

Chapter Twenty

Foreign and Military Policy

Kinds of Foreign Policy

- **Majoritarian politics:** foreign policy is perceived to confer widespread benefits, impose widespread costs (war, alliances)
- **Interest group politics:** identifiable groups are pitted against one another for costs, benefits (tariffs)
- **Client politics:** Benefits go to an identifiable group, without apparent costs to any distinct group (policy toward Israel)

The President and Congress

- The president is the commander-in-chief
 - but Congress appropriates the money
- The president appoints ambassadors
 - but Senate confirms them
- The president negotiates treaties
 - but the Senate must ratify them with a two-thirds vote

The President and Congress

- Only Congress can regulate commerce with other nations and declare war
- But Americans think that the president is in charge and history confirms that belief

Presidential Power

- Presidents have been relatively strong in foreign affairs
- And yet presidents have been comparatively weak in foreign affairs by the standards of other nations
- Treaties signed by the president are little more than a promise to try to get the Senate to act

The Courts and Foreign Policy

- The Supreme Court has ruled that the federal government has foreign and military policy powers beyond those specifically mentioned in the Constitution
- The Supreme Court is reluctant to intervene in Congress-president disputes about war powers

Checks on Presidential Power

- Congress has control of the purse strings
- Congress also limits the president's ability to give military or economic aid to other countries
- Oversight: House and Senate intelligence committees must be fully informed; including covert operations

War Powers Act of 1973

- All commitments of troops in hostile situations must be reported within forty-eight hours
- Only a sixty-day commitment of troops can be made unless there is a declaration of war or a specific statutory authorization
- Every president since the passage of the War Powers Act has sent troops abroad without congressional approval
- Presidents deny that the War Powers Act is constitutional

National Security Council (NSC)

- Chaired by the president and includes the vice president, secretaries of state and defense
 - usually includes the director of the CIA, chair of Joint Chiefs of Staff, and attorney general
- The goal is to present various perspectives, facilitate presidential decision making, and implement presidential decisions

Foreign Policy and Public Opinion

- The public tends to support the president in crises
- Military casualties often lead the public to support escalation, so fighting will end more quickly
- Since World War II, the public has generally felt the U.S. should play an important international role

Table 20.1: Popular Reactions to Foreign Policy Crises

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Percentage of public saying that they approve of the way the president is handling his job

Foreign Policy Crisis		Before	After
1960	American U-2 spy plane shot down over Soviet Union	62%	68%
1961	Abortive landing at Bay of Pigs in Cuba	73	83
1962	Cuban missile crisis	61	74
1975	President Ford sends forces to rescue the American ship	40	51
1979	American embassy in Teheran seized by Iranians	32	61
1980	Failure of military effort to rescue hostages in Iran	39	43
1983	U.S. invasion of Grenada	43	53
1989	U.S. invasion of Panama	71	80
1990	U.S. troops to Persian Gulf	60	75
1995	U.S. troops to Bosnia	59	54
1999	U.S. troops to Kosovo	55	51
2001	U.S. combat in Afghanistan	51	86
2003	U.S. invasion of Iraq	58	71

Source: Updated from Theodore J. Lowi, *The End of Liberalism* (New York: Norton, 1969), 184. Poll data are from Gallup poll. Time lapse between "before" and "after" samplings of opinion was in no case more than one month.

Table 20.2: How the Public and the Elite See Foreign Policy, 2004

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	Percentage Agreeing	
	Public	Leaders
Combating international terrorism should be very important	71	84
Protect jobs of American workers	78	41
Reduce illegal immigration	59	21
Support U.S. troops in Afghanistan	60	92
Use U.S. troops to defend South Korea if attacked by North	43	82
Take Israel's side in conflicts with Palestinians	17	15
Expand economic aid to other countries	8	61

Source: *Global Views 2004* (Chicago: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 2004).

