

CHAPTER 20

Foreign Policy and Military Policy

REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

CHAPTER FOCUS

This chapter presents a survey of selected topics in United States foreign policy (or rather policies), focusing on the political processes involved in arriving at those policies. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. List the constitutional powers of the president and compare them with the authority of Congress in foreign affairs. Indicate why it is naive to read the Constitution literally in order to determine which institution has the major responsibility to conduct foreign policy. Explain why the president has a larger role than the Framers intended.
2. Compare the president's powers with those of a prime minister in a parliamentary system.
3. Explain why checks on the powers of the national government in foreign affairs are primarily political rather than constitutional.
4. Give reasons for the volatility of public opinion on foreign affairs. Explain the advantages that the president obtains when he acts resolutely in crises. Describe the problems that the president may face, using public opinion on the Vietnam War as an example.
5. Explain the worldview concept, and describe the containment strategy of Mr. X. Summarize essential elements of the Munich–Pearl Harbor and post-Vietnam worldviews. Discuss the revisionist argument that it is the material interests of elites, rather than their principles, that explain American foreign policy. Indicate the potential objections to this view.
6. Explain how the condition of the defense industry makes necessary a follow-up system in the distribution of contracts. Indicate the extent to which client defense politics affects U.S. industry, and compare the performance of defense contractors with that of similar non-defense companies.
7. Explain the events which led up to the War and Iraq and explain how the War has affected public opinion differently than previous wars.
8. Explain why the cost-overrun problem is primarily the result of bureaucratic rather than political factors, and describe proposed reforms of the system.
9. Explain why the 1947 and 1949 Defense Reorganization Acts prevented the merger of services in the Defense Department. Review the current structure of the department, and explain how it contributes to inter-service rivalries. Explain why presidents find it difficult to use the Joint Chiefs of Staff to control defense policy making. Discuss the reforms adopted in 1986.

STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
 - A. Effects of the 9/11 attacks
 - 1. Public consciousness about international terrorism
 - 2. Outbursts of patriotism
 - 3. Confidence in government
 - 4. Emergence of important fundamental questions
 - a) How to wage a “war” against terrorism?
 - b) How to hold other nations accountable?
 - c) How to act when other nations fight terrorism?
 - d) Does such a war require military to be redesigned?
 - 5. Reemergence of classic questions
 - a) Do we only support nations that are reasonably free and democratic?
 - b) Are we the world’s policemen?
 - B. Democratic politics and foreign and military policy
 - 1. Tocqueville and weakness of democracy
 - 2. Others blame reckless policies of presidents
- II. Kinds of foreign policy
 - A. Majoritarian politics
 - 1. Perceived to confer widespread benefits, impose widespread costs
 - 2. Examples
 - a) War
 - b) Military alliances
 - c) Nuclear test-ban or strategic arms-limitation treaties
 - d) Response to Berlin blockade by Soviets
 - e) Cuban missile crisis
 - f) Covert CIA operations
 - g) Diplomatic recognition of People’s Republic of China
 - B. Interest group politics
 - 1. Identifiable groups pitted against one another for costs, benefits
 - 2. Examples
 - a) Cyprus policy: Greeks versus Turks
 - b) Tariffs: Japanese versus steel
 - C. Client politics
 - 1. Benefits to identifiable group, without apparent costs to any distinct group
 - 2. Example: Israel policy (transformation to interest-group politics?)
 - D. Who has power?
 - 1. Majoritarian politics: president dominates; public opinion supports but does not guide
 - 2. Interest group or client politics: larger congressional role
 - 3. Entrepreneurial politics: Congress the central political arena
- III. The constitutional and legal context
 - A. The Constitution creates an “invitation to struggle”
 - 1. President commander in chief but Congress appropriates money
 - 2. President appoints ambassadors, but Senate confirms
 - 3. President negotiates treaties, but Senate ratifies
 - 4. But Americans think president in charge, which history confirms
 - B. Presidential box score
 - 1. Presidents relatively strong in foreign affairs
 - a) More successes in Congress on foreign than on domestic affairs

- b) Unilateral commitments of troops upheld but stronger than Framers intended
- 2. Presidents comparatively weak in foreign affairs; other heads of state find U.S. presidents unable to act
 - a) Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt unable to ally with Great Britain before World War I and World War II
 - b) Wilson unable to lead U.S. into the League of Nations
 - c) Reagan criticized on commitments to El Salvador and Lebanon
 - d) Bush debated Congress on declaration of Gulf War
- C. Evaluating the power of the president
 - 1. Depends on one's agreement/disagreement with policies
 - 2. Supreme Court gives federal government wide powers; reluctant to intervene in Congress-president disputes
 - a) Nixon's enlarging of Vietnam War
 - b) Lincoln's illegal measures during Civil War
 - c) Carter's handling of Iranian assets
 - d) Franklin Roosevelt's "relocation" of 100,000 Japanese-Americans
- D. Checks on presidential power: political rather than constitutional
 - 1. Congress: control of purse strings
 - 2. Limitations on the president's ability to give military or economic aid to other countries
 - a) Arms sales to Turkey
 - b) Blockage of intervention in Angola
 - c) Legislative veto (previously) on large sale of arms
 - 3. War Powers Act of 1973
 - a) Provisions
 - (1) Only sixty-day commitment of troops without declaration of war
 - (2) All commitments reported within forty-eight hours
 - (3) Legislative veto (previously) to bring troops home
 - b) Observance
 - (1) No president has acknowledged constitutionality
 - (2) Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton sent troops without explicit congressional authorization
 - c) Supreme Court action (*Chadha* case)
 - (1) Struck down the legislative veto
 - (2) Other provisions to be tested
 - d) Effect of act doubtful even if upheld
 - (1) Brief conflicts not likely to be affected; Congress has not challenged a successful operation
 - (2) Even extended hostilities continue: Vietnam and Lebanon
 - 4. Intelligence oversight
 - a) Only two committees today, not the previous eight
 - b) No authority to disapprove covert action
 - c) But "covert" actions less secret after congressional debate
 - d) Congress sometimes blocks covert action: Boland Amendment
 - e) Congressional concern about CIA after attacks of 9/11
 - (1) Creation of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (DNI)
 - (2) Coordinates the work of the CIA, FBI, DIA and the intelligence units of several other government agencies
 - (3) Director of DNI is the president's chief advisor

