CHAPTER 17

NATIONAL SECURITY POLICYMAKING

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. American Foreign Policy: Instruments, Actors, and Policymakers (pp. 547-556)
   A. **Foreign Policy** involves making choices about relations with the rest of the world.
   B. Instruments of Foreign Policy
      1. Military
      2. Economic
      3. Diplomacy
   C. Actors on the World Stage
      1. International organizations like the United Nations (UN) play an increasingly important role on the world stage.
      2. Regional organizations have proliferated in the post-World War II era.
         a. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military alliance among the United States, Canada, and most of Western Europe.
         b. The European Union (EU) is an economic alliance of the major Western European nations.
      3. Multinational corporations (MNCs) are sometimes more powerful than the governments under which they operate.
      4. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are important actors on the global stage.
      5. Individuals are also actors on the global stage.
   D. The Policymakers
      1. The President
      2. The Diplomats
         a. The secretary of state has traditionally been the key advisor to the president on foreign policy matters.
         b. Some recent presidents have established more personal systems for receiving foreign policy advice.
      3. The National Security Establishment
         a. The secretary of defense is the president’s main civilian advisor on national defense matters.
         b. The commanding officers of each of the services, plus a chair, constitute the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
         c. The National Security Council (NSC) was formed to coordinate foreign and military policies.
d. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) coordinates American information and data-gathering intelligence activities abroad.

4. Congress

II. American Foreign Policy: An Overview (pp. 556-563)
A. Isolationism was the foreign policy course followed throughout most of American history.
B. The Cold War
   1. Containment Abroad and Anti-Communism at Home
      a. The containment doctrine called for the United States to isolate the Soviet Union, contain its advances, and resist its encroachments.
      b. At the height of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union were often on the brink of war.
      c. McCarthyism assumed that international communism was conspiratorial and infiltrating American institutions.
   2. The Swelling of the Pentagon
      a. The military industrial complex refers to the interests shared by the armed services and defense contractors.
      b. In the 1950s, the Soviet Union and the United States engaged in an arms race.
   3. The Vietnam War
C. The Era of Détente
   1. Détente represented a slow transformation from conflict thinking to cooperative thinking in foreign policy strategy.
   2. One major initiative emerging from détente was the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).
D. The Reagan Rearmament
   1. President Reagan proposed the largest peacetime defense spending increase in American history.
   2. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) was a plan for defense against missiles through a global umbrella in space.
E. The Final Thaw in the Cold War

III. The War on Terrorism (pp. 563-567)
A. Introduction
B. Afghanistan and Iraq

IV. The Politics of Defense Policy (pp. 567-571)
A. Defense Spending
B. Personnel
C. Weapons
D. Reforming Defense Policy

V. The New Global Agenda (pp. 571-582)
A. The Changing Role of Military Power
   1. Military power is losing much of its utility.
   2. Humanitarian Interventions
   3. Economic Sanctions
B. Nuclear Proliferation
C. The International Economy
   1. Today’s international economy is characterized by interdependency.
   2. International Trade
      a. The tariff is a special tax added to the cost of imported goods.
      c. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is the mechanism by which most of the world’s nations negotiate trade agreements.
   3. Balance of Trade
      a. Balance of trade is the ratio of what a country pays for imports to what it earns from exports.
      b. Year after year, the American balance of trade has been negative.
   4. Energy (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, OPEC)
   5. Foreign Aid

VI. Understanding Foreign And Defense Policymaking (pp. 582-584)
A. National Security Policymaking and Democracy
B. National Security Policymaking and the Scope of Government

VII. Summary (pp. 584-585)

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying Chapter 17, you should be able to:

1. Identify the many actors involved in making and shaping American foreign policy and discuss the roles they play.
2. Describe how American foreign policy has changed since the end of World War II.
3. Discuss the politics of defense policy.
4. Examine the new issues on the global agenda, particularly those concerning the world economy, energy, and environment.
5. Understand the role of foreign and defense policymaking in a democracy and how foreign and defense policy affects the scope of government.

The following exercises will help you meet these goals:

Objective 1: Identify the many actors involved in making and shaping American foreign policy and discuss the roles they play.

1. What are the three types of instruments that foreign policies ultimately depend on?
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 

2. List five types of actors on the world scene and give an example of each.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 

3. List some of the primary foreign policy functions of the president.

4. What is the purpose of the National Security Council?
5. Complete the following table on the major national security agencies. In the last column, comment on the agency’s inclinations toward involvement in foreign ventures, giving an example when relevant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joint Chiefs of Staff</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>National Security Council</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
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</tbody>
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Objective 2: Describe how American foreign policy has changed since the end of World War II.

1. Complete the following timeline on the Cold War by indicating the event or events that occurred during the year or years listed.

