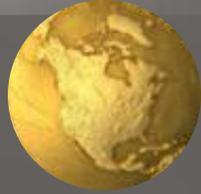


US Foreign and Defense Policy Part I

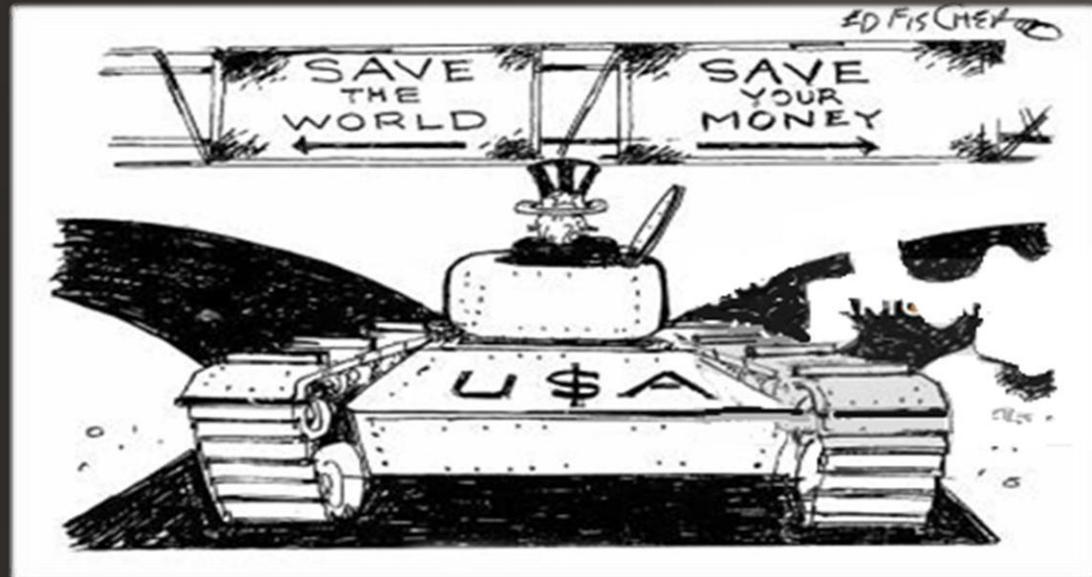
It is only Americans who say that our freedoms and prosperity
are the reason foreigners hate us.
If you ask the foreigners, they make it clear that it's America's
bullying foreign policy they detest.

Harry Browne

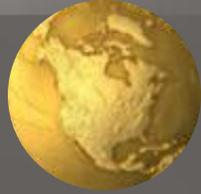
Unilateralism or Multilateralism?



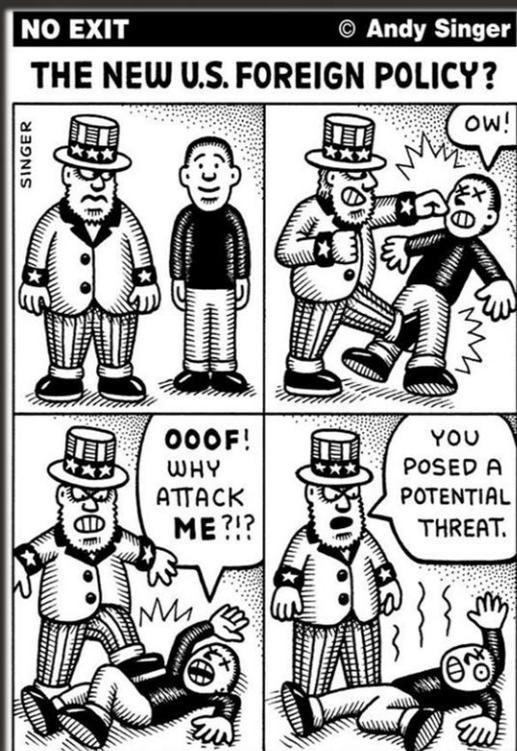
- The US is currently the only nation strong enough militarily and economically to project its power into any area of the globe.
- President GW Bush's 2002 *Axis of Evil* speech: described governments that Bush accused of sponsoring terrorism and seeking weapons of mass destruction, and detailed his plans to end terrorism and bring all terrorists to justice either by legal prosecution or death



Unilateralism or Multilateralism?

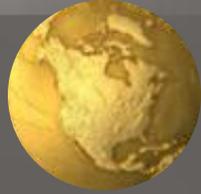


- **preemption**: new doctrine that the US has the right to secure itself against nations that harbor or give aid to terrorist groups, including through a strategy of preemptive strikes
 - Met with alarm and outrage by America's allies.



- Used to justify the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan.
- Put into practice in March 2003 in Iraq.
- Sparked domestic and international debate over US *unilateralism vs. multilateralism*.

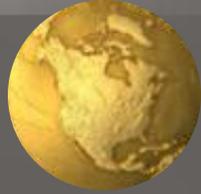
Unilateralism or Multilateralism?