- IV. The machinery of foreign policy
 - A. Consequences of major power status
 - 1. President more involved in foreign affairs
 - 2. More agencies shape foreign policy
 - B. Numerous agencies not really coordinated by anyone
 - C. Secretary of State unable to coordinate
 - 1. Job too big for one person
 - 2. Most agencies owe no political or bureaucratic loyalty
 - D. National Security Council created to coordinate
 - 1. Chaired by president and includes vice president, secretaries of State and Defense, director of CIA, chair of joint chiefs
 - 2. National security adviser heads staff
 - 3. Goal of staff is balanced view
 - 4. Grown in influence since Kennedy but downgraded by Reagan
 - 5. NSC rivals secretary of state
 - E. Consequences of multicentered decision-making machinery
 - 1. “It’s never over” because of rivalries within and between branches
 - 2. Agency positions influenced by agency interests
 - 3. CIA and Defense Department leaking information to the press
- V. Foreign policy and public opinion
 - A. Outlines of foreign policy shaped by public and elite opinion
 - 1. Before World War II, public opposed U.S. involvement
 - 2. World War II shifted popular opinion because
 - a) Universally popular war
 - b) War successful
 - c) United States emerged as world’s dominant power
 - 3. Support for active involvement persisted until Vietnam
 - a) Growing sense that we should be “independent” of world affairs
 - b) Little sense of obligation to help other nations when threatened by communism
 - 4. 9/11 generated support for war in Afghanistan and addressing the Taliban
 - 5. Still, the internationalist perspective on foreign policy is mushy and volatile
 - a) It is highly general and
 - b) Heavily dependent on phrasing of poll questions, opinions of popular leaders, and the impact of world events
 - B. Backing the president
 - 1. Public’s tendency to support president in crises
 - a) Foreign crises increases presidential level of public approval
 - b) Strong support to rally ’round the flag for some but not all foreign military crises
 - 2. Presidential support does not decrease with casualties
 - a) The body bag fallacy
 - b) Support for escalation and victory
 - 3. Most wars have generated some public opposition
 - a) Iraq in comparison with Korea and Vietnam
 - b) Highest levels of opposition from: Democrats, African Americans, and those with postgraduate degrees
 - C. Mass versus elite opinion
 - 1. Mass opinion
 - a) Generally poorly informed
 - b) Generally supportive of president
 - c) Conservative, less internationalist

2. Elite opinion
 - a) Better informed
 - b) Opinions change more rapidly (Vietnam)
 - c) Protest on moral or philosophical grounds
 - d) More liberal and internationalist
- VI. Cleavages among foreign policy elites
 - A. Foreign policy elite divided
 - B. How a worldview shapes foreign policy
 1. Definition of *worldview*: comprehensive mental picture of world issues facing the United States and ways of responding
 2. Example: Mr. X's article on containment of USSR
 3. Not unanimously accepted but consistent with public's mood, events, and experience
 - C. Four worldviews
 1. Isolation paradigm
 - a) Opposes involvement in European wars
 - b) Adopted after World War I because war accomplished little
 2. Appeasement (containment) paradigm
 - a) Reaction to appeasement of Hitler in Munich
 - b) Pearl Harbor ended isolationism in United States
 - c) Postwar policy to resist Soviet expansionism
 3. Disengagement ("Vietnam") paradigm
 - a) Reaction to military defeat and political disaster of Vietnam
 - b) Crisis interpreted in three ways
 - (1) Correct worldview but failed to try hard enough
 - (2) Correct worldview but applied in wrong place
 - (3) Worldview itself wrong
 - c) Critics believed worldview wrong and new one based on new isolationism needed
 - d) Elites with disengagement view in Carter administration but were replaced during Reagan and Bush administrations
 4. Human rights
 - a) Clinton had a disinterest in foreign policy and his advisors believed in disengagement
 - b) Clinton's strongest congressional supporters argued against the Gulf War but advocated military intervention in Kosovo
 - c) Change in view explained by concern for human rights and belief that situation in Kosovo amounted to genocide
 - d) Conservatives who supported containment in Gulf War urged disengagement in Kosovo
 5. The politics of coalition building
 - a) Should the United States act "alone?"
 - b) If so, in what circumstances?
 6. Political polarization
 - a) Korea
 - (1) Produced divisions in Congress
 - (2) Exacerbated after the firing of General Douglas MacArthur
 - (3) Calls for Truman's impeachment
 - (4) But country was not so split along partisan lines
 - b) Vietnam
 - (1) Divided political elites even more
 - (2) Journalists and members of Congress took sharply opposing sides