   1946:
   1947:
   1948-1949:
   1949:
   1950-1953:
   1954:
   1964:
   1972:
   1973:
   1975:
1979:

1983:

1989:

1992:

2. What types of foreign policies were followed during the era of détente?

3. What was the purpose of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)?

4. In what ways has American national security policy changed since the increasing threat posed by terrorist groups and hostile states supporting them?

5. According to George W. Bush, which states belong to the “axis of evil”?
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 

Objective 3: Discuss the politics of defense policy.

1. What is meant by the “peace dividend”?

2. What is the triad of nuclear weapons that the United States relies on for national defense?
3. What were the main provisions of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty?

Objective 4: Examine the new issues on the global agenda, particularly those concerning the world economy, energy, and environment.

1. Why isn’t military power as important in foreign policy as it used to be?

2. Define “humanitarian interventions” and give three examples.

3. Define the term “interdependency” as it relates to the international economy.

4. What are the four major provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade?

1. 

2. 

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4. What is the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and why is it an important international actor?

5. List three consequences of a balance of trade deficit.
   1.
   2.
   3.

6. List four different types of foreign aid.
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.

Objective 5: Understand the role of foreign and defense policymaking in a democracy and how foreign and defense policy affects the scope of government.

1. How might one argue that American foreign policymaking is a democratic process?
2. How has foreign and defense policymaking contributed to the scope of government?

**KEY TERMS**

*Identify and describe:*

foreign policy

United Nations (UN)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

European Union (EU)

secretary of state

secretary of defense

Joint Chiefs of Staff

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

isolationism
containment doctrine

Cold War

McCarthyism

arms race

détente

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)

interdependency

tariff

balance of trade

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

_Compare and contrast:_

foreign policy and isolationism
United Nations (UN), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and European Union (EU)

secretary of state and secretary of defense

isolationism and interdependency

containment doctrine and McCarthyism

Cold War and détente

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and interdependency

tariff and balance of trade

Name that term:

1. A regional organization involving the United States and most of Western Europe.
   ______________________________

2. A major regional organization based on an economic alliance.
   ______________________________

3. The commanding officers of each of the armed services.
   ______________________________

4. They have often been involved in other nations’ internal affairs.

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5. This eventually resulted in a situation of mutual assured destruction.

6. A change from conflict to cooperative thinking in foreign policy.

7. Also known as “Star Wars.”

USING YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Organize your colleagues to try to simulate a military or foreign policy decision making situation. The situation may be a political or economic crisis, such as the threat of war, an oil embargo, or some other crisis. Alternatively, it may be an ongoing policy problem, such as global inequalities in human rights, inequalities in the distribution of the world’s wealth, or the continued over-consumption of the world commons and pollution of the global environment. Different students should represent each of the key international actors concerned with the situation and the policymaking actors responsible for addressing it. Representatives from nations other than the United States may also be present. Try to identify the major issues involved in the situation and the tradeoffs involved, keeping in mind that each of the actors on the stage has a different interest to protect. Collectively, try to come to agreement on a U.S. foreign policy that would contribute to a resolution of the situation.

2. Given the end of the Cold War, international relations and the global agenda are changing dramatically. Find examples using Internet, newspapers, and/or newsmagazines that illustrate the changing global agenda. Include examples that stem from the decline of communism as well as the more traditional concerns about defense and military spending and the emerging agenda issues centering on the economy, terrorism, equality, energy, and environment. Identify those issues that seem to take a prominent position on the contemporary global agenda. At the same time, identify those issues that you see as important global concerns but that are not being given much attention. Assess the global agenda in terms of the relative importance of defense issues as compared to other policy issues and whether or not the agenda seems to be changing.
REVIEW QUESTIONS

Check ☒ the correct answer:

1. The end of the Cold War has lessened the importance of national security policy.
   □ True
   □ False

2. Foreign policy is like domestic policy because
   □ a. the president is the dominant actor.
   □ b. Congress sets the agenda.
   □ c. public opinion has very little impact.
   □ d. it involves choice-taking.

3. The instruments of foreign policy are basically the same as those of domestic policy.
   □ True
   □ False

4. The quietest of the principal foreign policy instruments is
   □ a. the threat of war.
   □ b. economic policy.
   □ c. diplomacy.
   □ d. war.

5. The real seat of power in the United Nations is the
   □ a. General Assembly.
   □ b. Secretary General.
   □ d. Secretariat.
6. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is
   □ a. a regional military organization.
   □ b. an economic federation.
   □ c. a multinational corporation.
   □ d. a branch of the United Nations.

7. The European Union is
   □ a. a regional military organization.
   □ b. an economic federation.
   □ c. a multinational corporation.
   □ d. a foreign policymaking agency of the United States.

