

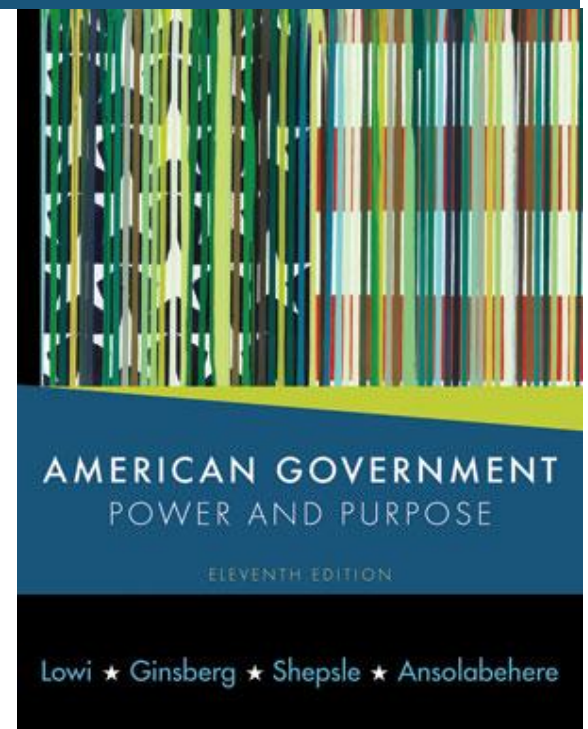
16

Foreign Policy

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

POWER AND PURPOSE

Lowi ♦ Ginsberg ♦ Shepsle ♦ Ansolabehere

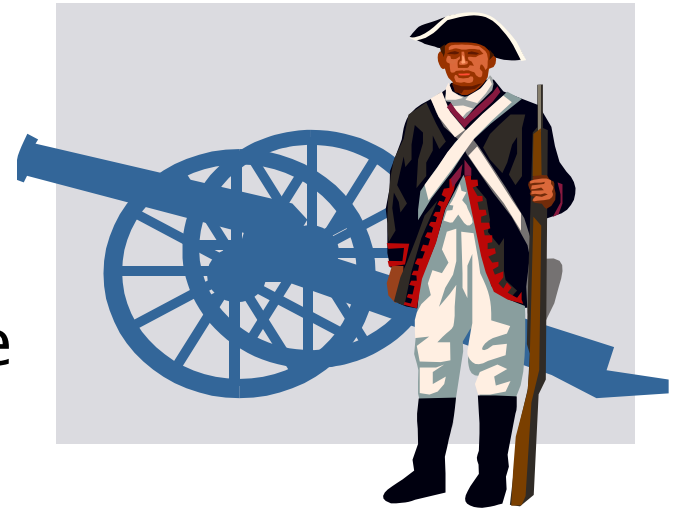


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Foreign Policy and the American Founding

Foreign policy has always been important to American politics.

The United States' weak position in world affairs and its concern that European powers might come to dominate the young country was a primary impetus to consolidating the thirteen states into a strong union.

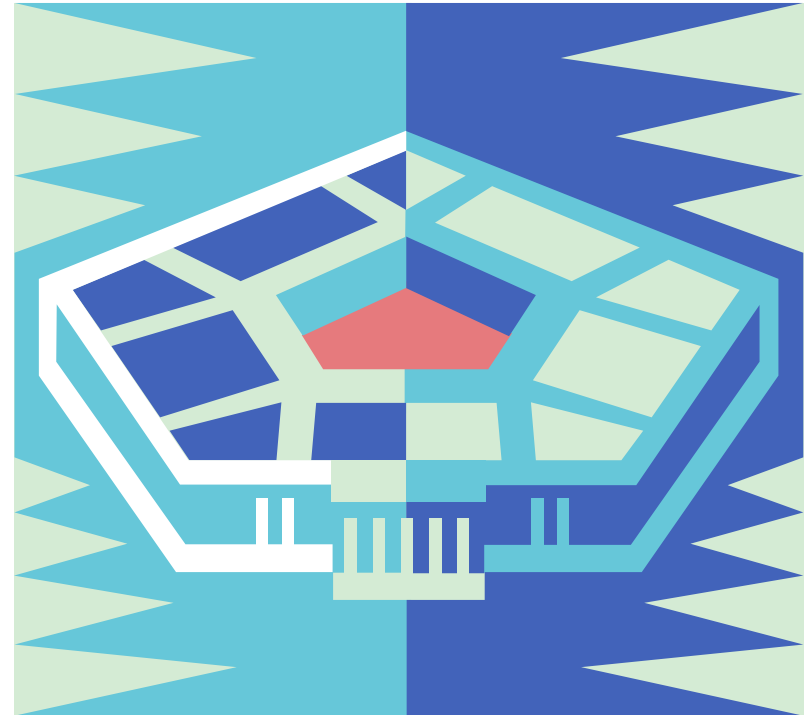


“The principal purposes to be answered by union are these—the common defense of the members; the preservation of the public peace, as well against internal convulsions as external attacks; the regulation of commerce with other nations and between the States; the superintendence of our intercourse, political and commercial, with foreign countries.”

—Alexander Hamilton, *Federalist 23*



Moreover, Hamilton argued that the United States should be prepared to increase the strength of its military and the national government.



“The authorities essential to the common defense are these: to raise armies; to build and equip fleets; to prescribe rules for the government of both; to direct their operations; to provide for their support. These powers ought to exist without limitation, BECAUSE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FORESEE OR TO DEFINE THE EXTENT AND VARIETY OF NATIONAL EXIGENCIES, AND THE CORRESPONDENT EXTENT AND VARIETY OF THE MEANS WHICH MAY BE NECESSARY TO SATISFY THEM.”

—Alexander Hamilton,
Federalist 23





In some ways, Hamilton's call for a strong and expansive military was at odds with traditional republican concerns over the threat to liberty posed by standing armies.