(3) Democratic and Republican voters were about the same—half thinking the war was a mistake

- c) Iraq
 - (1) Polarization has replaced bipartisanship
 - (2) Democrats in opposition, Republicans in support

VII. The Use of Military Force

- A. Military power more important after collapse of Soviet Union and end of Cold War
 - 1. Military force used to attack Iraq, defend Kosovo, maintain order in Bosnia, and occupy Haiti and Somalia
 - 2. Several nations have long-range rockets and weapons of mass destruction
 - 3. Many nations feel threatened by neighbors
 - 4. Russia still has nuclear weapons
- B. Majoritarian view of military
 - 1. Almost all Americans benefit, almost all pay
 - 2. President is the commander-in-chief
 - 3. Congress plays largely a supportive role
- C. Client view of military
 - 1. Real beneficiaries of military spending—generals, admirals, big corporations, members of Congress whose districts get fat defense contracts—but everyone pays
 - 2. Military-industrial complex shapes what is spent
- D. War in Iraq
 - 1. Prelude to the conflict
 - a) Iraqi Army under Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait (1990)
 - b) United Nations demanded withdrawal and authorized use of force
 - c) Coalition forces attacked in January 1991
 - d) Iraqis retreated but Hussein was still in power
 - e) 12 year no-fly zone and U.N. inspectors (weapons of mass destruction)
 - f) Hussein expels U.N. inspectors in 1997
 - 2. Invasion, March 2003
 - a) U.N. did not support the invasion
 - b) Iraqi army was defeated in six weeks but no WMDs were found
 - c) Interim parliament, constitution and new government followed
 - d) Insurgents remained and American support declined

VIII. The defense budget

- A. Total spending
 - 1. Small peacetime military until 1950
 - a) No disarmament after Korea because of Soviet threat
 - b) Military system designed to repel Soviet invasion of Europe and small-scale invasions
 - 2. Public opinion supports a large military
 - 3. Demise of USSR produced debate
 - a) Liberals: sharp defense cuts; United States should not serve as world's police officer
 - b) Conservatives: some cuts but retain well-funded military because world still dangerous
 - 4. Desert Storm and Kosovo campaigns made clear no escaping U.S. need to use military force
 - 5. Kosovo campaign indicated that military had been reduced too much
 - 6. Clinton and Republican Congress called for more military spending

- IX. What do we buy with our money?
- A. Changing circumstances make justification of expenditures complex
 - 1. World War II and Cold War: big armies, artillery, tanks, ships, etc.
 - 2. War on Terrorism: small groups, special forces, high-tech communications, precision guided bombs, and rockets
 - 3. Joint operations now also seem more necessary
 - B. Secretary of defense
 - 1. Must transform conventional military for wars on terrorism
 - 2. Must budget in an atmosphere of debate and pressure from members of both the military and Congress
 - C. Debating big new weapons
 - 1. Washington folks are used to it (B-1, B-2 bombers, MX missiles, M1 tank, etc.)
 - 2. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, or “Star Wars”) debate particularly protracted
 - a) Major scientific and philosophical quarrels
 - b) Reluctance among the military
 - (1) Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) requires more missiles and bombers
 - (2) SDI may reduce spending on missiles and bombers
 - c) Concern MAD only works against rational leaders
- X. What do we get for our money?
- A. Personnel
 - 1. From draft to all-volunteer force in 1973
 - 2. Volunteer force improved as result of
 - a) Increases in military pay
 - b) Rising civilian unemployment
 - 3. Changes in military
 - a) More women in military
 - b) Ban of women on combat ships lifted in 1993 but Congress to be consulted if ground combat involved
 - c) “Don’t ask, don’t tell” compromise adopted by Clinton on homosexuals in military
 - B. Big-ticket hardware
 - 1. Main reasons for cost overruns
 - a) Unpredictability of cost of new items
 - b) Contractor incentives to underestimate at first
 - c) Military chiefs want best weapons money can buy
 - d) “Sole sourcing” of weapons without competitive bids
 - e) Holding down budget by “stretching out” production
 - 2. Latter four factors can be controlled; first cannot
 - C. Readiness, favorite area for short-term budget cutting
 - 1. Other cuts would hurt constituents
 - 2. Cuts here show up quickly in money saved
 - D. Bases
 - 1. At one time, a lot of bases opened and few closed
 - 2. Commission on Base Realignment and Closure created to take client politics out of base closings
- XI. Structure of defense decision-making
- A. National Security Act of 1947
 - 1. Department of Defense
 - a) Secretary of Defense (civilian, as are secretaries of the army, navy, and air force)
 - b) Joint Chiefs of Staff (military)

