George W. Bush has made it clear the US will treat any nation that harbors and supports terrorism as a hostile regime.

“Bush Doctrine” was this claim, and seemed to put the world in two very different camps- one was composed of nations that agreed with the US stance against terrorism, regardless of whether they were pro- or antidemocratic, while the other was composed of nations that gave even the slightest support to terrorism.

The question is, should the Bush Doctrine preempt all the other US foreign and defense priorities?

Some nations will be on the right side in the war against terrorism but on the wrong side of opening their borders to trade, controlling weapons of mass destruction, or strengthening human rights.

Presidents must decide how hard to push on one issue before they will lose all influence over another.

The framers made 3 basic decision that guide foreign policy even today:

1. They declared that foreign policy was a national, not state, responsibility.
2. The framers concentrated the authority to make foreign and defense policy in the president- making the president both commander and diplomat in chief because the nation needed a single point of contact for representing what was then a very clearly defined national interest: survival.
3. The framers checked the President’s power by giving Congress as a whole the power to declare war, raise an army and a navy, and make the rules of war and by giving the Senate the power to ratify all treaties by a two-thirds vote and confirm all ambassadors by a majority vote.

Defining Vital US Interests

In the broadest sense, the primary goal of US foreign and defense policy is to protect the nation from harm, whether from other nations or individual terrorists, nuclear missiles, or suicide bombings. Over the past several generations, the US has become involved in world affairs to a degree unprecedented in history.

US security and economic interests are inevitably tied to what happens in the rest of the world.

Balancing political, economic, and social values is critical in defining vital US interests. Americans want peace, but not if it means that they must give up basic freedoms.

Policy making invariable involves deciding among options.

Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor to President Bush, has outlined the following priorities:

To ensure that America’s military can deter war, project power, and fight in defense of its interests if deterrence fails.
To promote economic growth and political openness by extending free trade and a stable international monetary system to all nations committed to these principles, including those in the Western Hemisphere, which has too often been neglected as a vital area of US national interest.

To renew strong and intimate relationships with allies who share American values and can thus share the burden of promoting peace, prosperity and freedom.

To focus US energies on comprehensive relationships with the big powers, particularly Russia and China, that can and will mold the character of the international political system.

To deal decisively with the threat of rogue regimes and hostile powers, which is increasingly taking the form of the potential for terrorism and the development of weapons of mass destruction.

**New Foreign Policy Challenges**

- We have recognized that the world has become a far more complicated place for making foreign policy. Whereas the US used to set its national interest in opposition to the Soviet Union, it must now think hard about where and how to engage.
- Even small nations with limited resources can now have enormous influence on the rest of the world by building a single chemical, biological, or nuclear weapon.
- The internet has made international borders virtually useless for stopping the flow of democratic ideals.
- Inexpensive air travel has made the movement of people much easier.
- The world is a much more unstable place than it was when the US and Soviet Union were in the Cold War.
- The elimination of totalitarian governments has led to the reemergence of ethnic nationalism in some areas of Eastern Europe and the rise of fundamentalist governments in the Middle East and Asia.

**Primary Foreign Policy Goals**

- Current US foreign and defense policy is dominated by five major goals: winning the war on terrorism, controlling the spread of WMD, promoting US trade, finding peace in the Middle East, and promoting democracy in the former Soviet Union.

**1. Winning the War on Terrorism**

- The war against terrorism did not become a top foreign and defense priority until the September 11th attacks showed just how determined terrorists such as bin Laden could be in bringing their terror to the US. Suddenly, terrorism was not just something that happened to other nations.
- In the short term, the war on terrorism focuses on law enforcement, better intelligence about threats, and the use of military force to attack terrorists. In the longer term, the war involves efforts to prevent terrorism by building healthy democracies in which terrorism cannot flourish.
- Experts agree the US will almost certainly be attacked again.
- The homeland security plan is designed around 3 broad goals that signal the great risk the nation faces: 1. To prevent specific acts of terrorism by tightening the borders, improving airline security, freezing the financial assets of individuals and
groups that fund terrorism, reorganizing government, and prosecuting suspected terrorists; 2. To reduce the vulnerability of key domestic assets such as natural gas pipelines and nuclear power plants and 3. To improve response and recovery time so that the victims of future terrorist attacks are helped as quickly as possible.

