Contents

| Preface xv Introduction: Why Study American Foreign Policy? 1 | | | |
|--|-------|---|-----|
| PART ONE | The S | tudy of American Foreign Policy 9 | |
| CHAP | TER 1 | Key Dimensions of Foreign Policy Analysis Hiroshima, Truman, and the Levels of Analysis 12 Level One: The International Setting 14 The Balance of Power 16 Realism versus Idealism 17 Geopolitics 20 Strategic Resources 20 Falling Dominoes 20 Globalization 21 Level Two: The National Setting 23 Historical Experiences 23 Constitutional Framework 24 Institutional Fragmentation 25 Pluralism 27 Level Three: The Individual Decision Maker 28 Role-Playing 29 Distorted Perceptions 29 A Road Map for Foreign Policy Analysis 31 Summary 32 Key Terms and Concepts 33 Thinking Critically 34 Notes 34 | 111 |
| СНАРТ | TER 2 | Unifying Concepts and Competing Themes American Missions 40 American National Interests 42 Defining Interests 42 Identifying National Interests 43 American Principles 45 Isolationism 45 Moralism 47 Pragmatism 49 | 38 |

Unilateralism 50

Competing Themes 51

Idealism versus Realism 51

Isolationism versus Involvement 55

Unilateralism versus Multilateralism 57

Change, Continuity, and Other Viewpoints 59

PART TWO The Background and History of American Foreign Policy 67

CHAPTER 3 Finding a Place in the World: 1756–1865 69

The American Colonies and States in a Global Context:

1756-1789 70

Before Independence 70

The American War of Independence 71

Foreign Policy under the Articles of Confederation 71

The Foreign Policy of an Infant State: 1789–1815 72

Washington's Foreign Policy 73

Adams's Foreign Policy 74

Jefferson's Foreign Policy 75

Madison's Foreign Policy 76

Continental Expansion and Hemispheric Interests:

1815-1848 77

Relations with Great Britain 78

The Monroe Doctrine 79

Continental Expansion 80

Relations with Mexico 81

Trade, Hopes of Empire, and Civil War: 1848–1865 83

U.S. Trade and Commerce 84

Slavery and Southern Hopes of Empire 85

Foreign Policy during the Civil War 87

Whither America? 89

CHAPTER 4 Building an Empire: 1865–1914 95

Territorial Acquisitions, Foreign Trade, and Regional and

Global Interests: 1865–1895 96

Post-Civil War Territorial Acquisitions 96

Economic Growth, Foreign Trade, and Foreign

Policy 97

Regional and Global Interests 99

Imperialism in Earnest: 1895–1900 101

The Venezuela Crisis 102

Cuba and the Spanish-American War 103

Issues in Asia 106

The Debate over Empire 107

| | Expanding and Consolidating the Empire: 1900–1914 108 Latin American Interests and Interventions 109 The United States in Mexico 112 Balancing Act in Asia 115 Anglo-American Rapprochement and the Prelude to World War I 116 Missions, Interests, Principles, and Competing Themes at the Start of the Twentieth Century 118 |
|-----------|---|
| CHAPTER 5 | Becoming a Global Power: 1914–1945 124 American Foreign Policy during World War I: 1914–1918 125 The Rhetoric of Neutrality 125 Winning the War 128 Winning the Peace 128 The United States and the Russian Revolution 133 America's Interwar Years: 1918–1941 134 The Roaring Twenties 134 New Approaches in the Thirties 136 Careening toward Conflict 136 American Isolationism and Neutrality before World War II 139 From Neutrality to War 140 American Foreign Policy during World War II: 1941–1945 143 How Do You Rebuild a Shattered World? 145 |
| CHAPTER 6 | Fighting the Cold War: 1945–1989 152 The Postwar World before the Cold War: 1945–1947 155 New International Institutions 156 Why Did the Cold War Happen? 157 The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and Containment 158 Europe Divided 160 Truman, Eisenhower, and the Cold War: 1948–1961 162 NATO, Foreign Aid, and Korea 162 Eisenhower and Containment 163 The Cold War, Power, and American Foreign Policy Principles 165 Kennedy, Johnson, and the Crises of the 1960s 166 The Cuban Missile Crisis and Its Aftermath 166 Vietnam 167 Grand Strategy under Nixon and Ford: 1969–1977 169 Détente 170 |