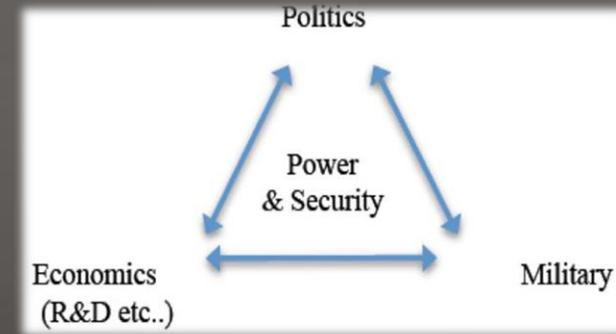
- **unilateralism**: doctrine or agenda that supports one-sided action ... Unilateralism has had a long history in the US. In his famous and influential farewell address, George Washington warned that the US should *steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world*. Advocates of US unilateralism argue that other nations should not have veto power over matters of US national security.
- **multilateralism**: the principle of participation or the practice of coordinating national policies by three or more governments ... an alliance where multiple nations work to achieve a given goal



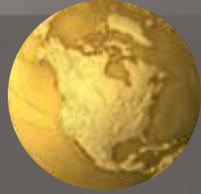
The US Superpower: Structural Foundations



- economic power
 - world's largest economy
 - ranks first in total exports and imports
 - historically faster growth than other wealthy nations
 - preeminence in key economic sectors in the new global economy
 - globalization of American business interests
- soft power
 - attractiveness of American culture, ideology and way of life
 - yet also a strong and growing anti-American sentiment



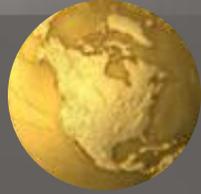
The US Superpower: Structural Foundations



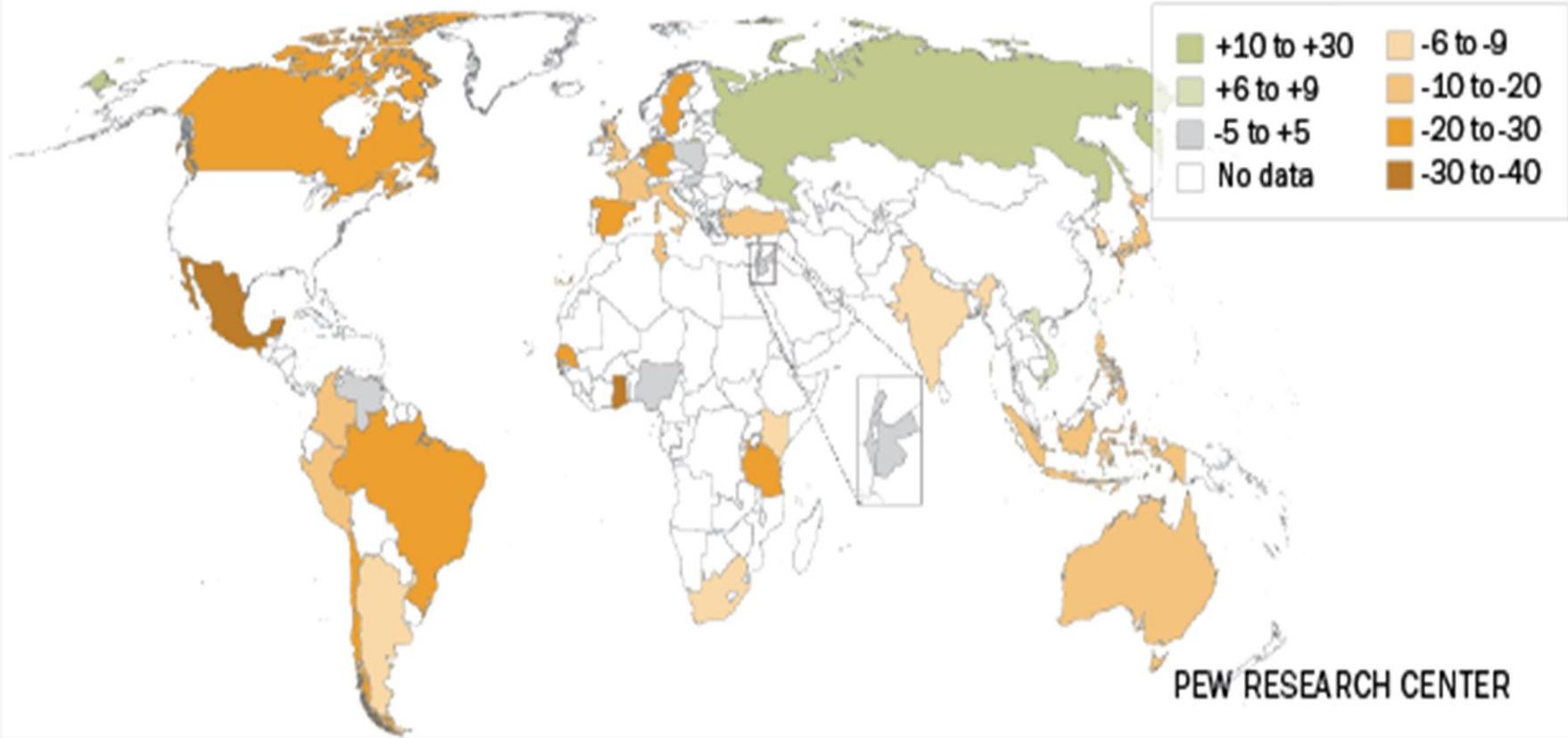
- military power
 - largest defense budget
 - unrivaled naval power, airpower, ground warfare capabilities, electronic warfare capabilities, strategic nuclear arsenal
 - only nation with permanent and often sizeable military bases in every part of the world
 - potential rivals far behind
- Still, the US is not omnipotent and it takes a lot of money to be “unrivaled.”



