldwide.

The bilateral trade relationship between the United States and China has grown dramatically over the past three decades. In 1980, the year after the first U.S.-China

bilateral trade agreement was signed, total trade (the value of imports and exports) was valued at $5 billion. By 2011, it was $503 billion. This growth has made China the United States' second largest trading partner, the single largest source of imports in the United States, and its third largest export market.

Three issues have been of particular concern to American policy makers in judging the impact of Chinese imports on the U.S. economy. The first is the loss of jobs that appears to have resulted from the surge in Chinese imports. The AFL-CIO, for example, estimates that since 1998 approximately 1.3 million American jobs have been lost because of Chinese imports. In 2012, the Obama administration placed tariffs on solar panels made in China, stating that China was providing unfair subsidies to their firms and harming U.S. manufacturers. The second major issue involves the U.S. trade deficit with China, which in 2011 was $295 billion. Part of this issue concerns China's currency, which trades with the dollar at a low value, making Chinese exports to the United States cheaper and U.S. exports to China more expensive. The U.S. government has accused China of manipulating the value of its currency to boost exports. Congress has considered legislation to impose tariffs on Chinese imports in retaliation, but no such legislation has passed. The third issue involves health and safety problems associated with Chinese imports. In 2007, the Food and Drug Administration issued warnings on more than 150 brands of pet foods manufactured in China. This was followed in the same year by a high-profile recall of Chinese-produced toys. Similar recalls involved infant formula in 2008 and potential health and safety issues associated with Chinese-made drywall products in 2009.

Still, China joined the WTO in 2001 with American support. As a condition of its membership, China agreed to undertake a series of reforms. Among them were pledges to reduce tariffs on agricultural and industrial products, limit agricultural subsidies, open its banking system to foreign banks, permit full trading rights to foreign firms, and respect intellectual property rights. China's failure to fully meet these conditions has been a repeated source of conflict with the United States and others. The United States has filed dozens of WTO complaints against China in the past several years. For its part, China has also filed complaints against the United States. China, for example, has protested a September 2009 decision by the Obama administration to place additional tariffs on tires imported from China. The United States justified this action on the basis of provisions that were agreed upon when China joined the WTO. Under the terms of this agreement, the United States had permission to impose trade restrictions on Chinese products for twelve years when they harmed the bottom line of American industry. The Obama administration argued that Chinese tire imports had unfairly harmed the American tire industry, causing the loss of about 5,000 jobs from 2004 to 2008.

Regional trade issues with China are an emerging concern for the United States, as regional trading blocks within Asia have been slower to form than in Europe or the Western Hemisphere. A significant movement in the direction of an Asian regional trade block occurred in January 2010 when a Free Trade Area was created between China and the Association of South East Asian (ASEAN) states. Japan and India also have such agreements with ASEAN. The economic potential of an Asian trading block is great, with significant consequences for the American economy.

Terrorism

Terrorism is violence designed to achieve political intimidation and instill fear (terror) in a population. It is generally pursued for ideological, political, or religious goals, and deliberately targets or disregards the safety of noncombatants. Terrorism is usually regarded as a tactic pursued by nongovernmental organizations, but governments also engage in or support terrorism.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon and may last for generations. The first wave of modern terrorism, for example, advanced an anti-government agenda and began in Russia in the early twentieth century. It was set in motion by the political and economic reforms of the czars. Disappointment with these policies led to a series of assassinations throughout Europe, including that of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, which helped spark World War I.

The second wave of modern terrorism began in the 1920s and ended in the 1960s. Defining themselves as freedom fighters, colonial terrorists aimed to obtain independence from European powers. Prominent examples of countries with factions of freedom fighters include Ireland, Vietnam, and Algeria. Hit-and-run tactics in urban areas and guerrilla warfare in rural areas became defining features of this second wave of terrorism.

The third wave of modern terrorism, set in motion by the Vietnam War, contained elements of each of the two preceding waves. One part of this wave comprised Marxist groups such as the Weather Underground in the United States and the Red Army Faction in Germany, which directed their terrorism at capitalist institutions. The second part of this wave was made up of groups seeking self-determination for ethnic minority groups. Prominent examples have included the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Irish Republican Army. This wave lost much of its energy in the 1980s as anti-capitalist revolutions failed to occur and separatist groups met military defeat.

The defining features of the current wave of terrorism are twofold. First, it is based in religion, especially Islam. Its initial energy was drawn from three events in 1979: (1) the start of a new Muslim century; (2) the ouster of the shah in Iran; and, (3) the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The United States is a special target of this religious wave of terrorism. The common goal shared by Islamic terrorist groups has been to drive the United States out of the Middle East, and to return this region to Muslim rule.