2. **Controlling Weapons of Mass Destruction**
   - The single greatest threat to US security came the spread of WMD.
   - The October 2001 anthrax scare showed just how disruptive even a small terrorist action can be.
   - “Good intentions on export controls are often undermined by ignorance and greed.”
   - US and Russia are reducing their own stockpiles of nuclear weapons.
   - In 1993, the US, Russia and an even larger number of other nations signed the Chemical Weapons Convention, which required all parties to declare and destroy their stocks of chemical weapons.
   - The security of our soldiers and citizens was at stake, while critics argued that the treaty amounted to unilateral disarmament because Libya, Iraq, Syria, and North Korea had not signed it.

3. **Promoting US Trade:**
   - even as the world has become more dangerous, it has become more interdependent and competitive economically.
   - A basic policy of free trade, meaning a commitment to the free movement of goods across international borders.
   - The US still tries to protect certain industries through the use of import quotas (which restrict the amount of a particular product that can be purchased abroad) or export quotas (which restrict the amount of a product that can be sold.)
   - Occasionally they impose tariffs on particular imports to raise the price so that their own products are more attractive- PROTECTIONISM. Which violates the basic concept of free trade.
   - The US also uses trade as a tool to promote human rights and democratic reform.
   - Permanent Normal Trade Relations- status for China, under Clinton, which gives them the same favorable trade concessions and tariffs that its best trade partners receive.
   - 1994, Congress limited its own debate about trade agreements to a simple yes or no vote with no amendments.

4. **Finding Peace in the Middle East:**
   - the US has to address the demand for an independent Palestinian state in the territories captured by Israel during the 1967 Six-Day War and occupied since then.
   - Camp David Accords- after 12 days of secret negotiations, Egypt agreed to acknowledge Israel’s right to exist as an independent state, and Israel agreed to return the Sinai Peninsula to Egyptian control. The fragile peace began to unravel almost immediately.
   - The US used its foreign policy muscle to push both sides to negotiate.
The US eventually resolved its dilemma by calling for Israel to withdraw while encouraging the Palestinian people to remove Arafat from power, but it found itself no closer to resolving the Palestinian question.

5. Strengthening Democracy in the Former Soviet Union:
- The transition from communism to capitalism has been a painful one in Russia and the other republics, so much so that many residents believe that the old communist system is preferable to the new democratic uncertainty.
- Americans want to help democracy take hold but worry about the ability of these nations to use the aid wisely.
- Such investment is essential to help with the transition to a market economy and to encourage the gradual development of healthy constitutional democracies in that region.

THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY BUREAUCRACY
- Presidents can bargain, negotiate, persuade, apply economic pressure, threaten, or even use armed force. In addition, the agencies that carry out foreign policy report directly or indirectly to the president.
- The president is authorized to recognize or refuse to recognize other governments.
- The courts have the power to interpret treaties, but by and large they have ruled that relations with other nations are matters for the executive to decide.
- The president’s principal foreign policy adviser is the secretary of state - who administers the State Department, receives visits from foreign diplomats, attends international conferences, and usually heads the US delegation in the General Assembly of the UN. The secretary also serves as the administration’s chief coordinator of all governmental actions that affect our relations with other nations. In practice, the secretary of state delegates the day-to-day responsibilities for running the State Department and spends most of the time negotiating with the leaders of other countries.
- The conduct of foreign affairs is now the business of several major departments and agencies, including State, Defense, Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Energy, the CIA and the Department of Homeland Security.

Divided Opinions
- The leaders of many departments often have intense disagreements over the direction of national policy.
- Neoconservatives “Hawks” - Rumsfeld, Cheney, Rice, advisers who believe that the US has a moral obligation to confront evil wherever it resides. They also tend to be much more willing to recommend the use of military force to protect vital US interests.
- Realists - Powell, advisers who tend to see diplomacy as the first line of response in crisis and are suspicious of broad us-versus-them thinking of the kind embedded in the Bush Doctrine. They accept the world as it is and work with the realities as best they can to protect American interests.
- By early 2002, the split had emerged again as the administration faced charges that it was losing ground on a host of other foreign and defense policy goals, including
immigration reform with Mexico, economic chaos in Central and South America, and human rights in Saudi Arabia.