The US Superpower: Changing Views of the US

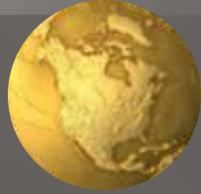


Percentage point change in favorable view of U.S. from 2015-2016 to 2017



[Opinion of the United States by Nation, 2002-2016](#)

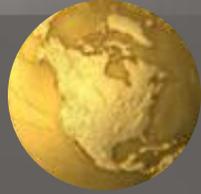
Foreign Policy



- ...the way in which a nation interacts with foreign nations and sets standards of interaction for its organizations, corporations and individual citizens
 - deals with many different topics: diplomacy, military, commerce, etc
 - involves: treaties and alliances, international trade, the defense budget, foreign aid, economic aid, military aid, the United Nations, nuclear weapons testing, regional political and economic alliances, etc



Foreign Policy

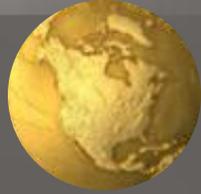


- ...the conduct of relations among nations.
 - policies of the national government directed to matters beyond (outside) borders, especially relations with other nations
 - international objectives pursued by a nation in dealings with other nations
 - methods to achieve those objectives, in order to advance national interests



- also involves economic trade among nations and other types of interactions, such as issuing passports, for example
- The most important foreign policy issues involve war and peace.

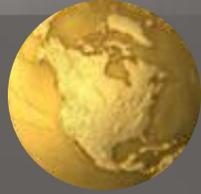
Foreign Policy and Domestic Policy



differences between making foreign policy and making domestic policy

- constitutional power of president as commander-in-chief
- tendency for president to prevail over Congress
- relatively little influence from public opinion, interest groups and other linkage factors
 - considerations of *national interest* typically prevail
 - complexity and remoteness of foreign policy matters
 - less public interest in foreign affairs than in domestic
- Still, **public influence has been increasing** concerning trade, immigration, global environmental protection and corporate behavior abroad.

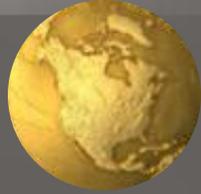
Foreign Policy: Realism vs. Idealism



- As the world's single superpower, the US must decide how to use its exceptional power.
- Since World War II, we have oscillated between a *realist foreign policy* that purports to reflect our national interests and an *idealist foreign policy* that purports to reflect our higher values. Changes in administrations, and thus policy, have resulted in an observable ambivalence.
- Events of 9/11 have changed the nature of the debate between realists and idealists in many ways.



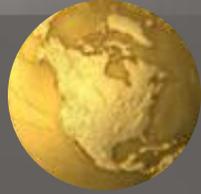
Foreign Policy: Realism vs. Idealism



- **realists:** those who say that US foreign policy best protects democracy when it safeguards its own economic and military strength
- **idealists:** those who say that US foreign policy should be guided primarily by democratic principles

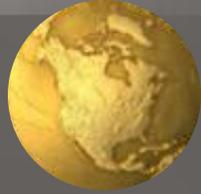
	REALISM	IDEALISM
philosophers	Thomas Hobbes Niccolo Machiavelli	John Locke Thomas More
political figures	Alexander Hamilton Otto von Bismarck Henry Kissinger	Thomas Jefferson Woodrow Wilson Margret Mead
world order paradigms	international relations as a choice between diplomacy or war, balance of power, realpolitik, multipolarity	free trade, functional integration, interdependence, multilateralism, prevent new types of security risks

Foreign Policy: Realism vs. Idealism



	REALISM	IDEALISM
What do nations want?	power	world peace according to nation's principles
What motivates nations?	self-interest	values, principles
What is the source of world conflict?	competing interests (territory, resources, etc)	competing "isms" (democracy vs. monarchy, etc.)
What is the source of security?	faith in power to protect the nation	faith in law/morality to protect the nation
What kind of security do nations seek?	national security	global security
How willing are nations to use power?	use limited to interest at the time	power omnipotent and unlimited
Of what are nations capable?	skeptical of nations' ability to transcend self-interest	faith in ability of nations to seek common interest in universal goals