Even before 9/11, this wave of terrorist activity had produced a steady flow of attacks on the United States marine barracks in Lebanon in 1983, the World Trade Center in 1993, American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and the *USS Cole* in 2000. Notably, while earlier waves of terrorism focused on assassinating key individuals or the symbolic killing of relatively small numbers of individuals, these more recent attacks resulted in large numbers of casualties.

MAKING COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY Terrorist activity is difficult to combat because it is planned and conducted with stealth and sometimes has a broad base of support. It can also be difficult to define victory against terrorist groups. The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, which was first released in 2003 by the U.S. National Security Council, defined victory over terrorism in terms of a world in which terrorism does not define the daily lives of Americans. To that end, it put forward a "4D strategy." The United States will: (1) defeat terrorist organizations; (2) deny them support from rogue states; (3) work to diminish the conditions that give rise to terrorism; and, (4) defend the United States, its citizens, and foreign interests from attack.[19]

American policy makers have four policy instruments to choose from in designing a strategy to combat terrorism. The first policy tool is diplomacy. The essence of the diplomatic challenge in fighting terrorism is to persuade other states to assist the United States in combating terrorism. This requires cooperation not only in defeating terrorists beyond their borders but also in taking on terrorist groups and their sympathizers within their own countries.

A second policy tool is military power. The critical question is how does a country best fight a war against terrorism? Modern state warfare is essentially a series of discrete and separate steps that build on one another and culminate in destroying the opponent's "center of gravity." Terrorists, in contrast, fight cumulative wars. No single military action lays the foundation for the next, and military undertakings need not occur in a given sequence. Terrorism attacks the enemy through a series of largely independent and episodic strikes that, when added together, have an effect far greater than the sum of the individual military actions.

Policy makers may also use economic power to defeat terrorism. This may happen in two different ways. First, imposition of economic sanctions can coerce states to stop supporting terrorists. The goal of sanctions is to affect a hostile government's decision-making process by imposing economic hardship on the country. The second use of economic power in a war against terrorism is to provide foreign aid to alleviate the social, economic, and political conditions that may give rise to terrorism. As intuitively

appealing as it is to use foreign aid to combat terrorism, much uncertainty exists about the link between poverty and terrorism.

Finally, policy makers may use covert or undercover action to combat terrorism. The United States employed this approach when American special forces killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan in 2011. Skeptics question the cost effectiveness of covert action that is designed to neutralize specific individuals or groups. Former Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet noted that even if the United States had found and killed Osama bin Laden before September 11, 2001, it probably would not have stopped the attacks.

THE CASE OF AL-QAEDA Al-Qaeda is a militant Islamic terrorist group founded in Pakistan in the late 1980s. Its initial purpose was to conduct a *Jihad,* or holy war, in the name of the Islamic religion, particularly against the Soviet Union, which had invaded and attempted to occupy the Muslim nation of Afghanistan. Al-Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden, later vehemently objected to the intrusion of U.S. troops in the Muslim holy land of Saudi Arabia. From a base in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda under the direction of bin Laden launched a series of attacks against U.S. interests. These attacks first focused on U.S. military and diplomatic targets in the Middle East and Africa, and then culminated in the devastating attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001.

Combating terrorism demands more than understanding al-Qaeda's history. It also requires an understanding of its organization. Most observers believe that today's al-Qaeda is not the same as it was on September 11, 2001. Rather than being tightly centralized and run from a single headquarters, the current al-Qaeda is a series of concentric circles. Located in the innermost circle is al-Qaeda Central, which is believed to be operating out of Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan. In the next ring are al-Qaeda affiliates and associates. These are established terrorist groups found largely in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. In the third ring are al-Qaeda locals. This ring comprises individuals with active or dominant ties to al-Qaeda that engage in terrorist activities supporting its overarching goals. Finally, in the outermost ring is the al-Qaeda Network, made up of homegrown radicals who have no direct connection to al-Qaeda but who are drawn to its ideology.

Prior to declaring war on terrorism after 9/11, the United States responded with military force against terrorists three times and made several efforts to capture Osama bin Laden. The earliest reported covert action program to capture bin Laden involved the recruitment of a team of Afghan tribal members in the mid-1990s. The last effort before 9/11 involved the recruitment of a guerrilla commander in 1999. Between these two episodes, the Central Intelligence Agency contacted and recruited at least three proxy forces from Pakistan, Uzbekistan, and Afghanistan to try to capture or kill bin Laden.