2. Reasons for separate uniformed services
 - a) Fear that unified military will become too powerful
 - b) Desire of services to preserve their autonomy
 - c) Interservice rivalries intended by Congress to receive maximum information
- B. 1986 defense reorganization plan
 1. Joint Chiefs of Staff
 - a) Composed of uniformed head of each service with a chair and vice chair appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate
 - b) Chair since 1986 principal military adviser to president
 2. Joint Staff
 - a) Officers from each service assisting JCS
 - b) Since 1986 serves chair; promoted at same rate
 3. The services
 - a) Each service headed by a civilian secretary responsible for purchasing and public affairs
 - b) Senior military officer oversees discipline and training
 4. The chain of command
 - a) Chair of JCS does not have combat command
 - b) Uncertainty whether 1986 changes will work
- XII. The New Problem of Terrorism
 - A. Clarity of policy goals during Cold War is now lost
 - B. Transition from a bi-polar world to a unipolar world
 - C. The Bush doctrine (September 2002)
 1. Addressing threats before they are fully formed
 2. Acting alone if necessary
 3. Consideration: doctrine of pre-emption is not new
 - a) Standard views of supporters and critics
 - b) Positions are often influenced by partisanship and political ideology
 - D. Support of the United Nations
 1. Sought and obtained in Korea (1951) and Kuwait (1991)
 2. Not sought in North Vietnam (1950s), Haiti (1994), Bosnia (1994) or Kosovo (1999)
 3. Sought, but not obtained for Iraq (2003)
 - E. Rebuilding nations
 1. Positive experiences: Germany and Japan
 2. Negative experiences: Somalia and Haiti
 3. Making progress: Bosnia and Kosovo
 4. New projects: Afghanistan and Iraq
 5. Correlates of success (or lessons learned)
 - a) Do not leave too quickly
 - b) Organize agencies so they can work together and learn from the past
 - c) Make certain civilian and military operations are carefully coordinated

KEY TERMS MATCH

Set 1

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. A policy perceived to confer wide benefits, and impose wide costs | a. antiappeasement |
| 2. A deep and wide conflict over some government policy | b. Berlin blockade |
| 3. A policy perceived to confer benefits on one group and costs on another | c. <i>Chadha</i> |
| 4. A policy perceived to benefit distinct groups but not to cost others | d. CIA |
| 5. A stoppage by the USSR of Allied access to Germany's capital | e. client foreign policy |
| 6. Case in which the Supreme Court upheld the presidential decision to send Japanese Americans to relocation camps | f. cold war |
| 7. The situation that followed the USSR's installation of hostile missiles in the Caribbean | g. commander in chief |
| 8. An alleged alliance between military leaders and corporate leaders | h. containment |
| 9. A cabinet-level body charged with the execution of foreign policy | i. cost overruns |
| 10. The agency charged with collecting sensitive foreign information | j. Council on Foreign Relations |
| 11. The committee appointed by statute that advises the president on foreign policy | k. Cuban missile crisis |
| 12. International agreements submitted to the Senate for approval | l. disengagement view |
| 13. International agreements not submitted to the Senate for approval | m. domino theory |
| 14. When the money actually paid to military suppliers exceeds the estimated costs | n. executive agreements |
| 15. Schlesinger's depiction of presidential power under Nixon | o. gold plating |
| 16. A proviso allowing Congress to overrule the president's actions | p. imperial presidency |
| | q. interest-group foreign policy |
| | r. iron curtain |
| | s. isolationism |
| | t. <i>Korematsu v. United States</i> |
| | u. legislative veto |
| | v. majoritarian foreign policy |
| | w. military-industrial complex |
| | x. multinational corporation |
| | y. Munich |
| | z. NSC |
| | aa. Pearl Harbor |
| | bb. polarization |
| | cc. Rally 'Round the Flag effect |

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>17. Legislation passed in 1973 that attempted to limit the president's power to make war</p> <p>18. The group of developing nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East</p> <p>19. A Supreme Court case voiding the legislative veto in the War Powers Act</p> <p>20. The constitutional role played by the president in time of war</p> <p>21. A private but powerful foreign policy think tank funded by the Rockefellers</p> <p>22. The tendency of Pentagon officials to ask weapons contractors to meet excessively high requirements</p> <p>23. A relatively consistent picture of the world problems facing the United States</p> <p>24. The U.S. strategy that has dominated its post-World War II policy on the USSR</p> <p>25. Weapons of mass destruction</p> <p>26. Where Neville Chamberlain sought peace through appeasement</p> <p>27. The site of the Japanese attack on U.S. naval forces in 1941</p> <p>28. Churchill's view of the barrier separating the Western powers from the USSR-dominated countries after World War II</p> <p>29. Refers to the tendency of public support for the president to increase in the time of a foreign policy crises</p> <p>30. A business operating in more than one country</p> <p>31. The worldview that emerged as a result of World War II and in particular as a reaction to the Munich conference</p> <p>32. The worldview that emerged in the aftermath of the Vietnam War suggesting that the United States ought to limit foreign intervention</p> | <p>dd. State Department</p> <p>ee. Third World</p> <p>ff. treaties</p> <p>gg. War Powers Act</p> <p>hh. WMD</p> <p>ii. worldview</p> |
|--|--|

33. The nonmilitary struggle between the United States (and its allies) and the former Soviet Union (and its allies) following World War II
34. The theory that if one nation fell into communist hands, neighboring nations would follow
35. The view that the United States should withdraw from world affairs, limit foreign aid, and avoid involvement in foreign wars

Set 2

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Participants in client politics in U.S. defense spending | a. chain of command |
| 2. Legislation enacted in 1947 that created the current Department of Defense | b. defense reorganization plan |
| 3. Competition among the army, navy, air force, and marines | c. Desert Storm |
| 4. Congressional bodies charged with oversight of the military | d. House Armed Services Committee |
| 5. The decision hierarchy, starting with the president at the top and including the Secretary of Defense and various unified and specified commands | e. interservice rivalry |
| 6. Money presumably made available for “butter” as a consequence of cuts in military spending | f. Joint Chiefs of Staff |
| 7. A group of several hundred officers from the four services who assist the Joint Chiefs of Staff | g. Joint Staff |
| 8. A committee consisting of the heads of the four military services plus an appointed chair and vice chair | h. military-industrial complex |
| 9. The procedure by which new weapons are purchased from a single contractor | i. National Security Act |
| 10. Controversial defense weapons system | j. peace dividend |
| 11. The 1991 war in the Persian Gulf involving U.S. troops | k. readiness |
| | l. “sole sourcing” |
| | m. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) |

12. Training, supplies, munitions, fuel, and food
13. A plan signed in 1986 that increased the power of officers who coordinate the activities of different services

DATA CHECK

Table 20.1 (Page 535): Popular Reactions to Foreign Policy Crises

1. What general conclusion can be drawn regarding the effect of a foreign policy crisis on the president's approval rating?