The Values of American Foreign Policy



In his 1796 Farewell Address, president George Washington parted American politics with a series of warnings of impending challenges that gave voice to these traditional republican concerns.

Domestically, Washington warned of the danger of factions and internal division.

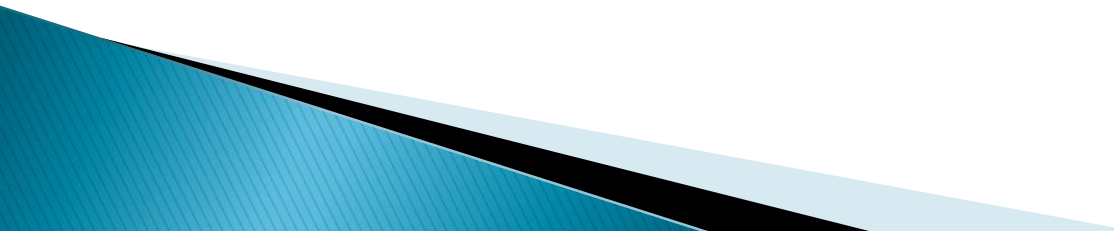
In foreign policy, Washington encouraged the United States to remain independent in pursuit of its interests in the world.

“an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.”

In the context of the late eighteenth century, when the United States was a relatively small and weak country, Washington argued that it should steer clear of becoming a “client state” to either Great Britain or France.

Perhaps even more important (and more relevant today when the United States is a world power rather than a client state), Washington argued against all “entangling alliances” because acting in one’s interest requires understanding clearly what those interests are.

Any such alliance created, Washington argued, a *“sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists.”*

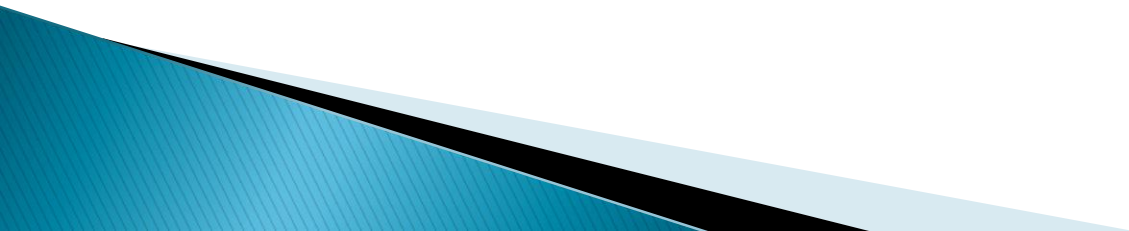


*The Rationality Principle:
All political behavior has
a purpose.*

Washington's Farewell Address bears striking resemblance to the "realpolitik" school of thought.

In this view, nations, like any political actors, should pursue their strategic interests and goals in world affairs.

Throughout its history, the United States pursued a foreign policy plagued by the tension between the need for a strong defense, traditional republicanism, and the hope to be “isolationist” from the world.



The Decline of Isolationism

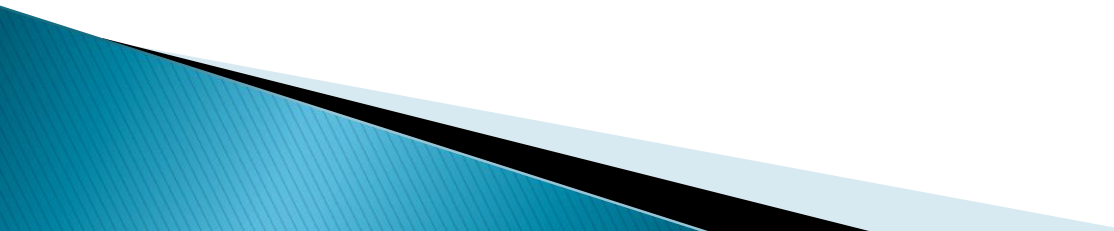
In the nineteenth century, the United States generally followed Washington's lead and confined its foreign policy concerns primarily to North America and the Western Hemisphere.



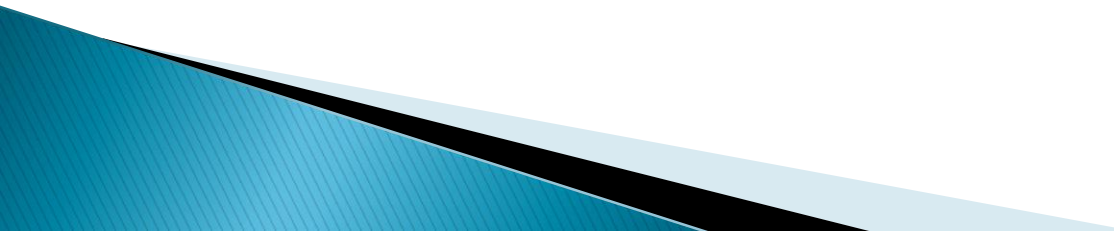
The American policy of “Manifest Destiny” led the United States to engage in foreign policy—war and diplomacy—with Native Americans, Canada, and Mexico in its quest to dominate North America.

The Monroe Doctrine stated the United States’ special interest in the international politics of the Western Hemisphere.

The early twentieth century posed challenges to American isolationism.

- ▶ Increased international commerce enmeshed America in world affairs;
 - ▶ America's increased economic strength also fed an increased military strength.
- 

Despite these changes, isolationism continued to temper America's role in the world.

- ▶ The United States remained neutral for much of World War I;
 - ▶ After the war, the United States retreated from the world, refusing to join the League of Nations;
 - ▶ Even at the outset of World War II, the United States sought to maintain its neutrality.
- 

The Emergence of a World Power

After World War II and with the beginning of the Cold War, the United States became a world power.

Creating a full-fledged diplomatic corps in 1946, the United States engaged the world:

- ▶ It entered the United Nations;
- ▶ It helped create the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund;
- ▶ It engaged in collective security agreements like the North America Treaty Organization.