Following 9/11, the United States moved from the covert action and limited strikes it had previously used against al-Qaeda to large-scale military action in the war on terrorism. On September 20, 2001, President George W. Bush issued an ultimatum to the Taliban government of Afghanistan to turn over Osama bin Laden and close all terrorist camps operating in that country. The Taliban rejected this demand, and on October 7, the United States and Great Britain began Operation Enduring Freedom, which resulted in the fall of the Taliban, the end of a safe haven for al-Qaeda, and the capture and killing of many al-Qaeda operatives, which severely weakened the organizations. After searching for bin Laden for many years, U.S. intelligence found him in Pakistan, where U.S. Navy SEALs launched a surprise attack on his compound in the city of Abbotabad in May 2011 (the United States did not even inform the Pakistani government of the raid) and killed him.

The United States also targeted Iraq in the war against terrorism. The Bush administration asserted that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction and was a supporter of al-Qaeda, though the evidence of these claims, along with the wisdom of targeting Iraq in the war on terror, were significantly criticized both in the United States and abroad. The United States launched Operation Iraqi Freedom on March 19, 2003, and American combat troops remained in Iraq until the end of 2011.

The conflicts in these countries illustrate an ongoing dilemma in U.S. anti-terrorism policy. What does victory look like in a war against terrorism? Does victory lie in destroying al-Qaeda's leadership? Defeating its sponsors and protectors? Stopping it from obtaining nuclear weapons? Or, does it require that no one take up the terrorists' cause and act against the United States?

Nuclear Weapons

Starting to think about how to control nuclear weapons raises two questions. The first is, why do countries "go nuclear"? No single reason exists, but three motivations are particularly common. The first involves defense. Countries want to have nuclear weapons so that they do not have to depend on other nations for assistance. Israel's and Pakistan's pursuit of nuclear weapons fits this logic. Remembering the Holocaust, Jewish leaders were determined to protect Israel from all threats without relying on others for help. Pakistan sought the bomb after its neighbor and frequent opponent, India, became a nuclear power.

The second reason for going nuclear involves the pursuit of international influence and prestige. Nuclear weapons carry such qualities because of the central role military power plays in world politics. Possession of nuclear weapons elevates a country into a small, select group of states whose power dwarfs all others. Attaining influence and prestige is seen as an important factor in India's pursuit of nuclear weapons; being a nuclear power established India as an important state in its own right.

Domestic politics are a third motivating factor behind countries' efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. Pressure to go nuclear may come from the military looking to add to its power, scientists seeking to demonstrate their knowledge and qualifications, political parties striving for electoral victory and running on a strong defense platform, or individual leaders attempting to realize political power for themselves or their country.

A second major question is, how inevitable is the proliferation, or spread, of nuclear weapons? The historical record suggests that extreme fear of these weapons is unnecessary. As evidenced by Germany, Japan, and other industrialized countries, having access to technologies associated with weapons of mass destruction does not compel countries to seek or use these weapons. Recently, Libya, South Africa, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan have all turned away from the possession or pursuit of nuclear weapons. More recently yet, however, the examples of North Korea and Iran suggest that the impetus toward proliferation may be increasing.

MAKING ARMS PROLIFERATION POLICY Efforts to deal with nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them have taken numerous forms. Several strategies traditionally are in place to limit arms proliferation: disarmament, arms control, defense, and counterproliferation.