2. Which crisis features the least amount of positive change in the "before" and "after" columns?

3. Which two crises are associated with downward trends in the level of public approval?

Table 20.2 (Page 537): How the Public and the Elite See Foreign Policy, 2004

Indicate whether the following views would most likely be expressed by the average member of the public or by a foreign policy leader.

4. We should protect the jobs of American workers.

5. U.S. troops should support South Korea if North Korea attacks.

6. Reducing illegal immigration is very important.

Figure 20.1 (Page 544): Trends in Military Spending

7. Which presidents noticeably increased military spending after taking office?

8. Which presidents noticeably decreased military spending after taking office?

Figure 20.2 (Page 545): Public Sentiment on Defense Spending, 1969–2002

9. What sentiment has been expressed most often by Americans since 1973?

PRACTICING FOR EXAMS

TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F Tocqueville argued that democratic nations were the best adapted to handle foreign affairs.

2. T F Foreign policy decisions are best described as a mix of majoritarian, interest-group and client politics.

3. T F The decision to go to war is a function of majoritarian politics.

4. T F The U.S. policy toward Israel is regarded by the text as an example of majoritarian politics.

5. T F Congress plays a larger role in foreign policy when majoritarian politics is involved.

6. T F The president plays the critical role when foreign policy is shaped by entrepreneurial politics.

7. T F It would be accurate to say the president has the power to “make” war, but Congress has the power to “declare” war.

8. T F The Defense Department is very much under the control of Congress on matters of military strategy.

9. T F Historically, presidents have signed more treaties than they have executive agreements.

10. T F Executive agreements carry the force of law, but do not have to be ratified by the Senate.

11. T F In 1940, President Roosevelt sent fifty destroyers to England to help fight Germany even though we were technically at peace.

12. T F John F. Kennedy waited until Congress issued a declaration of war before sending troops into South Vietnam.

13. T F U.S. presidents have less freedom in foreign affairs than do most other Western heads of state.
-
14. T F Most executive agreements are authorized by Congress in advance.
-
15. T F The Supreme Court has consistently held that the federal government has foreign policy powers beyond those enumerated in the Constitution.
-
16. T F In the World War II era, no Japanese American was ever found guilty of espionage or sabotage.
-
17. T F Congress has yet to use its power to restrict the president's granting military or economic aid to foreign countries.
-
18. T F In *Chadha*, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the War Powers Act.
-
19. T F The State Department generally favors bold and controversial policies that upset established relationships with other countries.
-
20. T F Before Pearl Harbor, most Americans seemed to oppose U.S. entry into World War II.
-
21. T F If there is an attack on the United States, one should generally expect the approval ratings of the president to fall in a dramatic fashion.
-
22. T F As wars continue, Americans usually become more determined to win them.
-
23. T F The public is poorly informed about foreign affairs.
-
24. T F Public opinion was very much on the side of anti-war protestors at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago.
-
25. T F Americans want to give less economic aid to other nations.
-
26. T F The world views which guide foreign policy leaders do so irrespective of public opinion.
-

27. T F The antiappeasement approach to foreign policy emerged at the end of the Vietnam War.
-
28. T F The disengagement worldview held that the Munich worldview had not merely been misapplied but was fundamentally wrong.
-
29. T F With respect to the Vietnam conflict, American public opinion did not divide along party lines.
-
30. T F The military-industrial complex theory of defense procurement portrays military spending as an example of majoritarian politics.
-
31. T F The situation in Iraq contributed to the loss of Republican seats in the 2006 congressional election.
-
32. T F The size of the military budget, says the text, is best explained by majoritarian politics.
-
33. T F There has been a steady decline in the percentage of women in the military.
-
34. T F The opening and closing of military bases is a good example of client politics.
-
35. T F The four branches of the military are four separate entities and cannot by law be commanded by a single military officer.
-
36. T F The Joint Chiefs of Staff are charged with the execution of national defense policy.
-
37. T F George Bush's doctrine of preemption was a new approach to international affairs.
-
38. T F Most liberal Democrats opposed our efforts to get Iraq out of Kuwait.
-
39. T F The United States has never sought support from the United Nations, failed to get it, and attacked another nation anyway.
-
40. T F The United States has consistently failed at rebuilding nations after an attack.
-
41. T F The State Department and the Defense Department are usually in agreement and speak with one voice.
-