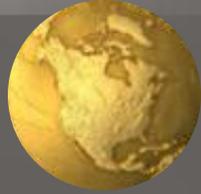
Foreign Policy: Examples



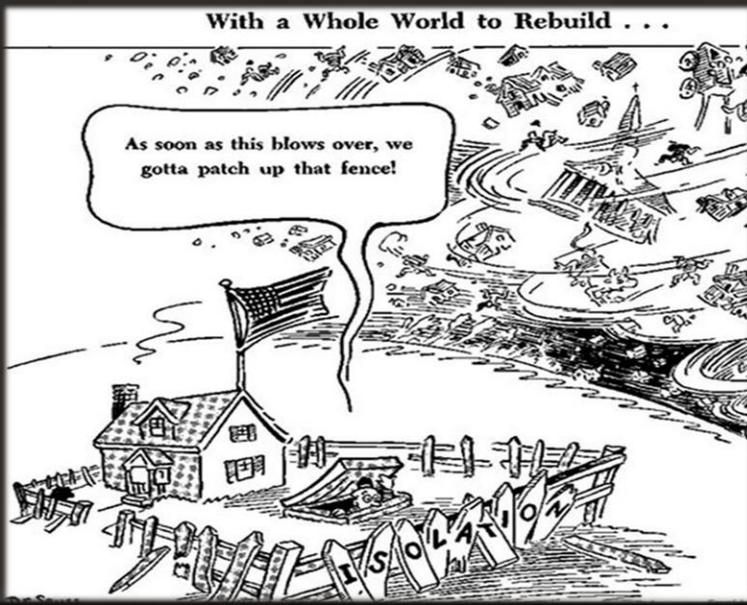
- defense
- democracy and human rights
- foreign aid
- the global environment
- international trade
- weapons proliferation
- regional activities
- US foreign policy is dynamic, always changing and will continue to change as times and world affairs change.



The Roots of US Foreign and Defense Policy

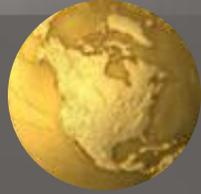


- When the US was founded it was a weak nation on the margins of world affairs, with an uncertain future.
- characteristics of US foreign and defense policy:
 - **isolationism**: avoided participation in foreign affairs ... Isolation wasn't total. US was a trading nation and did engage in foreign affairs sporadically.



- **unilateralism**: act without consulting others
- **moralism**: central to US self-image (Most Americans believe US has higher moral standards than other countries.)
- **pragmatism**: ability to find ways to take advantage of a situation for national gain

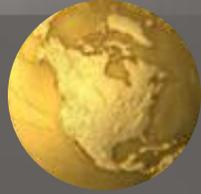
The Roots of US Foreign and Defense Policy



- Founders desired a stronger national government that would keep the US out of European affairs and vice versa.
- Foreign policy power given to the national government.
- Divided this power between the president and Congress.
 - not exclusive to either branch
 - checks and balances



The Early History of US Foreign and Defense Policy

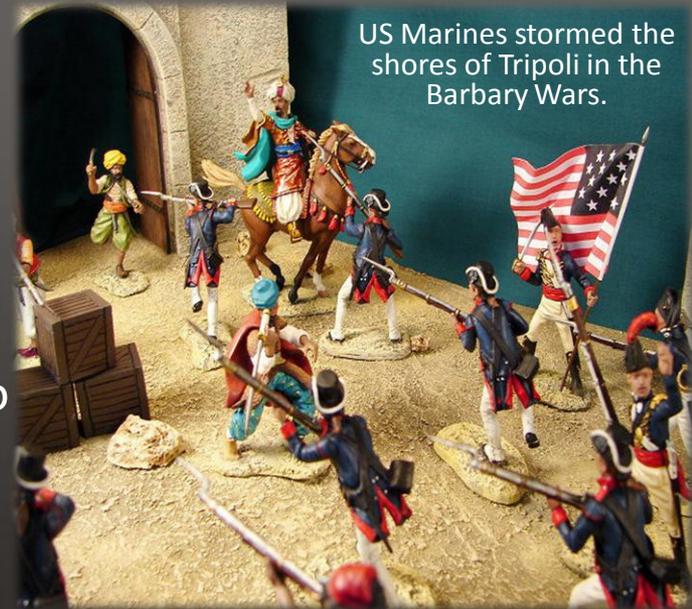


- Washington's farewell address

- In it he declared that the US should avoid becoming involved in foreign alliances.
- But he was not an isolationist.
- Accepted the need for trade, but trade led to conflict.

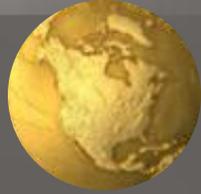
- Barbary Wars

- **impressments**: force someone to serve in the army or navy, commandeer goods or equipment for public service
- **Embargo Act**: Passed by the Congress in 1807 to prevent US ships from leaving for foreign ports without the approval of the national government.



US Marines stormed the shores of Tripoli in the Barbary Wars.

The Early History of US Foreign and Defense Policy



- War of 1812

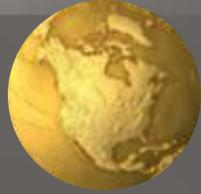
- Fought between the US and Great Britain over impressments and US territorial designs on Canada.