CHAPTER 7

| Relations with China 171 |
|--|
| Vietnamization and the Nixon Doctrine 171 |
| The Middle East 172 |
| Economic Issues 172 |
| The Ford Interregnum 173 |
| From Détente to Renewed Confrontation: 1977–1989 173 |
| Carter's Early Presidency 174 |
| Carter's Crises: 1979–1981 175 |
| Reagan and Renewed Containment 175 |
| Morality and Economics 179 |
| Revolution and Democratization in Latin America |
| and Asia 181 |
| Moving toward an End to the Cold War: |
| 1987–1989 182 |
| A World Transformed? 183 |
| ~ |
| Shaping the Post–Cold War World: |
| 1989–Today 192 |
| George H. W. Bush and a New World Order: |
| 1989–1993 194 |
| The Collapse of Eastern European Communism 194 |
| Crises in Asia and Latin America 196 |
| The Persian Gulf War 197 |
| The Collapse of the Soviet Union 198 |
| The Western Hemisphere 200 |
| The Politics of International Economics 201 |
| The Environment, Drugs, and Immigration 202 |
| The Bush Presidency 203 |
| The Clinton Presidency: 1993–2001 204 |
| New Strategies 204 |
| Political and Economic Policies toward Former |
| Communist States 205 |
| Security Policies toward Former Communist |
| States 206 |
| Trouble in the Balkans 208 |
| Intervening Overseas 209 |
| The World Economy 213 |
| Weapons of Mass Destruction and Terrorism 215 |
| The Environment, Drugs, and Immigration 216 |
| George W. Bush's Foreign Policy: 2001–2005 217 |
| The First Eight Months 218 |
| September 11 and the War on Terrorism 218 |
| Unilateralism, Imperialism, or Both? 221 |
| The Iraq War and Its Aftermath 224 |
| The Future of American Foreign Policy 226 |

PART THREE The Politics and Process of American Foreign Policy 237

CHAPTER 8 The Presidency and the Executive Branch in American Foreign Policy 239 Models of Presidential Power 240 Presidents versus Lawmakers 241 A Foreign Policy Compact? 242 The Presidency 243 Sources of Presidential Power 244 Limits on Presidential Power 244 The International Setting 245 Information Problems 245 Time Constraints 246 Issues of Permissibility 246 Available Resources 246 Previous Commitments 247 Bureaucratic Limits 248 The View from the Oval Office 248 The Foreign Policy Bureaucracy 249 A Bureaucratic Behemoth 249 The National Security Council 252 The Department of Defense 257 The Department of State 260 Tensions between the Departments of Defense and State 263 Bureaucratic Balkanization 264 Fissures within the CIA 265 Fissures within the Intelligence Community 266 Executive Command and Control over Foreign Policy 268 **CHAPTER 9**

Congress, the Courts, and the Public in

American Foreign Policy 274

Congress and Foreign Policy 275

Congressional Leadership 275

Congressional Oversight 275

Treaties and Other International Agreements 276

Appointments 277

Appropriations 278

The War Power 278

The Resurgence of Congress in Foreign Policymaking 279 Taking the Nation to War 282

Questioning Presidential Authority over the War Power 282

CHAPTER 10

| The War Powers Resolution 283 |
|--|
| The War Powers Resolution in Practice 285 |
| The Mayaguez Rescue 286 |
| Peacekeeping in Lebanon 287 |
| The Grenada Invasion 288 |
| Reforming the War Powers Resolution 288 |
| Death Knell of the War Powers Resolution? 290 |
| A More Complicated Foreign Policy 290 |
| Lawmakers as Foreign Policy Watchdogs 291 |
| The Judiciary in Foreign Policymaking 293 |
| Public Opinion and Interest Groups 294 |
| Public Opinion 294 |
| Domestic Interest Groups 296 |
| Foreign Lobbies 298 |
| International Interest Groups 299 |
| The Challenge of a Democratic Foreign Policy 299 |
| The Open Instruments of American |
| Foreign Policy: War, Diplomacy, Trade, |
| |
| Aid, and Reputation 305 The War Power 306 |
| The true I of the I |
| The Dimensions of Hengen's |
| America's Modern Weapons of War 308 |
| The Effects of Nuclear Weapons 310 |
| Conventional Weapons 311 |
| The Dangers of Chemical and Biological Weapons 312 |
| Military Power and Deterrence as Policy Instruments 313 |
| |
| The Triad 314 |
| Ballistic Missile Defense 315 |
| The Doctrine of Preemptive Defense 315 |
| How Much Is Enough? 316 |
| The Power of Diplomacy 317 Entering into International Agreements 318 |
| Controversy over Executive Agreements 319 |
| How Commitments Expand 321 |
| Placing Limits on Executive Agreements and Creeping |
| Commitments 322 |
| The Value of Opportune Civilities 323 |
| Instruments of Trade and Aid 323 |
| In Search of Commercial Opportunities 323 |
| Protectionism versus Free Trade 324 |
| Imports and Exports 325 |
| The Multinationals 325 |
| The Use of Trade Sanctions 326 |
| The Ose of Trade Sanctions 520 |

| Foreign Aid as an Instrument of Foreign Policy | 328 |
|---|-----|
| Moral Suasion and Soft Power: The Importance of | |
| Reputation, Ideology, and Culture 329 | |
| Morality versus Pragmatism 330 | |
| Hard Power versus Soft Power 331 | |
| | |