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. The division of constitutional authority between the president and Congress is *best* characterized as
 - a. congressional dominance.
 - b. presidential dominance.
 - c. an “invitation to struggle.”
 - d. “provocative silence.”
 - e. a true case of controversy.
2. Which statement is *incorrect*?
 - a. The president is commander in chief of the armed forces.
 - b. Congress must authorize and appropriate money for our armed forces.
 - c. The president appoints ambassadors, but they must be confirmed by the Senate.
 - d. The president negotiates treaties but they must be ratified by a majority of the Senate.
 - e. Only Congress can regulate commerce with other nations.
3. Presidents have asserted the right to send troops aboard on their own authority in more than _____ instances.
 - a. 6
 - b. 13
 - c. 30
 - d. 90
 - e. 125
4. Of the thirteen major wars fought by this country, ____ have followed a formal declaration of war by Congress.
 - a. three
 - b. six
 - c. ten
 - d. twelve
 - e. thirteen
5. The Supreme Court has generally held the view that the conduct of foreign affairs
 - a. is chiefly a congressional responsibility.
 - b. is chiefly a presidential responsibility.
 - c. involves important constitutional rights.
 - d. is a political question for Congress and the president to work out.
 - e. is best handled by the lower federal courts.
6. The most important congressional check on the president in the area of foreign affairs is the power to
 - a. impeach.
 - b. control the purse strings.
 - c. approve ambassadors.
 - d. reorganize those federal agencies that make foreign policy—the State Department, the CIA, and so forth.
 - e. restrict access to the White House.
7. The War Powers Act of 1973 was designed as a check on the
 - a. president.
 - b. Courts.
 - c. CIA.
 - d. Pentagon.
 - e. congressional hawks.

8. The War Powers Act calls for Congress to provide a formal declaration or statutory authorization within _____ after troops are sent into a hostile situation.
 - a. forty-eight hours
 - b. one week
 - c. two weeks
 - d. sixty days
 - e. six months
9. According to the text,
 - a. the Director of the CIA authored the War Powers Act.
 - b. the Pentagon whole-heartedly supported the War Powers Act.
 - c. every president has obeyed the War Powers Act.
 - d. every president but Clinton has obeyed the War Powers Act.
 - e. no president has acknowledged that the War Powers Act is constitutional.
10. The Boland Amendment attempted to regulate
 - a. covert operations.
 - b. the gathering of electronic intelligence.
 - c. signals intelligence.
 - d. U.S. efforts to influence elections in Western Europe.
 - e. all of the above.
11. From the administration of George Washington to well into the twentieth century, the _____ generally made and carried out foreign policy.
 - a. president
 - b. Secretary of State
 - c. president's cabinet
 - d. foreign ambassadors of the U.S.
 - e. vice president
12. When America became a major world power after World War II,
 - a. presidents began to put foreign policy at the top of the agenda.
 - b. our commitments overseas expanded dramatically.
 - c. presidents began to play a larger role in the implementation of foreign policy.
 - d. foreign policy began to be shaped by scores of agencies with overseas activities.
 - e. all of the above.
13. Attempts by each new secretary of state to “coordinate” or “direct” the foreign policy establishment are generally fruitless because most agencies
 - a. are focused on specific tasks and oblivious to broad visions or general directions.
 - b. rarely communicate with each other.
 - c. are too disorganized to direct in any intelligent way.
 - d. owe no political or bureaucratic loyalty to the secretary of state.
 - e. are under constant review by Congress.
14. Beginning with the _____ administration, the National Security Council has grown in influence.
 - a. Roosevelt
 - b. Truman
 - c. Kennedy
 - d. Eisenhower
 - e. Johnson

15. The only war in which public support remained high was
 - a. the Korean War.
 - b. the Vietnam War.
 - c. A and B.
 - d. World War II.
 - e. World War I.
16. Support for an internationalist American foreign policy is
 - a. highly general and heavily dependent on the phrasing of poll questions.
 - b. narrowly tailored and specific.
 - c. rarely affected by the opinions of popular leaders.
 - d. immune to world events.
 - e. all of the above.
17. The “rally ‘round the flag” effect and boost in presidential approval ratings which typically accompany foreign policy crises were *not* evident when
 - a. John F. Kennedy accepted responsibility for the failed invasion of Cuba.
 - b. George W. Bush responded to the attack of 9/11.
 - c. Ronald Reagan invaded Grenada.
 - d. George Bush sent troops to fight Iraq.
 - e. Bill Clinton sent forces to Bosnia or launched bombing attacks on Iraq.
18. A careful study of public opinion has concluded that, as American lives are lost during a time of war, the public tends to
 - a. desire escalation and swift victory.
 - b. seriously rethink the general premises behind our involvement.
 - c. withdraw support from its political leaders.
 - d. lose faith in our ability to “win.”
 - e. none of the above.
19. Where foreign policy—particularly declaring and conducting war—is concerned, _____ have the most volatile opinions.
 - a. political elites
 - b. working-class Americans
 - c. women
 - d. blacks and other minorities
 - e. the elderly
20. Foreign policy leaders are more likely to adopt a _____ outlook than members of the general public.
 - a. nationalistic
 - b. liberal and internationalist
 - c. conservative
 - d. centrist
 - e. moderate
21. American elites adopted the isolationist worldview as a result of our experience with
 - a. the War Between the States.
 - b. World War I.
 - c. World War II.
 - d. the Korean War.
 - e. Vietnam.