The Cold War created a “bipolar” world, in which the United States sought to halt the spread of communism.

Fighting the Cold War led the United States to strengthen its commitment to multilateralism and engaging the world generally.



Given America's new activism and responsibilities in the world, much of American national politics has come to focus on the development and implementation of foreign policy.

Who Makes and Shapes Foreign Policy?

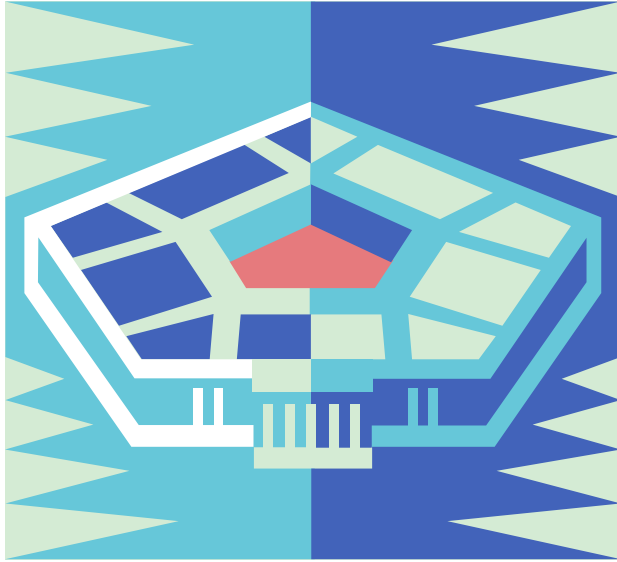


There are three principal governmental actors or institutions that make foreign policy:

- the president;
- the bureaucracy;
- the Congress.

As commander in chief, the **president** of the United States has an unusual amount of influence in foreign policy making, even compared to his or her influence in the domestic realm.

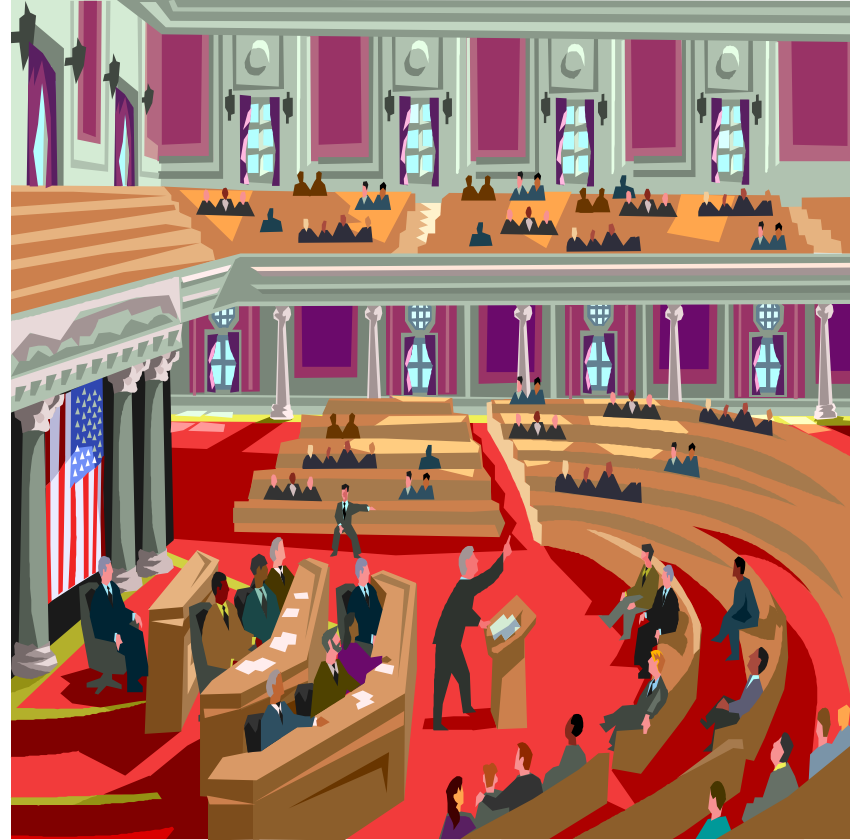




Several **executive departments and agencies** advise the president and Congress on foreign policy and implementing these policies:

- Department of State;
- Department of Defense;
- Joint Chiefs of Staff;
- Central Intelligence Agency;
- National Security Council;
- Department of Homeland Security.

Through its power to declare war, its role in making policy and funding programs, and the Senate's role in ratifying treaties, **Congress** too makes foreign policy, often competing with the White House.



Principal Foreign-policy Provisions of The Constitution

	Power Granted To:	
	President	Congress
War power	Commander in chief of armed forces	Provide for the common defense; declare war
Treaties	Negotiate treaties	Ratification of treaties, by two-thirds majority (Senate)
Appointments	Nominate high-level government officials	Confirm president's appointments (Senate)
Foreign commerce	No explicit powers, but treaty negotiation and appointment powers pertain	Explicit power "to regulate foreign commerce"
General powers	Executive power; veto	Legislative power; power of the purse; oversight and investigation

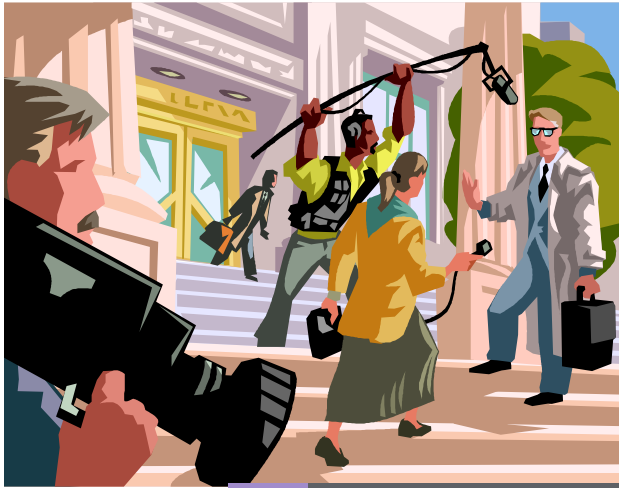


Key congressional committees in the area of foreign policy include:

- The Senate's Foreign Relations, Armed Services, and Homeland Security Committees; and
- The House's Foreign Affairs, Homeland Security, and Armed Services Committees.