- The Bush Doctrine appeared less useful in sorting through the growing backlog of other foreign and defense issues.
- Neoconservatives argued that the US had a moral obligation to remove Iraq’s president from power.
- The realists argued that the US needed to consider the impact of such an attack on other foreign and defense policy goals.

Preparing the Nation for War

- The first step was to announce a new US policy called PRE-EMPTION- Bush claimed the power to attack any nation whose chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons threatened the US either directly or through possible links to terrorists.
- Congress was asked to authorize the use of US armed forces to defend the national security of the US against the continuing threat posed by Iraq, and enforce all relevant UN Security resolutions against Iraq.
- Under the proposed resolution, the president- and him alone- would be given the authority to order US forces into action if he determined that further diplomatic or other peaceful means alone wouldn’t work.

The Central Intelligence Agency

- Effective foreign policy is dependent on accurate, timely information.
- The people who gather and analyze intelligence data are therefore among the most important advisors to policy makers.
- CIA was created in 1947 to coordinate the gathering and analysis of information that flows into various parts of the US government from all over the world.
- CIA has 20,000 employees.
- After the attacks, they got huge budget increases for special funding, including recruiting specialists in Arabic languages.
- The CIA has a mixed record in preventing foreign policy failures.
- Aldrich Ames, 1994, had been spying for the Soviets for more than a decade and was considered the worst betrayal of US intelligence in the history of the CIA.
- US cannot conduct foreign policy without at least some secrecy.

The Department of Defense

- Does the day-to-day work of organizing for defense. Its headquarters, the Pentagon, ho uses within its 17.5 miles of corridors 23,000 top military and civilian personnel.
- Its leaders are still working to ensure both strategic vision and practical coordination among the military services.
- Army, Navy and Air Force are under the general supervision of the secretary of defense.
Joint Chiefs of Staff - committee that serves as the principal military adviser to the president, the National Security Council, and the secretary of defense. It includes the heads of three armed services, plus the commandant of the Marine Corps, and the chair and vice chair of the Joint Chiefs. The president, with the consent of the Senate, appoints all the service chiefs to 4-year nonrenewable terms.

Department of Defense Reorganization Act - 1986- shifted power to the chair. Reporting through the secretary of defense, the chair now advises the president on military matters, exercises authority over the forces in the field, and is responsible for overall military planning.

The chair of the Joint Chiefs today is the most powerful peacetime military officer in the US history.

The chair of the Joint Chiefs is NOT the head of the military- they are the advisers to the secretary of defense and the president, but the president can, and on occasion has, disregarded their advice.

Insiders often stress that the policy making structure of defense is best thought of as a confederation or a bargaining arena rather than a tight-chain of command hierarchy.

The technological revolution in warfare has rendered obsolete many concepts about military missions, thereby threatening the traditional roles of some of the services.

Each branch also supports weapons that bring it prestige.

The Joint Chiefs engage in the same type of vote trading used in Congress.

The Department of Homeland Security

Plays a small but important role in foreign policy by policing US borders.

22 agencies and a work force of 170,000 full time civil servants make up the department.

Includes the Border Patrol, the Coast Guard, the Customs Service, elements of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Transportation Security Administration.

The department has two basic goals: to prevent the entry of terrorists into the country and to reduce the chances of a terrorist attack.

MAKING FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

Public Opinion

Presidents and their advisers know that their decisions will ultimately require support from the public and from Congress.

The public appears to consists of 3 subcategories:

Mass Public - 75% of the adult population, this group knows little about the details of foreign affairs, despite the subjects importance. They concern themselves with foreign affairs mainly in conflict situations, especially those involving the use of American troops abroad.

Attentive Public - 15-20% of the population, maintains an active interest in foreign policy.
The Opinion Makers - the smallest public, as editors, teachers, writers, and political and business leaders, they transmit information and judgements on foreign affairs and mobilize the support of the other two publics.

Foreign affairs issues are more remote than domestic issues.