8. Which of the following statements about multinational corporations (MNCs) is FALSE?
   □ a. They account for more than one-tenth of the global economy.
   □ b. Most try not to become involved in internal politics.
   □ c. Some are wealthier than the governments under which they operate.
   □ d. Some have linked forces with the CIA to overthrow governments.

9. The president’s foreign policy duties include
   □ a. making treaties.
   □ b. acting as commander in chief of the armed forces.
   □ c. deploying troops abroad.
   □ d. all of the above

10. Which of the following presidents relied more on his special assistant for national security affairs than on his secretary of state?
    □ a. Richard Nixon
    □ b. Ronald Reagan
    □ c. George W. Bush
    □ d. Bill Clinton

11. The Secretary of Defense manages a budget larger than that of most nations.
    □ True
    □ False

12. The governmental body responsible for coordinating foreign and military policy is the
    □ b. Department of State.
    □ c. Joint Chiefs of Staff.
    □ d. Central Intelligence Agency.
13. The activities of the Central Intelligence Agency have included
   □ a. nurturing coups.
   □ b. training and supporting foreign armies.
   □ c. infiltrating American interest groups.
   □ d. all of the above

14. Which of the following is NOT among the foreign policy functions of the U.S. Congress?
   □ a. declaring war
   □ b. initiating treaties
   □ c. confirming ambassadorial appointments
   □ d. appropriating funds

15. Isolationism was reaffirmed by
   □ a. World War II.
   □ b. the Marshall Plan.
   □ c. the League of Nations.
   □ d. the Monroe Doctrine.

16. The containment doctrine proposed the containment of
   □ a. Germany during World War II.
   □ b. the Soviet Union after World War II.
   □ c. McCarthyism in the 1950s.
   □ d. nuclear arms in the 1980s.

17. The American policy of helping other nations oppose communism was enunciated in the
   □ c. Truman Doctrine.
   □ d. Isolationist Doctrine.

18. During the Cold War, the policy of “brinkmanship” meant that the United States
   □ a. was prepared to use nuclear weapons in order to influence the actions of the Soviet Union and China.
   □ b. would isolate the Soviet Union and contain its advances at all costs.
   □ c. would stay out of other nations’ conflicts.
   □ d. was prepared to fight communist infiltration at home as well as abroad.

19. (bonus) The term “military-industrial complex” was coined by
   □ b. Richard Nixon.
   □ c. Dwight Eisenhower.
   □ d. Joseph McCarthy.
20. The Vietnam War finally came to an end due to the superior firepower of the United States.
☐ True
☐ False

21. Which of the following does the Vietnam War NOT illustrate?
☐ a. a presidential campaign issue
☐ b. how war abroad can result in protest at home
☐ c. the ability of the government to lie to its citizens
☐ d. the superiority of United States military might

22. Détente refers to
☐ a. the irrevocable differences between the United States and the Soviet Union.
☐ b. the threat of nuclear war.
☐ c. a transformation from conflict thinking to cooperative thinking.
☐ d. Ronald Reagan’s foreign policy.

23. The United States Senate approved the SALT II treaty in 1979.
☐ True
☐ False

24. The first president to extend formal diplomatic recognition to the People’s Republic of China was
☐ b. Gerald Ford.
☐ d. Ronald Reagan.

25. From the middle of the 1950s to 1981, the defense budget had generally been declining as a percentage of the total federal budget and gross national product.
☐ True
☐ False

26. The first president in recent history who committed more of the national budget to social services than to military services was
☐ a. Lyndon Johnson.
☐ b. Richard Nixon.
☐ c. Gerald Ford.
27. Defense spending came to a standstill during the second term of Ronald Reagan’s presidency.
☐ True
☐ False

28. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) refers to
☐ b. a defense system using high-tech devices to destroy invading missiles.
☐ c. an international organization bent on eliminating nuclear weapons.
☐ d. an arm of the Pentagon that prepares the country for defending against a nuclear attack.

29. The end of the Cold War was characterized by the
☐ a. fall of the Berlin Wall.
☐ b. unification of East and West Germany.
☐ c. split of the Soviet Union into 15 separate nations.
☐ d. all of the above

30. China took a major step toward democratization as a result of the 1989 protests at Tiananmen Square.
☐ True
☐ False

31. According to George W. Bush, the “axis of evil” includes each of the following EXCEPT
☐ a. Iraq.
☐ b. Iran.
☐ c. Afghanistan.
☐ d. North Korea.