Interest groups, ranging from businesses and defense contractors to ethnic interest groups and organized labor, seek to shape American defense, diplomatic, and trade policies.

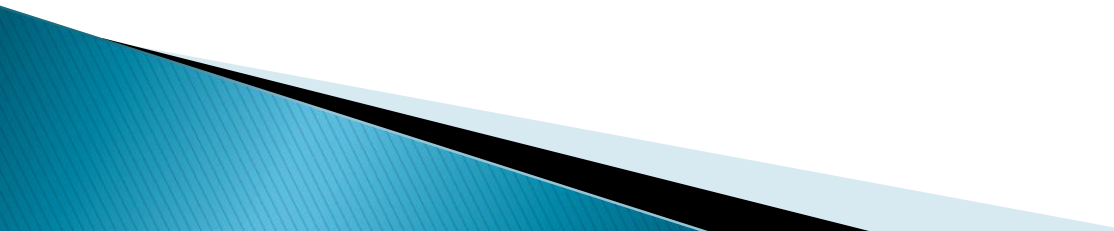


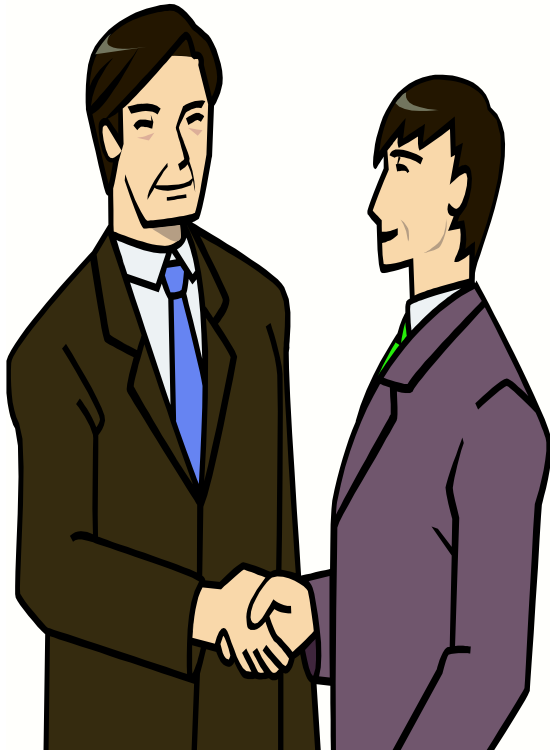


The media also play important roles in informing the public and seeking to shape public perceptions of the world, particularly because American citizens have relatively little knowledge of world politics.

The Instruments of Foreign Policy

As is the case with any kind of policy making, foreign-policy making is composed of a number of tools, institutions, and sources of influence. The key tools of foreign policy include:

- Diplomacy;
 - United Nations;
 - International monetary structure;
 - Economic aid;
 - Collective security;
 - Military deterrence.
- 



Through the Department of State and the Foreign Service, the United States conducts foreign policy by maintaining friendly relations with the governments of other countries.

Still, because such cooperation involves politics and trade-offs, American presidents frequently have been suspicious of **diplomacy**.

Established in 1945, the **United Nations (UN)** has served as a venue for negotiating international conflicts and seeking peaceful solutions.

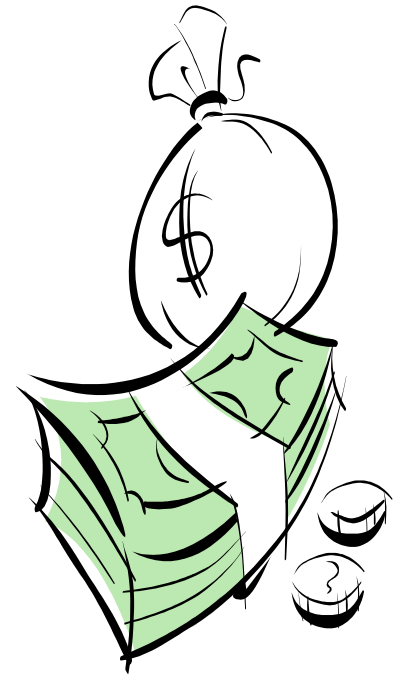
Despite some notable conflicts, the United States has frequently relied on the UN to accomplish its foreign policy aims.

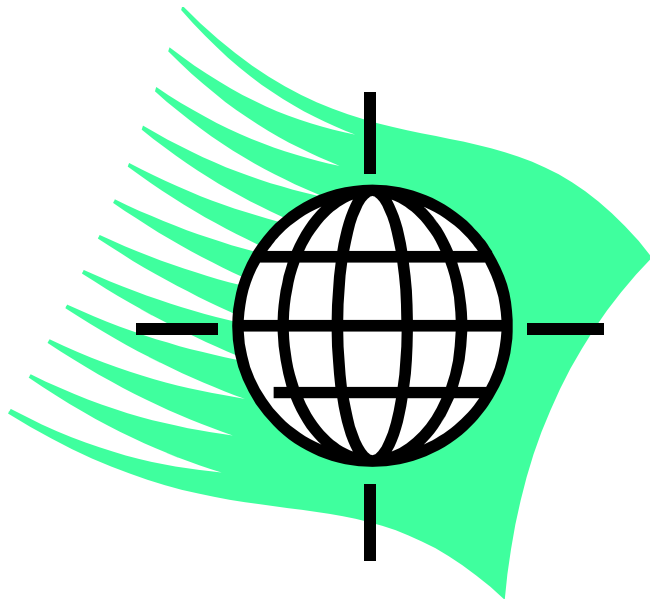


American foreign-policy aims are also achieved through economic solutions.