Key Foreign Policy Concepts:

- **Internationalism** - a foreign policy that recognizes that concern for trade, human rights, and international peace requires not only a strong military but also the willingness to intervene where vital US interests are at stake.
- **Isolationism** - a foreign policy that curtails US military aid and intervention abroad as much as policy.
- **Realpolitik** - a foreign policy based on practical and self-interest factors rather than on moral, idealistic, or theoretical considerations. Realists believe the US should intervene in world affairs only if its vital interests are in jeopardy.
- **Containment** - a foreign policy aimed at halting the spread of communism.
- **Deterrence** - after WWII, the nation’s primary defense against nuclear attack - the ability to threaten massive retaliation on any nation that attacked us.
- **New World Order** - a vague label pinned on post-cold war period in which the US plays a vital role as the only remaining super power in preserving peace, encouraging economic opportunity, and promoting human rights throughout the world.

Americans have become more engaged in politics in the days and weeks following September 11th - 96% of Americans in mid-September said they were following news reports closely.

Americans became much more concerned about making foreign policy with the nation’s allies in mind, in making sure the United States was in charge and increasing defense spending.

Interest Groups

- At times of international crisis, the president is usually able to mobilize public support so that interest groups find it difficult to exert much influence.
- As a general rule, special-interest groups with other than major economic interest rarely have a decisive role in the formulation of foreign policy.
- Ethnic interest groups sometimes play an important role in foreign and defense policy decisions.
- Citizens often retain a special bond with their country of origin - such groups also play a role in foreign and defense policy decisions.
- Agricultural interests have lobbied successfully as well.
- Businesses may also have their own foreign policies.

Foreign Nations

- Most countries have embassies that lobby for their interests in Washington.
- Foreign nations have occasionally tried to influence US policy through less visible means - Ex. The illegal contributions by China to the Clinton-Gore campaign in 1996.
Political Parties

- Political parties do not usually play a major role in shaping foreign and defense policy for 2 reasons:
  - 1. Many Americans still prefer to keep partisan politics out of foreign policy.
  - 2. Parties usually take less clear and candid stands on foreign policy than they do on domestic policy.
- Bipartisanship - a policy that emphasizes a united front and cooperation between the major political parties, especially on sensitive foreign policy issues.
- Most Democrats remained reluctant to criticize the administration’s handling of the war effort abroad, but they were increasingly vocal about problems in restoring a sense of security at home.

Congress

- Congress seldom initiates foreign policy on its own, it has taken the lead on some trade and economic assistance questions and of course controls the power of the purse.
- Congress is authorized to define the limits of presidential warmaking powers.
- Individual members of Congress are sometimes included within the circle of those who make foreign and defense policy decisions.
- Congress is a crucial link between policy makers and the public. Regardless of their party, members of Congress want a voice in foreign policy.

Making Foreign Policy in a Democracy

- A democratic foreign policy is presumably one in which policy makers are known and are held accountable to the people.
- It is tough to do with foreign policy, because at times they need to act with speed and sometimes with secrecy.
- The American public still wants to be consulted and informed, and it wants its leaders held accountable.
- A democracy can make sure that policy mistakes eventually become public.

FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY OPTIONS

Conventional Diplomacy

- Much of US foreign policy is conducted by the Foreign Service and ambassadors in face-to-face discussions in Washington and other capitals, at the UN, etc.
- Personal leader-to-leader communication is still an Important, if slow, process by which nations can gain information, talk about mutual interests, and try to resolve disputes.
- It is difficult to measure the value of diplomatic representation.
- When relations between nations become strained, diplomatic relations are sometimes broken as a means of political coercion.
- Breaking diplomatic relation is a last resort.
The Role of the United Nations

- The UN is one of the most important arenas for traditional diplomacy.
- Established in 1945 by the victors of WWII and now has 189 nation members.
- 5 permanent members of the Security Council - US, Russia, China, Britain, France, usually work in harmony.
- Several of the specialized agencies of the UN - World Health Organization, UNICEF, etc. are considered major successes.
- UN’s peacekeeping efforts are often plagued by inadequate and often underprepared personnel.
- Where the US intervenes alone, the US pays all the costs and runs all the risks. When the UN joins them, the US pays only 26% of the costs and others provide the vast majority of troops.