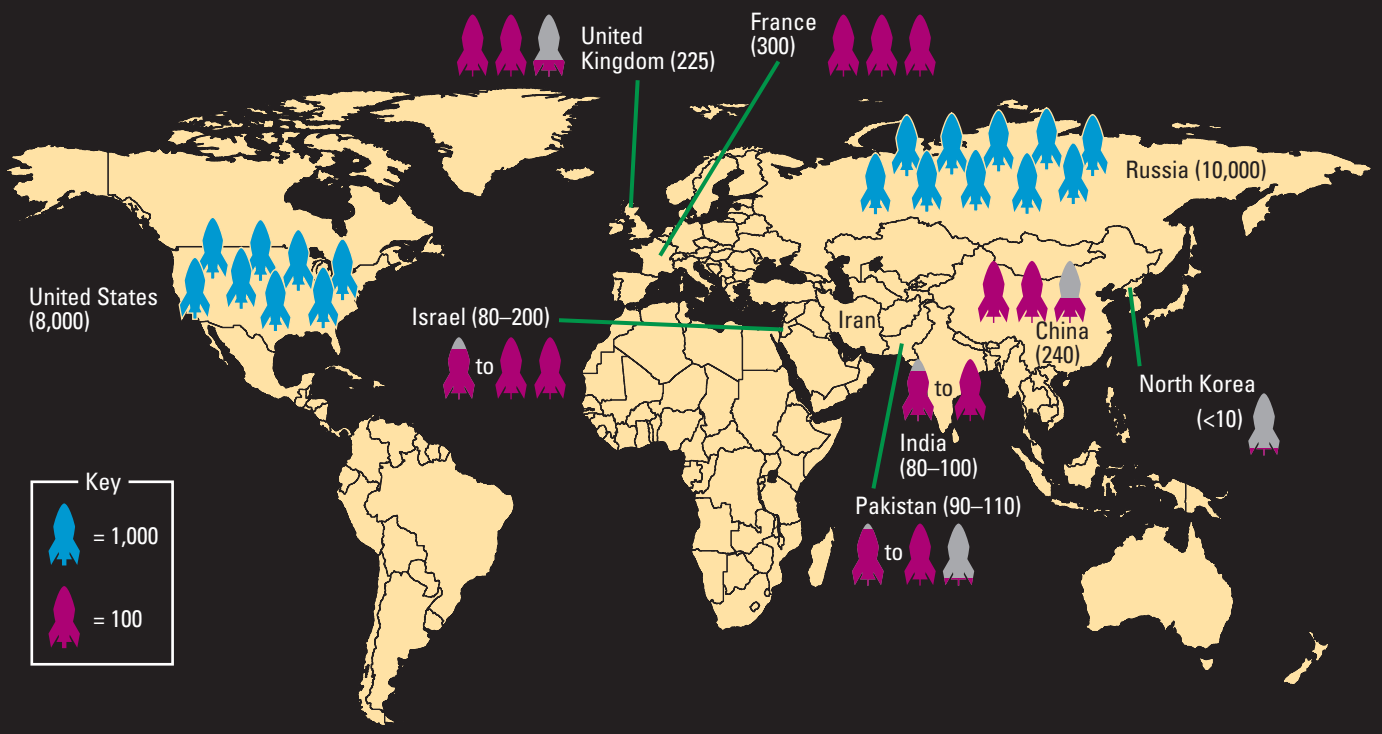
Disarmament takes the very existence of weapons as the cause for conflict and hopes to secure peace through eliminating the means of conflict. The first nuclear disarmament proposal to command global attention was the Baruch Plan. Presented by the United States at the United Nations in 1946, it aimed to place all aspects of nuclear energy production and use under international control. The Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, rejected the Baruch Plan, and it was not implemented.

The vision of a world without weapons, however, remains alive today. President Barack Obama endorsed disarmament in a July 2009 speech in Moscow. In pledging the United States to this goal, Obama acknowledged that its achievement would not likely happen in his lifetime.

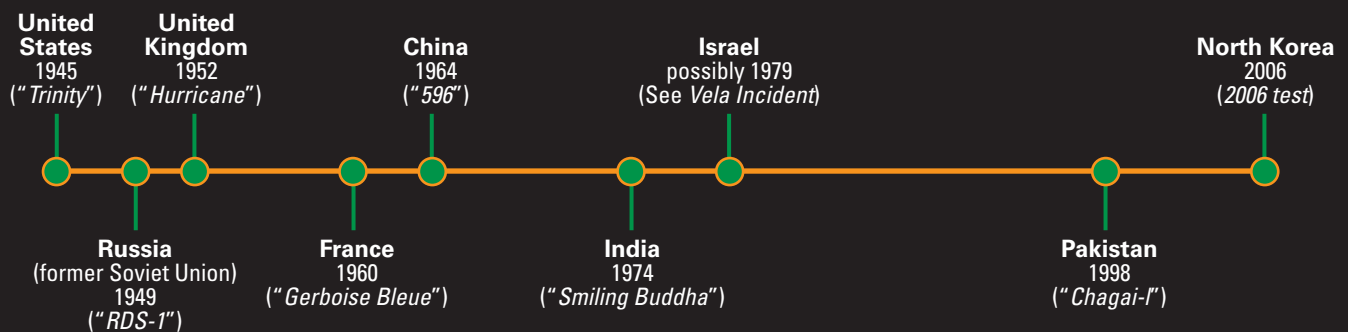
A second strategy is arms control. It takes the existence of conflict between countries as a given in world politics and attempts to find ways of reducing the chances that those conflicts will become deadly. Decreasing the numbers and types of weapons at the disposal of policy makers is one approach. All but one of the world's major nuclear arms control agreements have been made between the United States and Russia, as

How Big Is the World's Stockpile of Nuclear Weapons?