- Monroe Doctrine

- James Monroe's 1823 pledge that the US would oppose attempts by European states to extend their political control into the Western Hemisphere.



The US as an Emerging Power

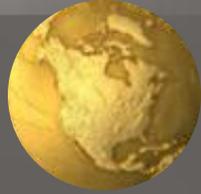


Process of US emergence as a world power centered on three areas:

- trade policy and commerce
- continental expansion and Manifest Destiny
- interests beyond the Western hemisphere

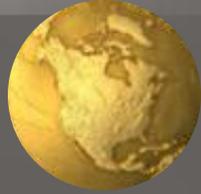


The US as an Emerging Power: Trade Policy and Commerce



- Principles of **trade reciprocity** and **most favored nation** worked well until the end of the Napoleonic Wars.
 - increased competition
 - US adopted **protectionist tariffs** designed to keep the home market for domestic producers.
 - First protective tariff was passed in 1816.
- **tariffs**: taxes on imports used to raise government revenue and to protect infant industries ... American system of trade protection
 - increased higher tariffs
 - protected domestic markets for American producers but cut off foreign markets due to retaliation of foreign nations

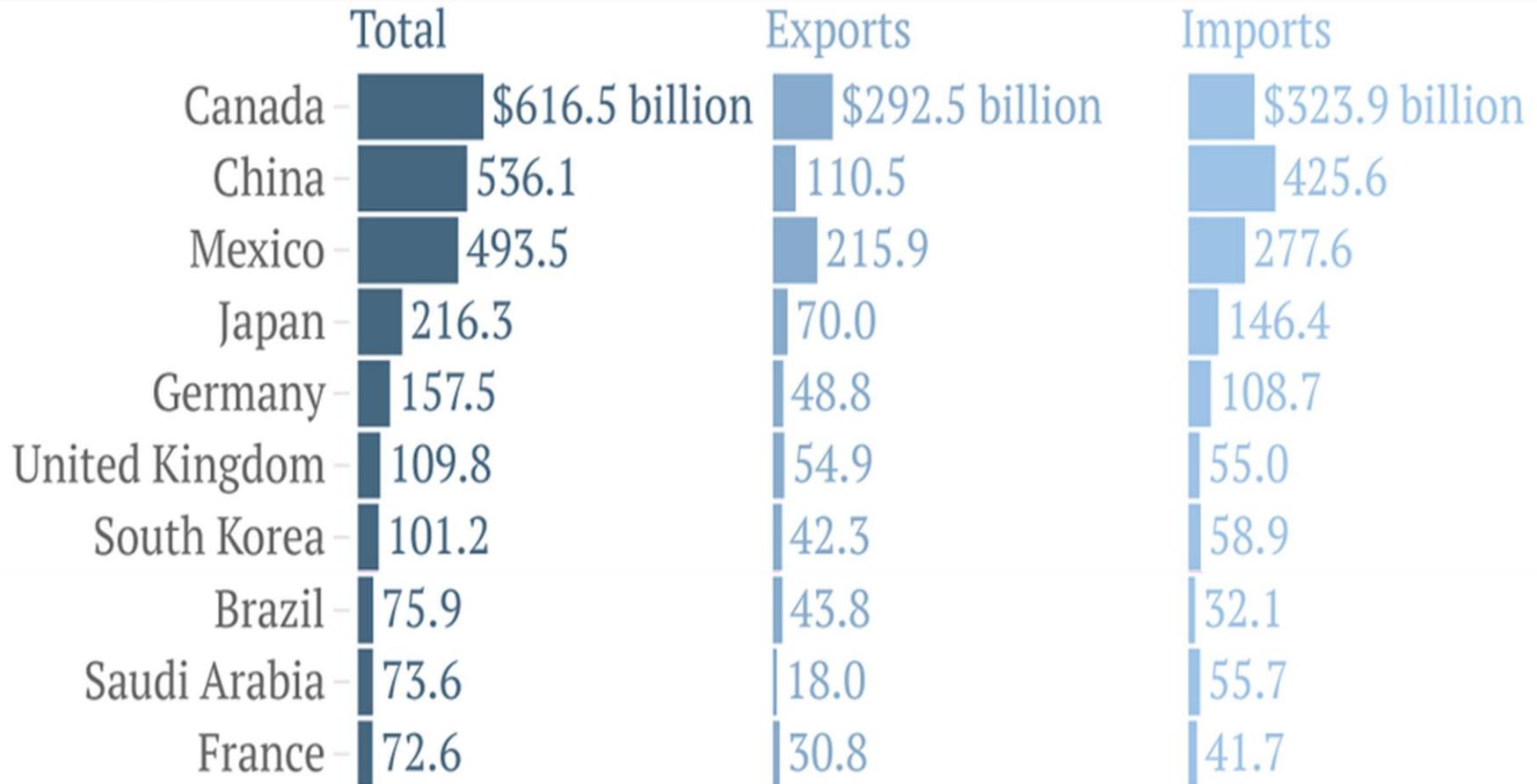
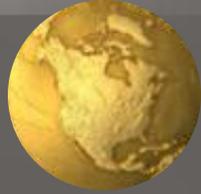
The US as an Emerging Power: Trade Policy and Commerce