Institutions like the **International Monetary Fund** and the **World Bank** stabilize the world economy and facilitate international exchange.

And, through direct **economic aid** to countries, the United States can provide assistance to needy countries and shore up its political position in the world.





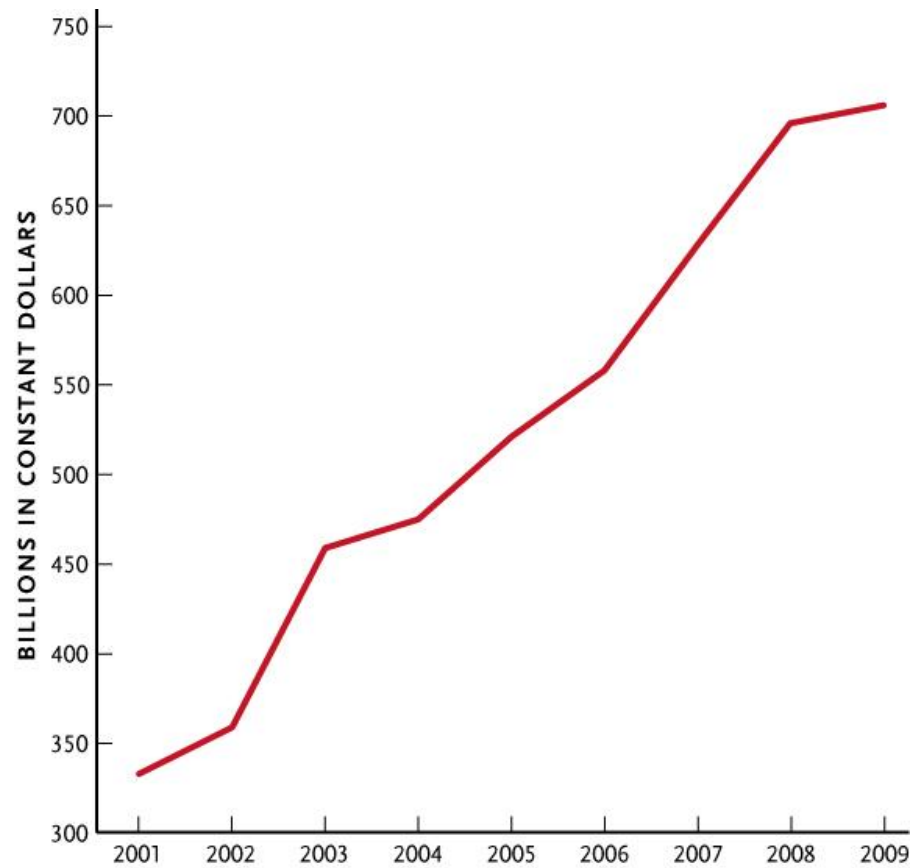
Through **collective security arrangements** and **bilateral treaties** with individual countries, the United States seeks to cooperate and have a somewhat shared fate with its partner countries.

Still, the United States seems to share the largest part of the security burden in most of these relationships.



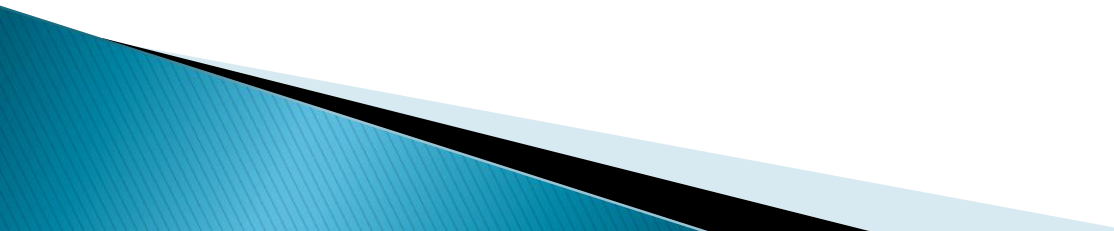
America's high levels of military spending are elements of an overall strategy of **military deterrence**, whereby the nation purportedly seeks "peace through strength."

U.S. Military Expenditure Since 2001



American Foreign Policy after the Cold War

To the extent that the Cold War created a relatively stable and predictable pattern of international politics, the fall of the Soviet Union unleashed a great deal of uncertainty in world affairs and, particularly, American foreign policy.



One of the emerging complexities of the post–Cold War era is the problem of international terrorism.

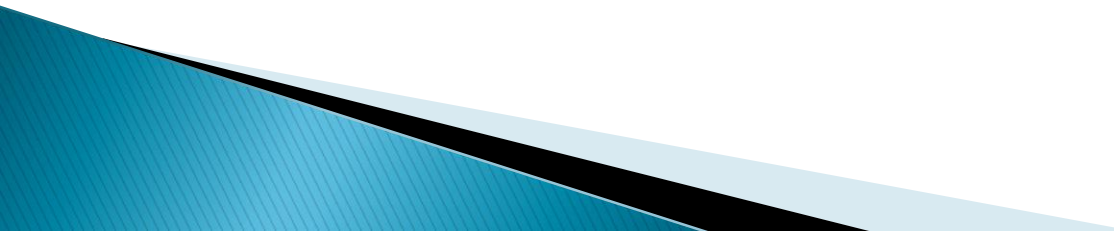
How should the United States proceed in fighting the global war on terrorism?

Should it pursue its interests through the alliances built throughout the twentieth century or should it proceed unilaterally?