32. Critics of the war on terrorism argue
☐ a. it is responding to a tactic when we should respond to the forces that generate it.
☐ b. unilateral action has squandered America’s moral authority.
☐ c. the United States can not defend itself without the help of others.
☐ d. all of the above

33. What fraction of the federal budget is devoted to defense?
☐ a. about one-fifth
☐ b. about one-fourth
☐ c. about one-third
☐ d. about one-half
34. Conservatives
☐ a. believe the Pentagon wastes money.
☐ b. insist that America needs to retain its readiness at a high level.
☐ c. argue that a strong economy is the best defense.
☐ d. believe the U.S. should invest in human capital.

35. Liberals credit the collapse of communism to
☐ a. the American military build-up.
☐ b. the ideological defects of communism.
☐ c. defects at the core of the Soviet economy.
☐ d. the Soviet Communist Party.

36. No other country in modern history has come close to the military predominance of the United States.
☐ True
☐ False

37. America’s nuclear arsenal has relied primarily on
☐ a. ground-based intercontinental ballistic missiles.
☐ b. submarine-launched ballistic missiles.
☐ c. strategic bombers.
☐ d. all of the above

38. The first president to sign a treaty to reduce current levels of nuclear weapons was
☐ b. Gerald Ford.
☐ d. Ronald Reagan.

39. The first accord mandating the elimination of strategic nuclear weaponry was
☐ a. SALT I.
☐ b. SALT II.
☐ c. the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Pact.
☐ d. the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty.

40. (bonus) How long did it take to win the Gulf War?
☐ a. one hour
☐ b. one day
☐ c. 100 hours
☐ d. 100 days
41. The United States is becoming increasingly dependent on other peoples to defeat terrorism, protect the environment, control weapons of mass destruction, regulate trade, and deal with other problems that cross national boundaries.
☐ True
☐ False

42. Military might has always been and remains America’s primary instrument of foreign policy.
☐ True
☐ False

43. Economic sanctions
☐ a. are a recent tool of diplomacy.
☐ b. are often a first resort in times of crises.
☐ c. have never accomplished their goals.
☐ d. tend to receive wide support.

44. The primary means by which American policymakers have sought to halt the spread of nuclear weapons has been
☐ a. to encourage nations to agree that they would not acquire them.
☐ b. the use of economic sanctions.
☐ c. the threat of military force.
☐ d. through the United Nations.

45. The key word that describes today’s international economy is
☐ a. isolationism.
☐ b. tariffs.
☐ c. interdependency.
☐ d. deficits.

46. Since the end of World War II,
☐ a. trade among nations has declined.
☐ b. a globalization of finances has taken place.
☐ c. tariffs have become the main instrument of international economic policy.
☐ d. interdependency has declined.

47. Non-tariff barriers include
☐ a. quotas.
☐ b. subsidies.
☐ c. quality specifications.
☐ d. all of the above
48. The ratio of what we pay for imports to what we earn from exports is called
☐ a. interdependency.
☐ b. the balance of trade.
☐ c. a tariff.
☐ d. foreign aid.

49. Which of the following statements is FALSE?
☐ a. A decline in the dollar makes American products cheaper abroad.
☐ b. A poor balance of payments exacerbates unemployment.
☐ c. In recent years, America has had a balance of trade surplus.
☐ d. Trade deficits decrease the dollar’s buying power.

50. The United States is more dependent on foreign sources of oil than any other country in the world.
☐ True
☐ False

51. American policy initiatives directed at the problem of world poverty include
☐ a. foreign-aid programs.
☐ b. Food for Peace programs.
☐ c. Peace Corps volunteers.
☐ d. all of the above

52. Foreign aid is very popular with Americans.
☐ True
☐ False

53. Which of the following statements is FALSE?
☐ a. Americans are usually more interested in domestic policy than foreign policy.
☐ b. When the American people hold strong opinions regarding international relations, they find policymakers responsive to them.
☐ c. The system of separation of powers plays a crucial role in foreign policy.
☐ d. Elitism is pervasive in the arena of international economic policy.

54. The decline of the United States as a world superpower has and will continue to reduce the scope of American government in foreign and defense policy.
☐ True
☐ False
ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Who are the actors on the world’s foreign policy stage? Who makes foreign policy in the United States?

2. What was the Cold War and why did it emerge from isolationism? What were its consequences at home and abroad?

3. Compare the politics and policy of the Cold War to the politics and policy of détente. Be sure to include a discussion of the containment doctrine and the arms talks in your answer.

4. How did the Cold War end? What consequences does the end of the Cold War have on American foreign and defense policymaking?

5. What is the politics of military spending? How do liberals and conservatives differ in regard to their view of defense spending?

6. Why does the United States often have troubles in its foreign policy initiatives?

7. Describe the changing global agenda in terms of the policy arenas of the economy, equality, energy, and environment. What is the importance of issues within each arena on the contemporary global agenda of the United States?

8. Critique the statement “democracy has very little to do with the international relations of the United States.” In what ways is American foreign and defense policymaking a democratic process and in what ways is it not?