The United States and Russia possess by far more nuclear weapons than any of the other seven countries that have them. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), which came into force in 1970, seeks to limit the spread of nuclear weapons around the world. It is based on the idea that countries without nuclear weapons will agree not to acquire them, and in exchange the countries with nuclear weapons will agree to provide economic and technical support for the peaceful development of nuclear power. The nuclear weapons states also promised to reduce their stockpiles and ultimately eliminate their nuclear arsenals. Only the U.S., Russia, the U.K., France and China are permitted to possess nuclear weapons under the NPT. India, Pakistan and Israel have not entered the treaty, North Korea withdrew in 2003, and Iran continues to pursue nuclear capabilities but has not developed a weapon. The nuclear programs of North Korea and Iran in particular have prompted concern that the spread of nuclear weapons could increase rapidly over the next decade.



YEAR OF FIRST TEST



SOURCE: Data from Federation of American Scientists: State of World Nuclear Forces.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Why do countries develop nuclear weapons?
2. Has the NPT been effective in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons?
3. What are the possible consequences of the spread of nuclear weapons to Iran?

they have possessed the largest numbers of these weapons. These include the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty, the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM), the 1970s Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I and II), the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties of the 1990s (START I and II), and the New START Treaty of 2010. The only significant nuclear arms agreement including other countries is the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968, which focuses on limiting the spread of nuclear weapons.

A third strategy is denial. The goal of denial is to prevent would-be nuclear states from gaining access to the technology they need to make or deliver nuclear weapons. Denial has become more difficult in a globalized world, though many nations continue to pursue this goal. Key international groups working on arms denial are the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the Missile Technology Control Regime.

A fourth strategy is defense; this strategy is gaining popularity today. Essentially, this goal encourages the creation of a system to block or intercept attacks from other countries. Surprise missile tests by Iran and North Korea in 1998 provided new political backing for the creation of a missile defense system. In December 2002, President George W. Bush acted on this plan, ordering the initial deployment of long-range missile interceptors in Alaska and California. However, a planned anti-missile defense system to be based in Eastern Europe was scrapped by the Obama administration, leaving the future of this approach in doubt.

A final strategy embraced by many countries today is counterproliferation. It involves the use of preemptive military action against a country or terrorist group. Counterproliferation begins with the assumption that certain terrorist groups and some states cannot be deterred because they have shown evidence of responding irrationally to threats of military force or other forms of coercion. The most frequently cited example is Israel's 1981 raid on Iraq's Osiraq nuclear reactor. One of the major challenges to counterproliferation is its effectiveness. Critics argue that attempts at preemptive action will not forestall the driving force behind an attack, and may actually make the situation worse by altering public opinion in the attacked state.

THE CASE OF NORTH KOREA Since the end of the Korean War in 1953, direct U.S. diplomatic contacts with North Korea have been all but absent. The United States, however, has worked through its allies (including South Korea) and international organizations to attempt to prevent North Korea from developing and using nuclear technology. Limitations on the development of such weaponry were a condition of the peace agreement signed to end the Korean War.

The United States also maintains an active surveillance program that monitors the activities of the North Korean government. In 1993, for example, the Central Intelligence Agency believed there was a 50–50 chance that North Korea had developed nuclear technology. The Defense Intelligence Agency declared it already had a working nuclear weapon. The United States demonstrated its disapproval of this arms program in two ways. It asked the United Nations to impose sanctions on North Korea, and it sent Patriot missiles to South Korea as a defense mechanism.

Ultimately, this conflict was resolved a year later, when North and South Korea reached a new agreement on denuclearizing the Korean peninsula, the Agreed Framework. The Agreed Framework included an agreement by North Korea to freeze its existing nuclear program and allow external monitoring by the International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA), a promise by the United States to supply it with oil and other fuels, and an agreement by both sides to move to full normalization of political and economic relations.

From the start, troubles plagued the implementation of the agreement. Oil was slow to be delivered, U.S. economic sanctions were not effectively removed, and, most importantly, full diplomatic relations were never established, largely because the United States objected to continued North Korean nuclear activity. In 1998, for example, the United States identified an underground site suspected of involvement in nuclear activities and North Korea tested a ballistic missile.

By the end of 2002, relations between the United States and North Korea had deteriorated sharply. Fuel imports to North Korea were suspended, and North Korea

terminated its freeze on the plutonium-based nuclear facility. In early 2003, it expelled IAEA inspectors and withdrew from the international Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The Agreed Framework was now held to be null and void by both sides.

Movement beyond this point has been slow and halting. In 2003, the United States proposed multilateral talks with North Korea on its nuclear program. North Korea initially refused, asserting this was a bilateral matter. But, under pressure from China, North Korea agreed to multilateral talks between those three states. Later, the talks were expanded and became known as the Six Party Talks when South Korea, Japan, and Russia joined the United States, North Korea, and China. As these negotiations dragged on, North Korea continued with its nuclear program. In 2006 and 2009, North Korea tested nuclear weapons, prompting tougher economic sanctions by the United States and new ones by the United Nations.