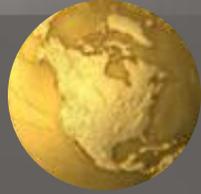
- **imperialist stirrings:** Americans started to think about expanding overseas as a way to expand US markets.
 - Other nations were expanding their empires. US needed to keep up.
 - Argued control of seas was essential to world domination.
 - Needed naval bases around the world.
 - US began building a modern, steel/steam-powered navy.
- **Not everyone liked the idea of imperialism.**
 - **American Anti-Imperialist League:** formed 1899 ... said imperialism was open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of US government
 - undermined democracy, threatened US culture, invited perpetual war, hypocritical
 - Samuel Gompers, Andrew Carnegie, William Jennings Bryan, Mark Twain



The US as an Emerging Power: Current US Major Trading Partners



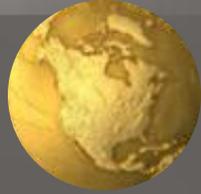
The US as an Emerging Power: Continental Expansion and Manifest Destiny



- During the 19th century the nation expanded.
 - land taken from Native Americans
 - 1846 Mexican-American War
 - By the end of century, nation reached from Atlantic to Pacific.
- **Manifest Destiny:** theory that the US was divinely mandated to expand across North America to the Pacific Ocean
 - elements of *Social Darwinism* (the sociocultural elite are superior) ... spread of US political and religious ideas to “the inferior”



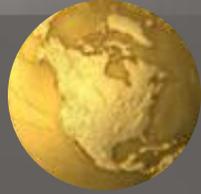
The US as an Emerging Power: Continental Expansion and Manifest Destiny



Colossus of the North

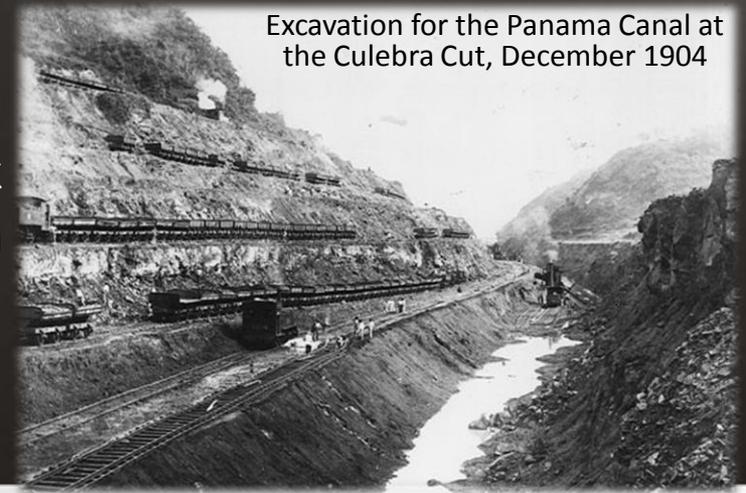
- Using its economic and military power, US policed the Western Hemisphere.
- US intervened in the Caribbean and Latin America many times as US presidents sent troops into Latin America.
 - **Monroe Doctrine:** efforts by Europe to colonize or interfere in North or South America viewed as acts of aggression, requiring US intervention
 - **Roosevelt Corollary:** concept developed by T Roosevelt early in 20th century that it is US responsibility to ensure stability in Latin America and the Caribbean ... *Speak softly and carry a big stick.* (not threats, but action)

The US as an Emerging Power: Continental Expansion and Manifest Destiny



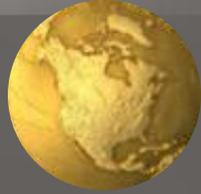
Panama Canal

- T Roosevelt wanted a canal built through Central American isthmus. Would make US fleets more powerful and would increase trade.
- Panama was part of Colombia. US and Colombians worked out treaty but Colombian government wanted more money.
- Small Panamanian army revolted in 1903. Roosevelt sent US Navy to Panama and recognized the new nation. US leased a ten-mile-wide zone for \$10 million and \$250,000 annually.
- **Cowboy Diplomacy:** Completing the canal hurt US-Latin American relations. (Look what happens when you defy the US.) Latin America didn't like US *bad neighbor* policy.