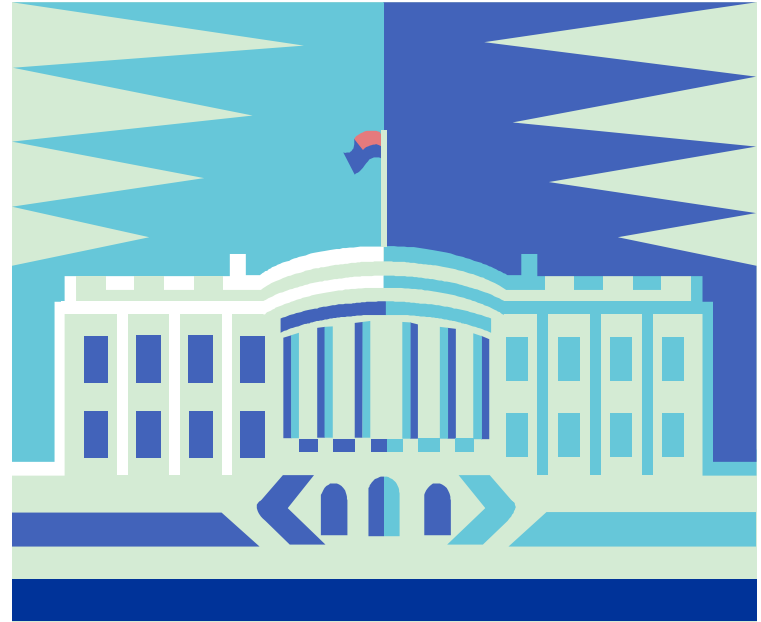


Inasmuch as it is clear that the United States is no longer “isolationist,” in its most recent war with Iraq, the George W. Bush administration evinced a greater willingness to “go it alone” if need be.

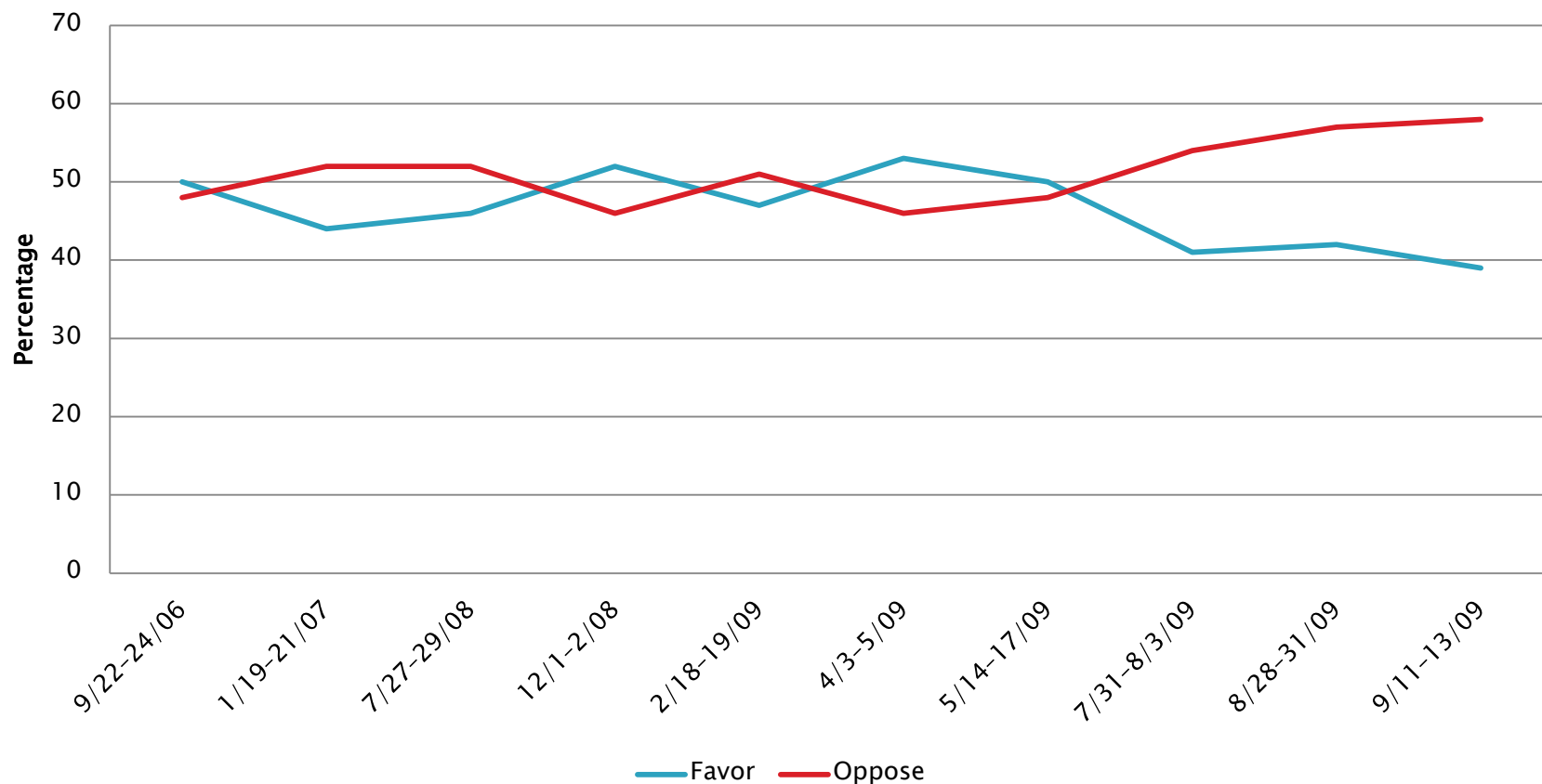
To be sure, the United States went to Iraq with some allies, most notably Great Britain, but, unlike the first Gulf War, the coalition that this administration built reflected a partial return to a more unilateralist American foreign policy, in which the United States would act even in defiance of world opinion.