In 2007, the Six Party Talks finally led to a bilateral agreement between North Korea and the United States. The agreement mirrored closely the terms of the 1994 Agreed Framework, and initially, it appeared that both sides were making progress. But relations again turned sour when North Korea tested a rocket and a nuclear weapon in 2009, leading to tighter economic sanctions that North Korea called "a declaration of war." In March of 2010, North Korea sank a South Korean naval warship, and later that year it fired shells at a South Korean island, killing two people and wounding several others. The United States joined other nations in condemning these attacks, and has called for an end to North Korea's nuclear weapons and missile programs. Continued confrontation between the United States and North Korea appears likely for the foreseeable future.

HOW HAS THE UNITED STATES HANDLED NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN NORTH KOREA?

Relations between the United States and North Korea have been tense since the Korean War. A military parade in 2012, shown here, showcases the country's missile technology.

Toward Reform: New Challenges in American Foreign Policy

18.5 Understand emerging challenges to American foreign policy that have arisen in recent years.

In addition to addressing issues related to trade, terrorism, and nuclear weapons, the United States faces a number of other challenges that have emerged in recent years—both threats and opportunities. The United States remains a dominant power in world politics, with the world's largest economy and its largest military. It also provides economic and military aid to many countries around the globe. At the same time, however, the lengthy wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, along with the financial crisis in 2008, rapidly increasing U.S. debt, and a struggling economy, have demonstrated some of the limits to American power.

In recent years a number of developments around the world have posed challenges to the United States. The most notable change has been the tremendous economic growth and global influence of countries such as China and India (Brazil and Russia are often included in this group, leading to the group's identification as the "BRIC" countries).

China has become an economic powerhouse and a major global power. After opening up to global trade and investment in the 1980s, it has achieved the world's

WHAT ARE THE BRIC COUNTRIES?

Former Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, former Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, Chinese President Hu Jintao, and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at the BRIC Summit in Brazil in 2010. The BRIC countries are among the fastest growing emerging economies in the world, with 40% of the world's population and more than 15% of the global economy.

Take a Closer Look

In 2011, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton addressed members of the African Women's Entrepreneurship Program in Zambia. Initiated by the U.S. Department of State in 2010, the program helps to build networks of small-business owners so they can transform their communities through leadership in economic development. "No country can thrive when half of its people are left behind," she stated. "If you don't see all citizens get the rights and freedoms they deserve, you are on the wrong side of history." This kind of political leadership is an example of America's soft power. In contrast to coercion, threats, and financial rewards, soft power is the ability to attract and co-opt, to set the agenda and get others to support the same goals the United States wants. Secretary Clinton's visit to Africa and others like it are at least as effective as military or economic aid in serving the cause of securing friendly relations and support for the United States among peoples and countries around the world.

When the secretary of state attends an event, it indicates that the issue at hand is a high priority for the United States. Support from such a high level in the American government helps to build strong relations and goodwill for the United States.

At this event, whenever former Secretary of State Clinton started to speak, the crowd broke into song. The singing, along with the enthusiasm evident on people's faces, demonstrates agreement with the message that the secretary is delivering about America's policy of supporting women's rights and entrepreneurship.

Soft power is developed over time through policies and values. This photo reflects shared values and goals among the U.S. government and women in Africa who are entrepreneurs benefiting from American aid. The impact of U.S. policy and the values that led to it is likely to spread well beyond the people shown in the photo.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. What are the ways in which the United States exercises soft power?
2. How might the promotion of women's rights and economic opportunities strengthen a country?
3. What U.S. policies and values contribute to its soft power? What does it mean to "set the agenda"?

fastest growing economy and become the world's largest exporter. This growth also means that China enjoys greater power and influence throughout the world, along with a complicated relationship with the United States. Complexity characterizes the interplay between these two nations because China appears to be both the primary challenger to the United States and its most logical partner. Both countries benefit from trade and globalization; both want to limit the spread of nuclear weapons; and both are served by reining in countries, such as Iran and North Korea, that threaten peace and stability. But, tensions and mistrust are in the mix, too. China depends on the U.S. market to sell exports and grow economically, while the United States borrows heavily from China, which finances growing U.S. budget deficits by purchasing American Treasury bonds. This type of interaction creates an unhealthy mutual dependency for economic prosperity. At the same time, China is modernizing its navy, missiles, aircraft, cyber warfare, and anti-satellite weapons, while the United States has begun deploying more military forces in the Pacific, including a new deployment of 2,500 Marines in Australia. The relationship between these two countries will increasingly determine how peaceful or dangerous the world becomes.