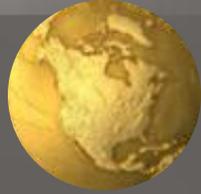


Excavation for the Panama Canal at the Culebra Cut, December 1904

The US as an Emerging Power: US Military Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean since 1900

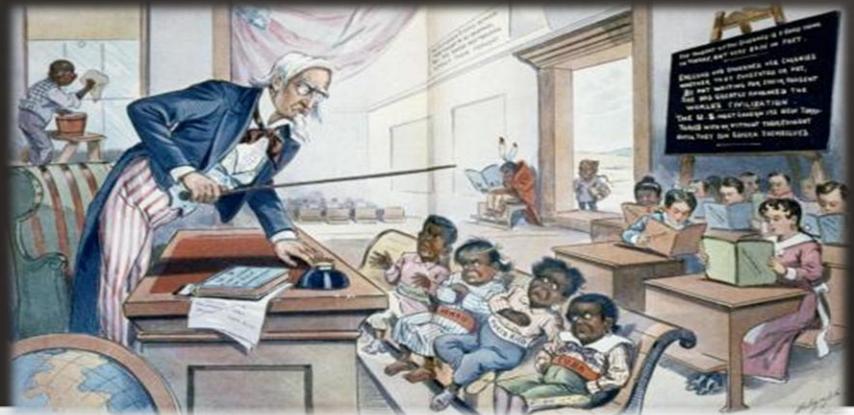


The US as an Emerging Power: Interests Beyond the Western Hemisphere

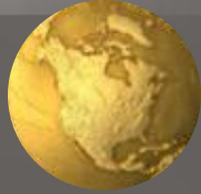


By the **mid-nineteenth century**, the US had:

- concluded a commercial treaty with China and limited Europe's ability to restrict US trade with China
- opened Japan to Western trade
- acquired the Hawaiian Islands, Midway Island, Wake Island and part of Samoa
- made the world take note of the US as a rising power with the 1898 Spanish-American War ... acquired Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines and (for a few years) Cuba



A Power Among Powers: World War I

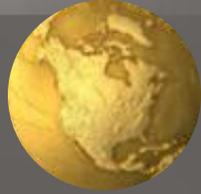


1914: WWI broke out in Europe.

- US initially stayed out. as no US interests were involved. US was a nation of immigrants and divided as to which side to support.
- pressures on neutrality
 - US banks had substantially larger loan investments with the Allied powers than with Germany.
 - Treasury Secretary warned that Allied arms purchases and agricultural purchases were essential *to maintain prosperity*.
 - State Department and major banks argued that even greater loans to the Allies were essential to American national interests.
- US-German affairs worsened.

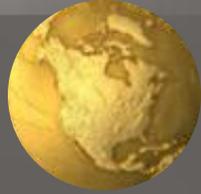


A Power Among Powers: World War I

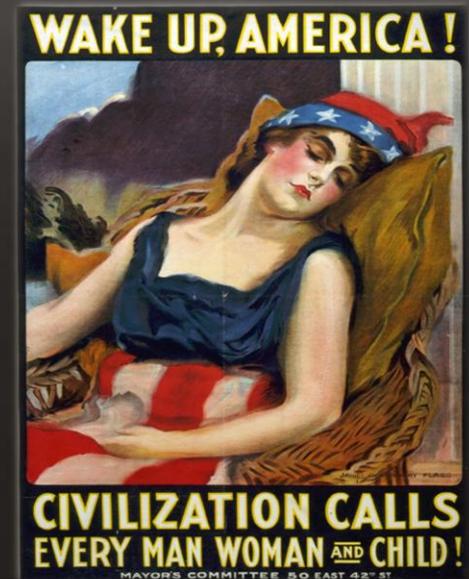


- Wilson led the nation into conflict in 1917. US completely unprepared for war ... fewer than 200,000 soldiers and very little war material.
- Selective Service Act (1917) required draft registration of all men ages 21-30 (later extended to 18-45). About 24 million men registered (23% of total population). Approximately 3 million were actually drafted and 4.3 million more volunteered. About 11,000 women volunteered as nurses, clerical workers and telephone operators.
- Entered the war late but US armed forces and economic assistance swung the tide of victory to the Allies' side.

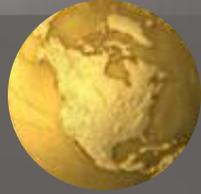
A Power Among Powers: World War I



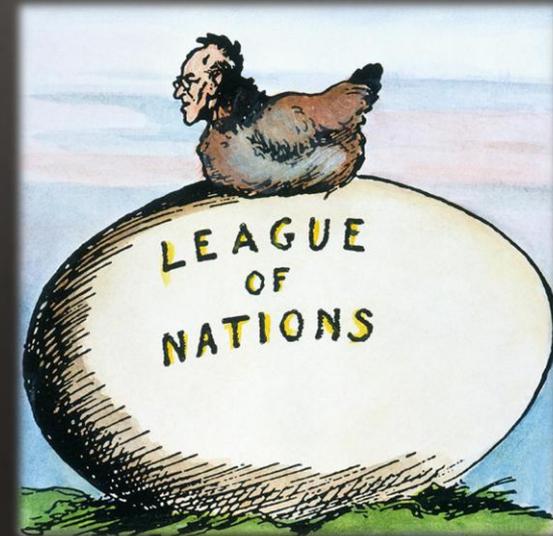
- impact on US economy
 - government involvement in industry
 - spread of mass production
 - collaboration between government, business and labor
 - growth of acceptance of government regulation of economy
- impact on US culture
 - promotion of national unity
 - suppression of dissent
 - death of idealism
 - more women held a wider variety of jobs