Although the American public has provided steady support for the U.S. war in Afghanistan since the beginning of the George W. Bush administration, recent attention to the war has led to a decline in support throughout the first year of the Obama administration.



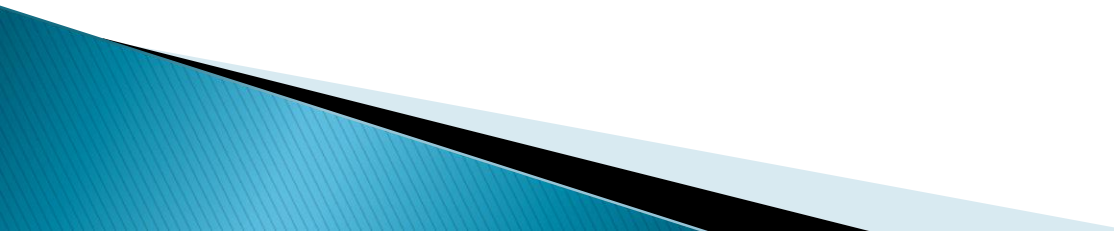
Public Support for the U.S. War in Afghanistan, 2006–2009



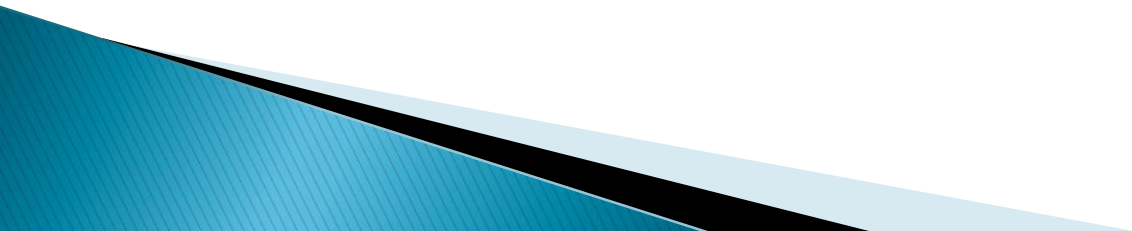
Source: CNN Opinion Research Poll (Question: “Do you favor or oppose the U.S. war in Afghanistan?”), as cited at <http://www.pollingreport.com/afghan.htm>, accessed 10/9/2009.

Still, even with this and other major difficulties in the world, Barack Obama's approach to foreign policy represents a wide departure from that of the George W. Bush administration.

Less interested in the “go it alone” approach than Bush, Obama has been aggressive in attempts to reach out to foreign leaders—even those who are not traditional U.S. allies—to improve America's stature in the world. And, when in October 2009, Obama was unexpectedly awarded the Nobel Peace prize, it was largely attributed to these efforts to reach out to, and cooperate with, the world community.



Additional Art for Chapter 16



ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Democratic Peace and Foreign Policy

In 1795, the philosopher Immanuel Kant proposed the idea that representative governments were far less likely than other types of regimes to initiate wars. Hence, if representative governments replaced monarchies and other autocracies throughout the world, the result would be "perpetual peace." Today, Kant's idea is called democratic peace theory and has considerable support among scholars, commentators, and government officials.



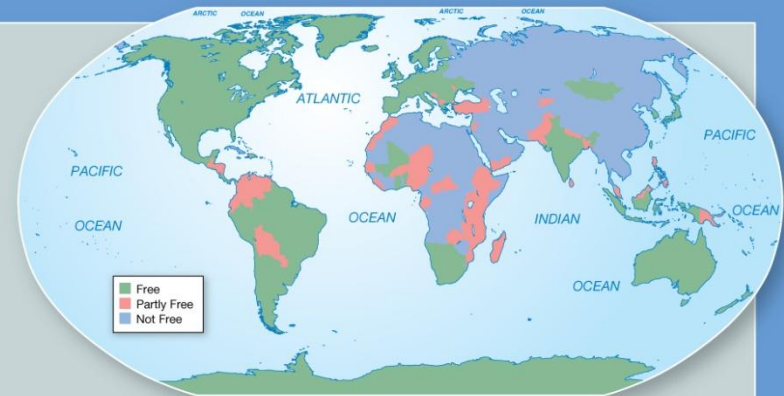
Immanuel Kant

This idea has significant implications for foreign policy. For example, the Bush administration argued that transforming Iraq into a democracy would help to promote peace in the Middle East. And many policy makers believe that by helping China develop a more open and responsive government, the United States can increase the likelihood of peace with that nation.

Proponents of democratic peace theory assert that democracies seldom, if ever, fight one another. Many argue that democracies are usually reluctant to attack nondemocracies, as well. The core logic of democratic peace theory is that ordinary citizens bear the burdens of war and are usually not eager to send their children to

fight unless it is absolutely necessary. Thus, to the extent that governments answer to ordinary citizens, they will be constrained from going to war. Critics of the theory point out that even in democracies, wars are often initially popular, though citizens may eventually become disenchanted with the bloodshed. Many scholars have attempted to collect data on the involvement of democracies in wars.

The table on the following page is a fairly comprehensive list of military conflicts involving democratic regimes. Whether these data support or call into question democratic peace theory depends on how the information is assessed. Relatively few conflicts have pitted one democracy against another. Yet, on many occasions, democracies have launched attacks against other nations. Does this mean that if all the world's regimes were democracies there would be no more wars, or could there be other factors at work? For example, the contemporary democracies might be members of the same trade and military alliances and these alliances, rather than their democratic constitutions, could keep them at peace with one another.