India has also experienced rapid economic growth since opening up its economy, becoming a global leader in information technology and software development. It is also one of the world's largest exporters and a major trading partner of the United States. As both a democracy and a nuclear power, India shares many interests with the United States, with the two countries pursuing what they call a "strategic partnership" that includes increased military ties and arms sales, cooperation on nonmilitary nuclear power, growing bilateral trade and investment, and the admission of more than 100,000 Indian students in American universities. The relationship is also seen as a counterweight to the growing clout of China.

In Europe, an economic crisis regarding the euro, the common currency of seventeen nations, poses a challenge for the United States, whose economic fortunes are tied to those of Europe. Like the United States, many countries in Europe have acquired large national debts; unlike the United States, however, countries such as Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Ireland may not be able to pay back the money they owe, which is creating a growing fear. These countries are being told by lenders, and by fellow EU member Germany, to cut their spending and borrowing; but in fact, they continue to borrow even more money in an attempt to revive economic growth, which has declined in the past few years. Germany is key in this crisis, as it has the strongest economy in Europe and is not heavily indebted. With Germany's, at times, reluctant support, the European Central Bank and others have continued to lend money to prevent a default on the loans. At the same time, the countries in trouble try to find a balance between cutting spending to reduce debt and not cutting too much, which will make their recessions and unemployment rates even worse.

Also in Europe, in 2014, Russia aggressively reasserted its military power by invading the neighboring country of Ukraine and annexing its region of Crimea, the first forcible annexation in Europe since World War II. Russia also fed regional instability by supporting local separatist movements in eastern Ukraine, including groups that were accused of shooting down a Malaysian Air passenger jet in July 2014. Tensions rose further when the United States and Europe levied economic sanctions against Russia, which then retaliated with its own economic threats.

Complicating the conduct of American foreign policy is public opinion. The bipartisan consensus on the need to contain communism during the Cold War has long vanished, and no new consensus has emerged. Instead, the American public is often deeply divided over how to proceed on different issues. It can also be difficult to get citizens to devote attention to foreign policy. This is known as the "guns" and "butter" theory. Generally speaking, most citizens are more interested in domestic policy issues ("butter") because they have a greater impact on their everyday lives. Only in case of emergency or times of crisis do citizens express significant concern over foreign policy issues ("guns"). This tendency complicates foreign policy making, and can make it difficult for foreign policy issues to occupy space on the policy agenda.

Review the Chapter

Roots of U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy

18.1 Trace the evolution of U.S. foreign and defense policy, p. 514.

U.S. foreign policy and defense policy have evolved. Foreign and defense policy largely involved trade and commerce, isolationism with regard to Europe, and expansion across North America for most of the nation's first century. As U.S. economic interests expanded, the United States intervened more and more overseas, especially in Latin America and Asia. After a delayed entry into World War I, America retreated into isolation.

The United States as a World Power

18.2 Explain U.S. foreign policy as the country rose to become a world power, p. 518.

The United States' status as a world power was cemented by its entry into, and subsequent victory in, World War II. After the war, foreign and defense policy often dominated the American political agenda, with a focus on internationalism rather than isolationism. American foreign policy during the Cold War was organized around containment and deterrence, and led to U.S. confrontation with the Soviet Union around the world. The post–Cold War period was ushered in by the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and featured policies of democratic enlargement to promote the expansion of democracy and free markets throughout the world. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks marked a new direction in American foreign policy, as the United States pursued a war on terrorism both at home and overseas in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Foreign and Defense Policy Decision Making

18.3 Outline the factors that shape foreign and defense policy decision making, p. 525.

The basic structure of foreign and defense policy decision making is laid out in the Constitution. The executive branch of government dominates foreign and defense policy. The president is preeminent, with the Departments of State, Defense, and Homeland Security also playing important roles, along with the intelligence community. Congress also influences and shapes policy through oversight, treaties, appointments, appropriations, and the War Powers Act. Four types of interest groups are also especially active in trying to influence foreign and defense policy decisions; these groups include the military-industrial complex, ethnic interest groups, foreign governments and companies, and ideological-public interest groups.

Contemporary Challenges in Foreign and Defense Policy

18.4 Identify contemporary foreign and defense policy challenges confronting the United States, p. 533.

The United States faces major challenges in foreign and defense policy during the twenty-first century. These include trade, terrorism, and controlling the spread of nuclear weapons. In terms of trade, China presents the United States with the biggest challenge because of the loss of jobs associated with a surge in Chinese imports, as well as the health and safety problems associated with Chinese imports. The biggest challenge related to terrorism comes from al-Qaeda, the perpetrators of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Al-Qaeda's highly decentralized network of terrorist cells makes it difficult to achieve victory in the traditional sense. Finally, one significant challenge related to nuclear weapons comes from North Korea. This country has tested nuclear weapons and missiles, and has responded to economic sanctions with violence against South Korea.