Foreign Aid

- The US offers aid to more than 100 countries directly and to other nations through contributions to various UN development funds.
- Since 1945 the US has provided $400 billion in economic assistance to foreign countries.
- US spends around $15 billion per year on foreign aid.
- Most foreign aid goes to countries that the US deems to be of strategic importance to our national security: Israel, Egypt, Ukraine, Jordan, India, Russia, South Africa, Haiti.
- Amount of $ will change in the future as more $ are given to fight the war on terrorism.
- Most foreign aid is actually spent IN the US where it pays for the purchase of American services and products being sent to those countries. It thus amounts to a hefty subsidy for American companies and their employees.
- State Department officials are the biggest advocates of foreign aid.
- Congress often criticizes foreign aid as “Ghana vs. Grandma”

Economic Sanctions

- The US has frequently applied economic pressure in response to a nation’s unwillingness to abide by what we perceive to be international law or proper relations.
- Economic Sanctions - a denial of export, import, or financial relations with a target country in an effort to change that country’s policies.
- They are especially unpopular among farmers and corporations that have to sacrifice part of their overseas markets to comply with government controls, and they rarely work as effectively as intended.
- They can also be costly to US businesses and workers while intensifying anti-American sentiment.
- Many argue the US should direct sanctions at rulers, not the populace at large.
Military Intervention

♦ War is not merely an extension of diplomacy but rather the complete and total breakdown of diplomatic efforts.
♦ Military action by the US is most successful when it involves small and even medium-sized countries.
♦ Lessons from past interventions are one reason Americans are often reluctant to support it.
♦ Opposing views prompted renewed debates about the conditions under which the US should resort to military intervention.
♦ Not all military action is visible to the public or even the intended target, covert action can produce entirely unintended consequences.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN DEFENSE POLICY

♦ Since 1945, more than 100,000 military personnel have died in undeclared wars; more than 400,000 have suffered battle injuries.
♦ The war in Afghanistan was never officially declared, nor was the air war over Kosovo or the Gulf War.
♦ 3 out of 5 Americans said the US should use military force to prevent future terrorism, compared to just 1 out of 5 who said it should use force to punish the terrorists.
♦ Even after September 11th, most Americans continue to believe the US should not send forces into regional conflicts when other means are available to achieve our objectives.
♦ Powell Doctrine—Says when the US goes to war it should be for a clear purpose, only when our vital national security interests are threatened and our goal should be overwhelming victory. He states that “half hearted warfare for half baked reasons is misguided defense policy.”
♦ During WWI Congress passed the Selective Service Act requiring the draft of males between the ages of 21-30. Conscription ended when the conflict ended.
♦ In 1941 it was changed to be all men ages 18-35, and when the war ended, the draft continued.
♦ Shortly before the Vietnam war we established an All-Volunteer Force.
♦ The military has had problems attracting the desired number of recruits.
♦ Minorities are overrepresented in the armed services, especially in the Army where African Americans make up 30% of the enlisted ranks.
♦ Preparedness may be judged in part by the educational level of new recruits 80% of all new enlisted troops have graduated from high school.
♦ The all volunteer force was set up as a peacetime measure.
♦ Women constitute 14% of the total enlistment in the armed forces and 6% of the forces in the Persian Gulf war.
♦ The military is redesigning its assignments to ensure that equal opportunity exists within its ranks but has yet to assign women to specific combat roles.
♦ The difficulty in deciding whether women should participate in combat often comes in defining what combat is.
The Politics of Defense Spending

- The US defense budget reached $365 billion in 2003
- Half the people employed by the national government work in the Defense Department.
- Defense spending increased during much of the 1990s.
- Both presidential candidates promised a major increase in defense spending in the 200 campaign, in part because military pay was lagging far behind comparable private sector salaries, greater health care costs for military personnel, and long-planned purchases of new fighter jets, ships, and the proposed missile shield.
- More than half of all defense spending goes to people, actual operations such as the war in Afghanistan, and maintenance.
- Many argue that the nation needs a much lighter, highly mobile force to combat terrorism and that future spending on “cold war legacy” systems such as nuclear attack submarines and heavy tanks is wasteful.
- They argue the US can’t have it all - old cold war systems, new high-tech systems and decent military pay.
- Congress can rarely muster the will to kill a weapons system - they are an American industry that members of Congress work hard to promote and protect.
- Military Industrial Complex in the US supports increased defense spending as a way to protect jobs

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

- The war on terrorism is unlike any war the nation has ever fought.
- The targets are hard to find and equally hard to destroy.
- It is also getting more demanding as the Internet spreads democratic and capitalistic ideas to once isolated corners of the world.