CHAPTER 11 The Secret Instruments of American Foreign Policy: Espionage, Counterintelligence, and Covert Action 337

Intelligence: The Nation's First Line of Defense 339

The Origins of Modern Intelligence Gathering 339

The Intelligence Cycle 340

The Challenges for Intelligence 345

Counterintelligence: A Wilderness of Mirrors 347

The Concerns of Counterintelligence 347

Counterintelligence as a Product and an Activity 348

Counterintelligence as Organization 349

The Penetration and the Double Agent 349

The Defector 350

Counterintelligence Interrogation 351 Counterintelligence and Accountability 351

Covert Action: The Third Option 352

The Evolution of Covert Action in the

United States 352

The Methods of Covert Action 354

Propaganda 354

Political Covert Action 357

Political Covert Action 357
Economic Covert Action 357
Paramilitary Covert Action 358
Assassination Plots 360
The Cuban Plots 361
A Covert Action Balance Sheet 363

PART FOUR Issues of American Foreign Policy 369

CHAPTER 12 Defending the Homeland 371

Early Issues of Homeland Defense 372

Post-Independence Dangers and Threats 372

World Wars I and II 373

The Cold War 374

Modern Terrorism and Responses to It 375

Responses to Homeland Vulnerability before

September 11, 2001 380

Homeland Defense after September 11, 2001 382

| | The Department of Homeland Security 383 Alliances, Coalitions, and Homeland Defense 387 Preemptive Defense 389 The Threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction 390 The Nuclear Threat 390 Biological Weapons 393 Chemical Weapons 395 U.S. Policies to Contain Weapons of Mass Destruction 396 Other Homeland Defense Issues 397 Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) 398 Enhanced Intelligence 399 Cyber Security 401 |
|------------|---|
| CHAPTER 13 | Economics and Foreign Policy: Trade, Finance, and Currency 406 Early Issues of International Economics 407 |
| | International Economics and the War of |
| | Independence 407 |
| | Trade Conflicts in the Early Years 408 |
| | The Evolution of Tariff Policy 409 |
| | America Becomes a Global Economic Power 410 |
| | Trade Policy before World War II 411 |
| | The Rise and Fall of the Bretton Woods System 412 |
| | The Bretton Woods System and GATT 412 |
| | The Marshall Plan 414 |
| | Official Development Assistance 415 |
| | Currency Intervention 416 |
| | The Fall of the Bretton Woods System 417 |
| | Anarchy and Interdependence: 1974–1995 418 |
| | The Global Economic System 418 |
| | Why the New System Emerged 419 |
| | Global Financial and Economic Institutions 419 |
| | Free Trade Areas 420 |
| | G-7 and G-8 Meetings 421 Current Debates over Economic Policies 424 |
| | Current Debates over Economic Policies 424 Free Trade and Globalization 424 |
| | The Role of the WTO 427 |
| | The Role of Tariffs and Quotas 427 |
| | The Pros and Cons of Sanctions and Embargoes 429 |
| | Revising Foreign Aid Policy 433 |
| CHAPTER 14 | Using the American Military Overseas 439 |

The Dilemmas of Power and Presence 440 Reasons to Use Military Force 441 The Complexities of Using Force 443

To Intervene or Not to Intervene 443 The Ongoing Debate 450 Early Issues of American Use of Armed Force 451 The Early Years: Defense and Expansion 451 Imperial America 452 From World War I to World War II 454 The Cold War and Containment 457 American Use of Armed Force after the Cold War 458 The Emerging Global Setting 458 The Persian Gulf War 460 Somalia 462 Bosnia 463 North Korea 464 Rwanda 464 Haiti 465 Iraq 465 Kosovo 465 The Iraq War 466 Interim Conclusions 468 Using Military Force in the War on Terrorism 468 Historical Precedents 469 Armed Force in Afghanistan 469 The Global War on Terrorism outside Afghanistan 471 Human Rights and Democratization 479 Early Issues of Human Rights and Democratization 480 The American Role 481 World War II and Its Aftermath 481 The Cold War 482 Human Rights and Democratization after the Cold War 490 The Presidency of George H. W. Bush 491 The Clinton Legacy 492 George W. Bush, Human Rights, and Democratization 494 Twenty-First-Century Human Rights Debates 495 Broad versus Narrow Definitions of Human Rights 495 Universal versus Relativist Human Rights 496 Sovereignty and Human Rights 498 Enforcing Standards and Agreements 499 Debating Democratization 500 Human Rights, Democracy, and the War on Terrorism 503 Is the United States Ignoring Human Rights and Democracy? 503

CHAPTER 15

xiv CONTENTS

Does the United States Have a Double Standard? 505 Changes in Aid Policies 507 Reemphasizing Universal Human Rights 507

Concluding Thoughts 513

Index 517