22. Containment is also known as
 - a. the Vietnam view.
 - b. antiappeasement.
 - c. the Human Rights view.
 - d. preemption.
 - e. MADD.
23. The “lessons of Munich,” which shaped American foreign policy for a generation, were that
 - a. the United States cannot police the world.
 - b. nationalism is the predominant force in Third World politics.
 - c. aggression could best be met by negotiation and compromise.
 - d. aggression should be forcefully opposed.
 - e. economic development and foreign aid serve U.S. interests better than military aid.
24. Containment was the policy of
 - a. the British and French during the rise of Hitler in Germany.
 - b. General Patton.
 - c. the United States toward Japan before Pearl Harbor.
 - d. Admiral Alfred T. Mahan.
 - e. the United States toward Russia after World War II.
25. The disengagement worldview was adopted by younger elites as a result of experience with
 - a. the War Between the States.
 - b. World War I.
 - c. World War II.
 - d. the Korean War.
 - e. Vietnam.
26. Elites with the _____ worldview played a large role in the Carter administration.
 - a. isolationist
 - b. containment
 - c. disengagement
 - d. human rights
 - e. antiappeasement
27. Elites with the _____ worldview played a large role in the Reagan administration.
 - a. isolationist
 - b. containment
 - c. disengagement
 - d. human rights
 - e. antiappeasement
28. When Clinton became president in 1992, he brought with him advisers who were drawn from the ranks of those who believed in
 - a. isolationism.
 - b. containment.
 - c. disengagement.
 - d. the human rights perspective.
 - e. antiappeasement.

29. Opponents of the Gulf War were supportive of American intervention in Kosovo, suggesting a shift to the _____ paradigm of foreign policy.
 - a. isolationist
 - b. containment
 - c. disengagement
 - d. human rights
 - e. antiappeasement
30. Political polarization is quite evident in public opinion regarding
 - a. World War II.
 - b. the Korean War.
 - c. the Vietnam War.
 - d. the War in Iraq.
 - e. C and D.
31. When Saddam Hussein sent forces into Kuwait in 1990, the United Nations
 - a. condemned the behavior.
 - b. passed a resolution calling for a truce.
 - c. debated the move, but took no action, symbolic or otherwise.
 - d. authorized the use of force to repel the force.
 - e. supported his decision.
32. After the 1990 invasion of Kuwait, U.N. inspectors were sent to Iraq to look for weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) because
 - a. of intelligence reports later proved to be false.
 - b. the government of Kuwait insisted upon such inspections.
 - c. the U.N. was pressured by Iraq and Syria to conduct such inspections.
 - d. international treaties called for such inspections for a period of 5 years.
 - e. there was no doubt Hussein had dropped chemical weapons in the past.
33. When U.N. inspectors found evidence of programs to develop weapons of mass destruction in Iraq,
 - a. Hussein had them expelled from the country.
 - b. Hussein explained that the programs had been abandoned.
 - c. they failed to report it for almost 20 years.
 - d. they considered their work done and returned to their respective homes.
 - e. Iraqi officials blamed Syria for “planting” the materials.
34. The size and the division of the defense budget represent, respectively
 - a. entrepreneurial and majoritarian politics.
 - b. client and entrepreneurial politics.
 - c. majoritarian and interest-group politics.
 - d. interest-group and client politics.
 - e. reciprocal and club-based politics.
35. The reason for the great increase in the defense budget in 1950 was the
 - a. Korean War.
 - b. Cuban missile crisis.
 - c. escalation of the U.S.-Soviet arms race.
 - d. U2 spy plane incident.
 - e. oil embargo in the Middle East.

36. In a typical poll, a majority of Americans say that
- we are spending far too much on military spending.
 - we are spending too much on military spending.
 - we are spending too little or just about the right amount on military spending.
 - they have no opinions regarding military spending.
 - they oppose military spending except in a time of war.
37. The text suggests the campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq made it clear that the United States
- was a consensus choice to play the role of “world policeman.”
 - would no longer need to engage in military buildups.
 - could not operate a military campaign without assistance from other Western democracies.
 - was vulnerable in the air but superior with respect to ground forces.
 - had reduced its armed forces sharply and was hard pressed to carry out a sustained military campaign.
38. Bill Clinton promised to lift the official ban on gays and lesbians serving in the military if he were elected, but
- the Joint Chiefs of Staff lifted the ban before he had the chance to.
 - he instead settled with a compromise “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy.
 - the Pentagon decided the traditional policy could not be modified in any significant way.
 - the Democratic National Committee insisted that he detach himself from the issue.
 - he instead referred the question to a bipartisan committee of members of Congress.
39. Among the causes of defense overruns noted in the text are all of the following *except*
- the key players’ incentive to underestimate costs going in.
 - the difficulty of estimating the costs of new programs in advance.
 - the cumbersome process of competitive bidding even for minor items.
 - the desire to have the very “best” of everything.
 - “stretch-outs” used to keep annual budgets low.
40. The Department of Defense was created by the
- Marshall Plan.
 - Twenty-second Amendment.
 - Twenty-third Amendment.
 - Truman Doctrine.
 - National Security Act.
41. The creation of separate uniformed services within a single department reflects the concern that
- the military budget would not be kept accountable.
 - the military budget would not be kept below acceptable levels.
 - interservice rivalry would escalate.
 - intelligence sources should not communicate.
 - a unified military might become too powerful politically.
42. President Bush was *not* the first president to act on the doctrine of preemption but
- he was the first to launch cruise missile attacks with preemption in mind.
 - he did elevate the policy of preemption into a clearly stated national doctrine.
 - Congress first expressed concerns about the doctrine during his administration.
 - he was the first to invite Congress to a dialogue on preemption.
 - he was the first to consider international opinion on the doctrine.