Toward Reform: New Challenges in American Foreign Policy

18.5 Understand emerging challenges to American foreign policy that have arisen in recent years, p. 542.

The United States remains a dominant power in world politics, with vast economic and military power. However, war and economic difficulties present limits to American power, and in recent years a number of new developments have posed challenges to the United States. The rise of China and India is having an impact on American influence around the world. China has become both a partner and a competitor of the United States, while India has enjoyed a more cooperative relationship with the United States in recent years. In Europe, the financial crisis over the euro threatens American economic prosperity.

Learn the Terms

Study and **Review** the **Flashcards**

Berlin Wall, p. 520
Bretton Woods System, p. 519
collective security, p. 517
containment, p. 519
Contras, p. 522
Cuban Missile Crisis, p. 520
defense policy, p. 514
Department of Defense, p. 528
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détente, p. 521
democratic enlargement, p. 522
European Union, p. 522
Farewell Address, p. 515
foreign policy, p. 514
free trade system, p. 533
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), p. 519
global war on terrorism, p. 525
human rights, p. 521
International Monetary Fund (IMF), p. 519
isolationism, p. 515
Joint Chiefs of Staff, p. 528
manifest destiny, p. 516
Marshall Plan, p. 520
military-industrial complex, p. 532
Monroe Doctrine, p. 515
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), p. 533
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), p. 520
protectionism, p. 533
Reagan Doctrine, p. 522
Roosevelt Corollary, p. 516
strategic trade policy, p. 533
Taliban, p. 525
tariffs, p. 515
Truman Doctrine, p. 520
UN Security Council, p. 518
War Powers Resolution, p. 530
World Bank, p. 519
World Trade Organization (WTO), p. 522

Test Yourself

Study and **Review** the **Practice Tests**

1. In his 1796 Farewell Address, George Washington suggested that the United States

a. make peace treaties with France.
b. avoid international trade.
c. avoid permanent alliances.
d. depend heavily on Europe for trade.
e. make peace treaties with England.

2. The Roosevelt Corollary

a. was an extension of the Monroe Doctrine.
b. justified U.S. intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean.
c. resulted in the creation of the Panama Canal.
d. was proclaimed by Theodore Roosevelt.
e. all of the above.

3. The strategy of opposing Soviet expansion with military forces, economic assistance, and political influence was known as

a. containment.
b. alliance theory.
c. balance of power.
d. preventionism.
e. isolationism.

4. The policy of democratic enlargement involved all but which of the following?

a. Promotion of democracy and free markets
b. Creation of the World Trade Organization
c. Cutting off all relations with China after the killing of demonstrators at Tiananmen Square
d. Signing the North American Free Trade Agreement
e. Expanding the NATO alliance

5. The Framers intended to

a. endow the states with foreign policy powers.
b. divide foreign policy powers between the Congress and the president.
c. give all foreign policy powers to the president.
d. give the states and federal government equal foreign policy powers.
e. give the Supreme Court the power to declare war.

6. Congress conducts oversight of foreign and defense policy through

a. cutting funding for presidential initiatives it opposes.
b. periodic questioning of the president in Congressional hearings.
c. removing Cabinet members from their positions.
d. maintaining the "Office of Presidential Oversight" in the White House.
e. establishing reporting requirements.

7. Which of the following is NOT a major foreign policy challenge facing the United States?

- **a.** The spread of nuclear weapons
- **b.** The U.S. trade deficit with China
- **c.** Maintaining peaceful relations with Canada and Mexico
- **d.** Defeating al-Qaeda
- **e.** Terrorism

8. The most common methods by which the United States tries to stop the spread of nuclear weapons are

- **a.** disarmament, arms control, and, as a last resort, invasion.
- **b.** disarmament, defense, denial, counterproliferation, and arms control.
- **c.** deterrence and defense.
- **d.** shock, denial, anger, and acceptance.
- **e.** arms control treaties with China.

9. Which of the following is NOT a major issue between the United States and China?

- **a.** China's increasing military modernization
- **b.** The U.S. deployment of Marines to Australia
- **c.** American indebtedness to China
- **d.** China's dependence on the United States to purchase its exports
- **e.** The periodic change of political parties in control of the White House

10. Limitations to American power and influence are demonstrated by

- **a.** the lengthy wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- **b.** growing U.S. debt.
- **c.** the rise of the BRIC countries.
- **d.** the euro crisis.
- **e.** all of the above.