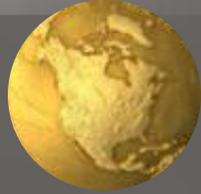
Inter-War Years: 1918-1938



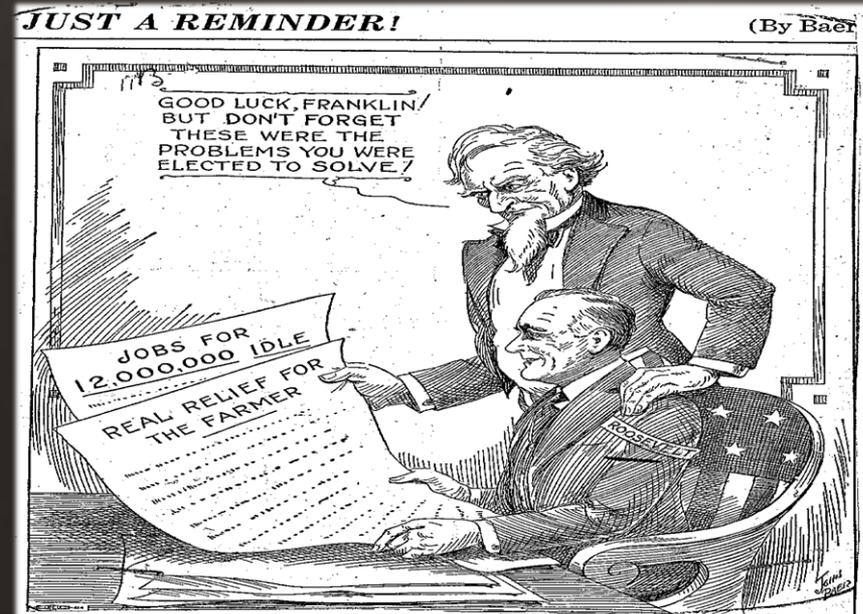
- Wilson put faith in collective security after WWI.
- **collective security**: concept that peace would be secured if all nations collectively opposed any nation that invaded another
- **League of Nations**: world organization established in 1920 to promote international cooperation and peace ... first proposed in 1918 by Woodrow Wilson ... US never joined the League because Senate refused ratification ... precursor to United Nations ... essentially powerless, it was dissolved in 1946



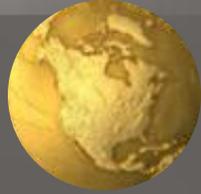
Inter-War Years: 1918-1938



- Americans supported **isolationism** and **unilateralism**.
 - Tariffs continued.
- **Great Depression** caused shift in public opinion on foreign policy regarding trade.
 - High tariffs not as popular but focused American attention on domestic economic recovery.

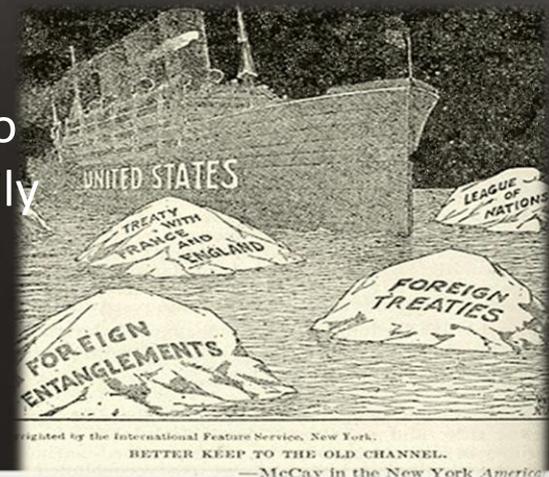


Inter-War Years: 1918-1938

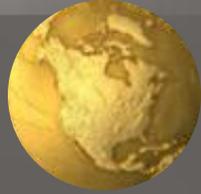


Isolationism was still supported even as aggression developed in Europe.

- Army and navy shrank to almost nothing.
- early 1930s: flood of books criticizing US involvement in WWI emerged
- documentation of large profits that banks and manufactures made in WWI
- **Neutrality Acts (1935)**: outlawed arms sales or loans to nations at war or engaged in civil war ... designed to keep US from ever being drawn into another war
- Failed to recognize that the Axis powers threatened to create a closed, hostile world in which US was militarily and economically isolated.
- US leadership in world affairs diminished.



Inter-War Years: 1918-1938



- Emotional appeal of neutrality came from **disillusionment with WWI** which failed to make the world *safe for democracy*, felt that US had fought WWI for nothing and must never do so again.
- People who opposed intervention in the war considered themselves realists.
- Opponents of war *did* want US to protect its traditional spheres of interest in Latin America and Pacific.
- **America First Committee**: foremost US non-interventionist pressure group against US entry into WWII



Carey Orr. *The Tribune* (Chicago), 1939. By permission Tribune Media Services.



continued in Foreign and Defense Policy Part II