43. We did not seek the support of the United Nations in
 - a. fighting against North Vietnam (1960s).
 - b. occupying Haiti (1994).
 - c. assisting friendly forces in Bosnia (1994).
 - d. assisting friendly forces in Kosovo (1999).
 - e. all of the above.
44. Which of the following does the text suggest is a “lesson” that we have learned when it comes to rebuilding nations.
 - a. Unilateral actions are not successful.
 - b. The support of the United Nations is critical.
 - c. Do not leave a country too quickly.
 - d. Widespread support of the European community is essential to success.
 - e. Civilian and military agencies should not be coordinated.
45. In Afghanistan and Iraq, there has been conflict between
 - a. the Army and the Marines.
 - b. the Army and the State Department.
 - c. the State Department and Defense Departments.
 - d. military leaders and members of the news media.
 - e. full and part-time members of the military.

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

1. Explain the specific reasons why Tocqueville thought democracies are at a disadvantage in a time of war.
2. Provide some examples of how foreign policy reflect majoritarian, interest group and client politics.
3. Describe how the kind of foreign policy that is present will determine in large part whether or not the president or Congress will play a dominant role.
4. Outline the constitutional powers of the president and Congress.
5. Discuss some famous of examples of Supreme Court decisions regarding presidential action in foreign policy related cases.
6. Write an essay on the War Powers Act in which you outline the major provisions of the act and generalize about its impact.
7. Cite 3-4 examples of what the authors call the “rally ‘round the flag” effect. In addition, note some historical examples of exceptions to the general rule.
8. Summarize the manner in which elite opinion and mass opinion differ in terms of information levels, volatility and content (or viewpoint).
9. Describe the four worldviews which are discussed in the text with special attention to events which gave rise to those views, or caused a shift in opinion.
10. Explain what the text means by “political polarization” in foreign policy and describe how the concept related to the wars in Vietnam, Korea and Iraq.
11. Summarize the events which led up to the American invasion of Iraq in 2003.

12. Identify the five major sources of cost-overruns in military contracts.
13. Describe how the politics of base closings before and after 1988.
14. Describe how the United States has acted, in the past, both with and without the support of the United Nations.

ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS

Set 1

1. v
2. bb
3. q
4. e
5. b
6. t
7. k
8. w
9. dd
10. d
11. z
12. ff
13. n
14. i
15. p
16. u
17. gg
18. ee
19. c
20. g
21. j
22. o
23. ii
24. h
25. hh
26. y
27. aa
28. r
29. cc
30. x
31. a

- 32. l
- 33. f
- 34. m
- 35. s

Set 2

- 1. h
- 2. i
- 3. e
- 4. d
- 5. a
- 6. j
- 7. g
- 8. f
- 9. l
- 10. m
- 11. c
- 12. k
- 13. b

ANSWERS TO DATA CHECK QUESTIONS

- 1. Foreign policy crises are associated with an increase in positive approval ratings for the president.
- 2. The U2 spy plane incident (1960) and the failed attempt to rescue hostages from Iran (1980).
- 3. Troops sent to Bosnia (1995) and Kosovo (1998).
- 4. Public.
- 5. Leaders.
- 6. Public.
- 7. Nixon and Reagan.
- 8. Carter and Clinton.
- 9. “Too little/about right.”

ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

- 1. F Tocqueville thought democracies are at a disadvantage in a time of war because, among other things, they are impatient and cannot act in secrecy.
- 2. T
- 3. T
- 4. F This would be an example of client politics.

5. F When majoritarian politics are involved, the president plays the leading role in policy making.
6. F Congress is the central political arena for entrepreneurial politics.
7. T
8. T
9. F They have signed over a thousand treaties and around seven thousand executive agreements.
10. T
11. T
12. F Kennedy waited for no such declaration.
13. T
14. T
15. T
16. T
17. F It did so between 1974 and 1978, disallowing the sale of arms to Turkey. It also prevented President Ford from giving aid to a faction in Angola.
18. F The Court actually struck down the legislative veto portion of the act.
19. F It has a stake in long standing diplomacy and established relationships. Bold and innovative plans are thus resisted.
20. T
21. F Such activity is usually associated with a bump up in the president's popularity or approval ratings.
22. T
23. T
24. F The public supported the police in the conflict.
25. T
26. F The text suggests such views prevail, in part, because they are consistent with public opinion.
27. F This view was the result of our experience leading up to World War II.
28. T
29. T
30. F Client politics would be the more appropriate category.
31. T
32. T
33. F There has been a steady increase. Women now make up 20 percent of the force.
34. F It used to be an example of such politics.

- 35. T
- 36. F It has no command authority over troops. It only plays a key role in national defense planning.
- 37. F It was not new. Clinton used the approach. But Bush elevated the policy to a clearly stated national doctrine.
- 38. T
- 39. F This happened with respect to Iraq.
- 40. F The text suggests that the United States has a lot of experience doing this, some good and some bad. The rebuilding of Germany and Japan seem to have worked out quite well.
- 41. F They usually have different opinions.

ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

- 1. c
- 2. d
- 3. e
- 4. b
- 5. d
- 6. b
- 7. a
- 8. d
- 9. e
- 10. a
- 11. b
- 12. e
- 13. d
- 14. d
- 15. d
- 16. a
- 17. e
- 18. a
- 19. a
- 20. b
- 21. b
- 22. b
- 23. d
- 24. e

- 25. e
- 26. c
- 27. b
- 28. c
- 29. d
- 30. d
- 31. d
- 32. e
- 33. a
- 34. c
- 35. a
- 36. c
- 37. e
- 38. b
- 39. c
- 40. e
- 41. e
- 42. b
- 43. e
- 44. c
- 45. c