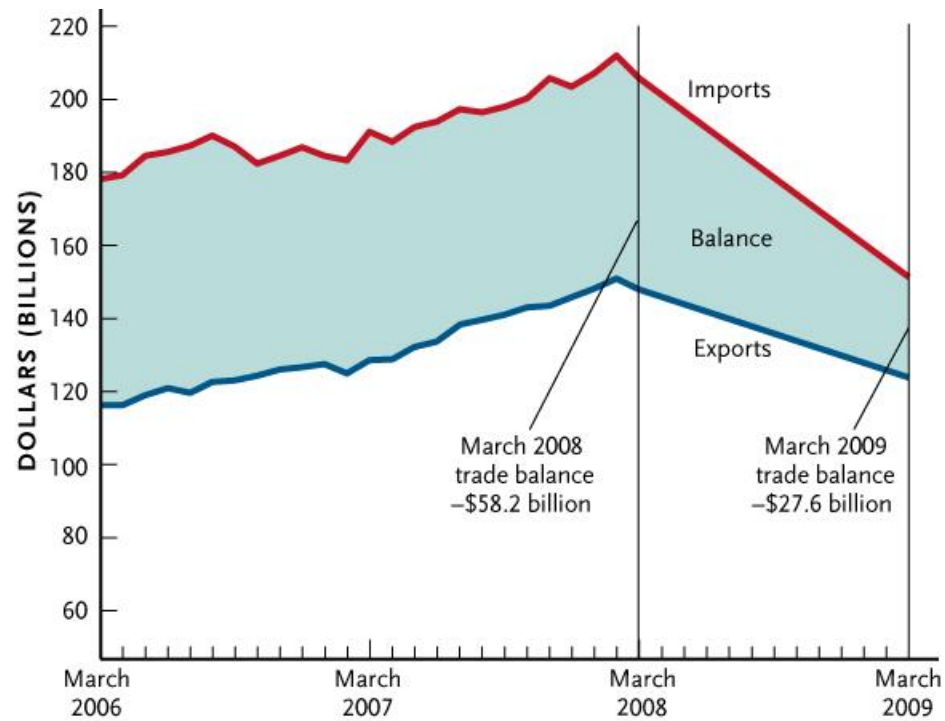
Freedom House ranks 89 countries in the world as "free" electoral democracies and 58 countries as "partly free" electoral democracies, yet many of these countries have been involved in wars at some point since adopting democratic regimes.

MILITARY CONFLICTS INVOLVING DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

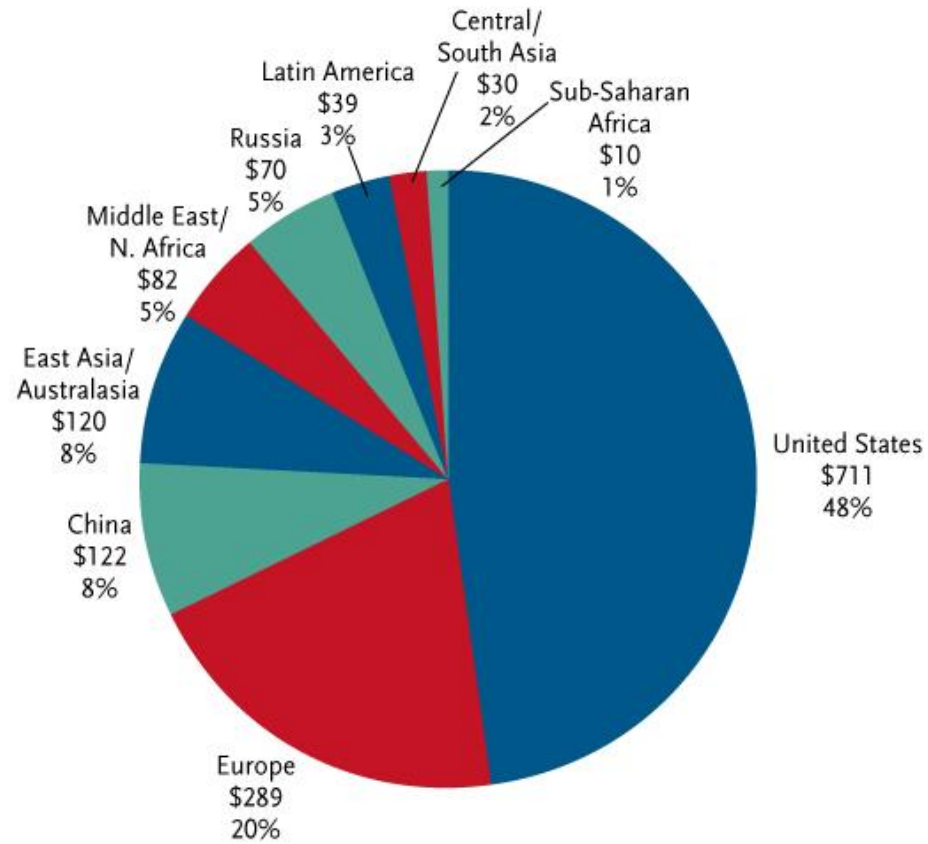
American Revolutionary War	1775–1783	World War II	1939–1945
War of 1812	1812–1815	Continuation War	1941–1944
Mexican-American War	1846–1848	Indo-Pakistani War of 1947	1947–1948
Sonderbund War	1847	1948 Arab-Israeli War	1947–1949
French Second Republic vs. Roman Republic (19th century)	1849	Cod Wars	1958–1976
Ecuadorian-Colombian War	1863	Operation Power Pack	1965
War of the Pacific	1879–1884	Six-Day War	1967
First Boer War	1880–1881	Turkish invasion of Cyprus	1974
Spanish-American War	1898	Paquisha War	1981
Philippine-American War	1899–1913	Yugoslav Wars	1991–1999
Second Boer War	1899–1902	Cenepa War	1995
World War I	1914–1918	Eritrean-Ethiopian War	1998–2000
Irish War of Independence	1919–1921	Kargil War	1999
Polish-Lithuanian War	1920	2006 Lebanon War	2006

*Source: Freedom House, Map of Freedom in the World, 2009 Edition, www.freedomhouse.org.

U.S. International Trade in Goods and Services



Military Spending, 2008



This concludes the presentation slides for Chapter 16: Foreign Policy

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