Worldviews

- **Worldview** (or paradigm): comprehensive mental picture of world issues
- **Isolationism paradigm** (1920s–1930s): opposes getting involved in wars
- **Containment** (anti-appeasement) **paradigm** (1940s–1960s): postwar policy to resist Soviet expansionism

Worldviews

- **Disengagement (Vietnam) paradigm** (1970s, continuing): reaction to military defeat and the political disaster of Vietnam
- Human rights: prevent genocide--the mass murder of people, usually because of their race or ethnicity

The Defense Budget

- Changes in spending reflect public opinion and general support for a large military
- The demise of the U.S.S.R. generated a debate about cutting costs
- Desert Storm (1991) and Kosovo (1999) demonstrated that the U.S. would have to use military force
- With Kosovo, it also became clear that cuts had impaired the military's ability to conduct a sustained campaign

U.S. Military Intervention in the Middle East

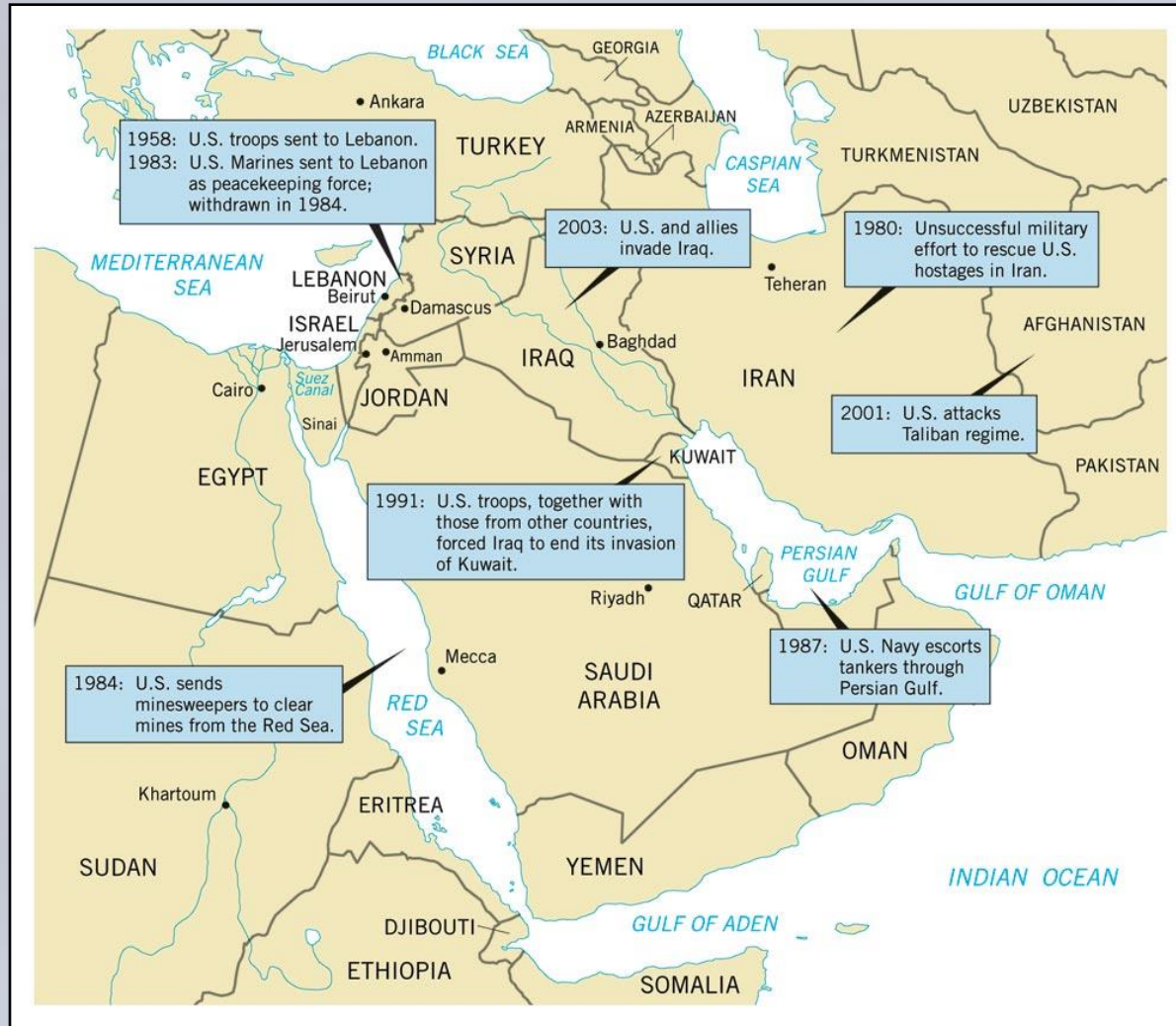
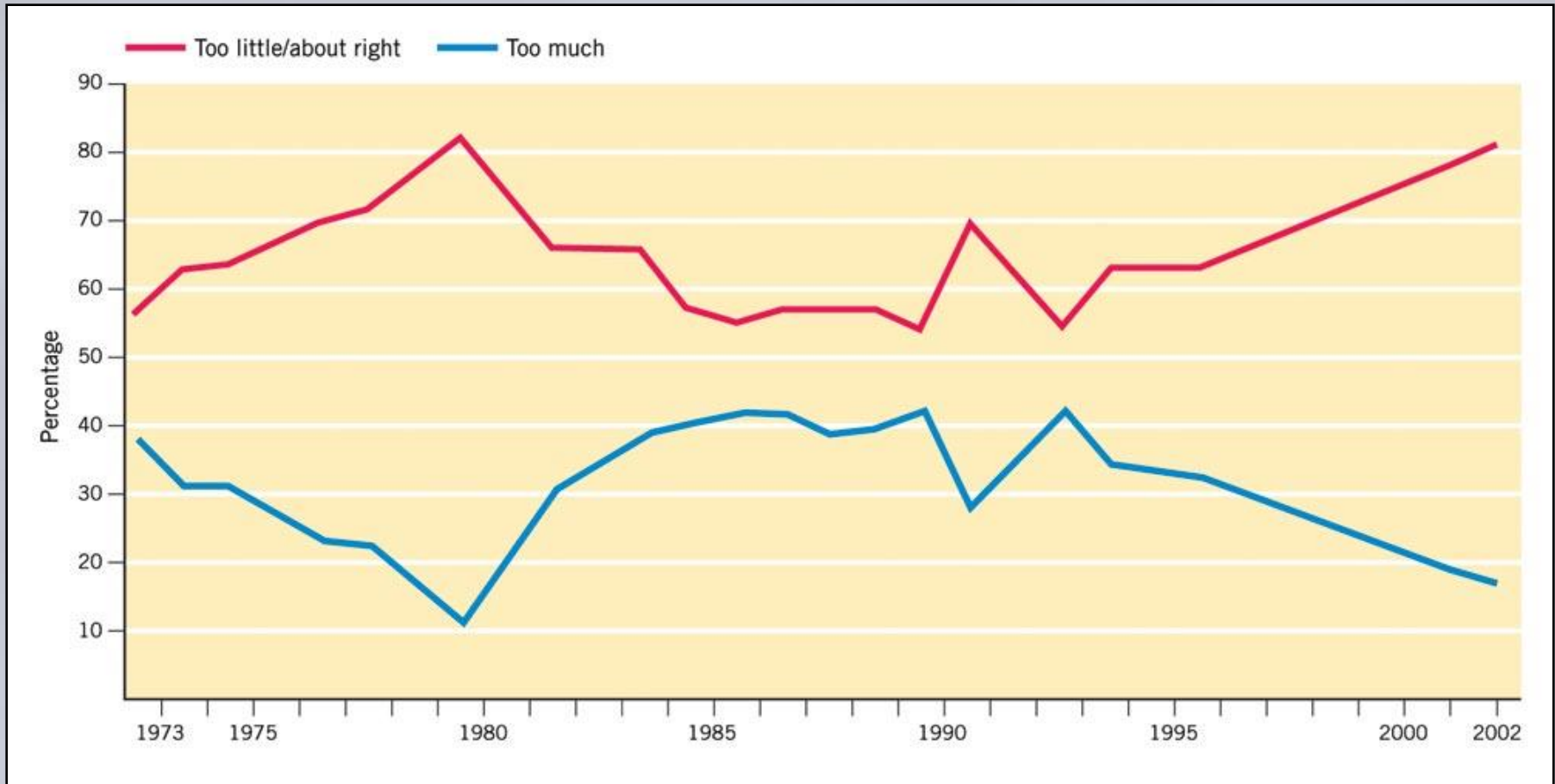


Figure 20.2: Public Sentiment on Defense Spending, 1960-2002



Updated from *The Public Perspective* (August/September 1997), 19, and Gallup poll.

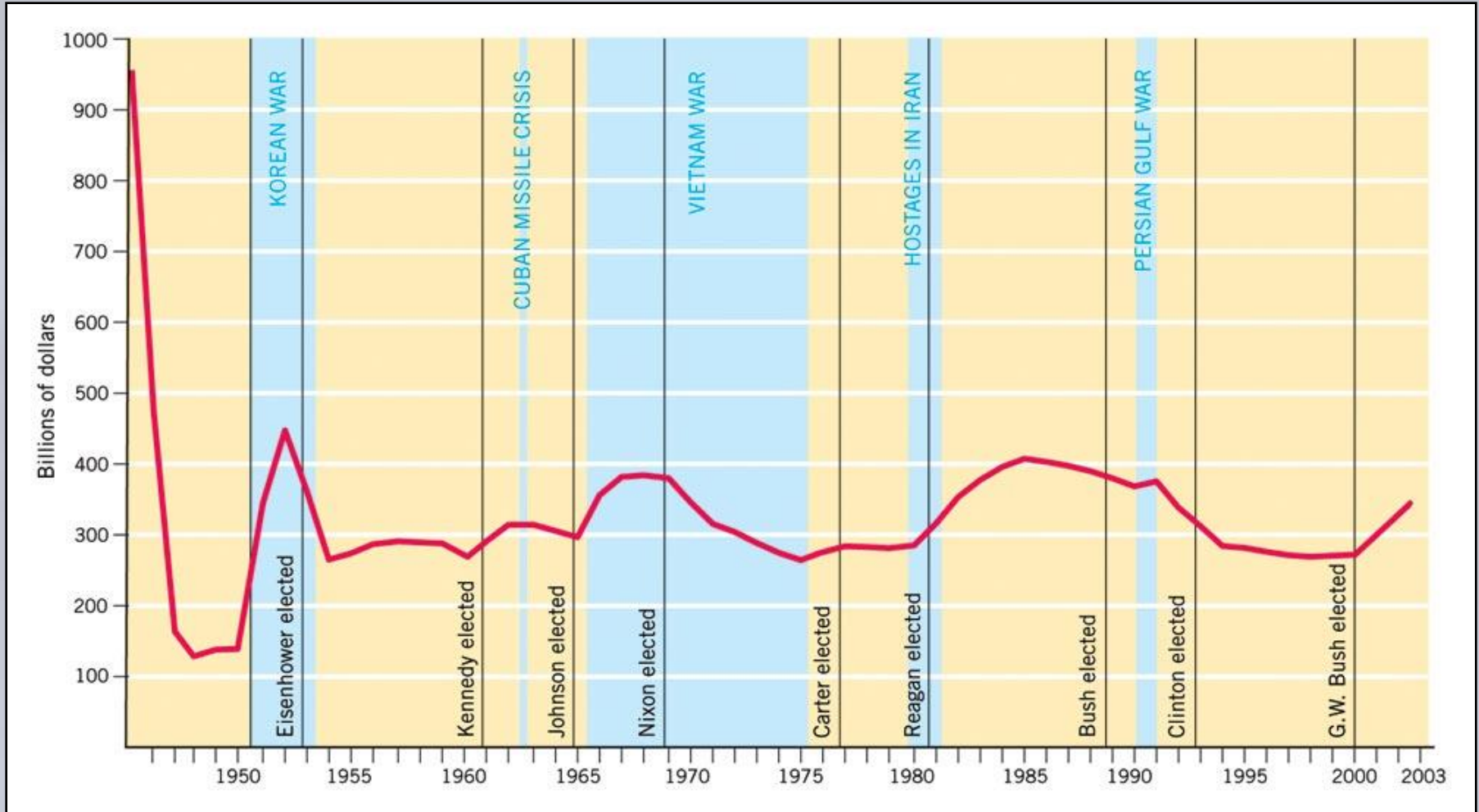
What We Pay For

- Personnel: an all-volunteer force was instituted after Vietnam
- Big ticket items may result in **cost overruns**—the difference between actual costs and estimated costs
- Small ticket items: The problem is getting small equipment (e.g., a coffeemaker) that will fit into an odd space (e.g., a plane)

What We Pay For

- Readiness: client politics makes readiness a low priority (after building equipment and maintaining bases)
- Bases: the system for locating/maintaining military bases was purely client politics

Figure 20.1: Trends in Military Spending (in constant dollars)



Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), "National Defense Budget Estimates for FY 2003."

Decision Making

- Department of Defense: Secretary of Defense is a civilian, as are secretaries of army, navy, air force
- Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS): composed of uniformed head of each service
- The chain of command runs from the president to the Secretary of Defense to unified and specified commands

Terrorism

- Since 9/11, foreign policy has had to focus on terrorism and what to do with nations that have harbored terrorists
- Superpower status in a unipolar world still leaves the U.S. vulnerable both here and abroad to terrorist attacks