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Past, Present, Future

FIFTH EDITION



GLENN P. HASTEDT



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***To Cathy,
Sarah,
and Matthew***



Preface

For more than one decade American foreign policy seemed to be adrift. The cold war had ended, but the post-cold war era had yet to take on a defining characteristic. For many, the post-cold war era offered the prospect of realizing goals and objectives long held to be unattainable because of the demands of national security considerations. It was a moment to be seized and acted upon. For others, little had changed in the game of world politics. Bold initiatives to build a new world order were to be shunned in favor of policies designed to preserve American hegemony or maintain a favorable balance of power. Finally, for some the post-cold war era appeared to offer an opportunity to adopt an isolationist foreign policy that would protect America from the corrupting consequences that followed from involving itself in the affairs of others.

The scope, intensity, and pace of the debate on the future direction of American foreign policy in the post-cold war era changed with dramatic suddenness on September 11, 2001, with the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. For at least a moment, the shape of the post-cold war era became clear to most Americans and the need for debate about the content and conduct of American foreign policy was no longer self-evident. Yet, before the month had ended newspaper accounts began to record expressions of doubt and caution about the feasibility of the original set of foreign policy goals set forward by President George W. Bush, the language being used to frame the issue, and the proper American response.

The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon thus did not mark the end of debate over American foreign policy. Instead, it marked a new reference point for the debate as it moves forward. We continue to need to understand where we have been, where we are today, and

where we want to go. Choices continue to exist. We can continue to find reasons for optimism and pessimism as we look to the future.

Conceptually and organizationally, the fifth edition of *American Foreign Policy: Past, Present, Future* remains the same. Part I examines the global context of American foreign policy. Two chapters look at the global setting and the emerging foreign policy agenda. Part II examines the historical context of American foreign policy. Chapters in this section deal with post-Vietnam foreign policy and learning from the past. Part III examines the foreign affairs government. It includes chapters on the domestic context of American foreign policy, the Constitution and foreign affairs, and the political institutions that play leading roles in the making of American foreign policy. Part IV looks at the process by which foreign policy is made. One chapter examines models of policy making and the other presents a series of case studies. Part V presents an overview of the policy tools at the disposal of policy makers. A focus on policy tools rather than problems is used because this type of discussion can be readily directed at whatever current foreign policy problems sit atop the agenda. Part VI concludes the discussion of American foreign policy with a survey of alternative futures. Each future is discussed in terms of (1) the major threat to American security interests, (2) the responsibility of the United States to other countries, and (3) the responsibility of the United States to the global community.

Material in each chapter has been updated to include recent events in American foreign policy. Sections on terrorism have been included in Chapter 2's discussion of the emerging foreign policy agenda, Chapter 16's discussion of military power, and Chapter 18's discussion of alternative futures. The discussion of several of the alternative futures has been updated to make them more relevant to the current situation. In addition, several chapters have been reorganized to incorporate new information. The discussion in Chapter 17 on economic policy has been recast to better capture the distinction between the American general strategic orientation to international economic policy and specific tactics. Chapter 6 on domestic influences now contains discussions of political protest and religious interest groups. Chapter 8 on the presidency now contains a discussion on presidential foreign policy transitions. And Chapter 13 on diplomacy now includes a discussion on the United Nations.

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Glenn P. Hastedt



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The Global Setting of American Foreign Policy

Why the International System Matters

Any doubt that the shape and makeup of the world outside the United States was critically important to America's future ended on September 11, 2001, when terrorists hijacked four planes and crashed three of them into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, killing thousands. If Americans recognize more clearly the importance of the international system as a force that shapes their lives, they disagree on what it is that is important about the international system or what policies to adopt to further American interests. In truth, this has always been the case. Americans have seldom been united in their thinking about the nature of the international system or how it affects their lives. Isolationists routinely see the world as threatening to American values and try to construct barriers to U.S. involvement in international ventures. Internationalists see involvement in world affairs as crucial to the flourishing of the American system but often find themselves in disagreement over when, how, and where to become involved.

GLOBALIZATION

The current debate over the potential benefits and dangers of globalization provides us with a window on the debate over America's relationship to the world.¹ Globalization is a summary term that speaks to the "intrusive and intense economic interaction" currently taking place in the international

economy among “a large and growing number of entities outside government control.” It has been brought on by rapid advances in communication and information technologies and government policies designed to reduce barriers to the free flow of goods and capital across national boundaries. Globalization is, at the same time, credited with promoting prosperity and growth for the U.S. economy while it is held accountable for the loss of jobs and increasing income disparities.

Richard Haass and Robert Litan assert that “globalization is a reality, not a choice.”² The problem facing the United States is not whether to participate in a globalized economy but how to participate. Focusing on the economic costs and benefits of globalization, they argue against erecting economic barriers whose purpose it would be to insulate the American economy from the forces of globalization. Instead, they urge that ways be found to better manage America’s participation in a globalized economy.

Security specialists also see dangers in globalization. They note that “with this advent of this burgeoning free trade in technical ideas and the people who think about them, we have entered a new era in the history of [nuclear] proliferation.” These dangers extend beyond the domain of highly sophisticated weapons technologies. Michael Klare notes that small arms and light weapons now play a central role in many ethnic and sectarian conflicts.³ In fact, they have become weapons of choice. These weapons are easily produced and readily obtained in the global marketplace. The Israeli Uzi sub-machine gun is in the inventory of 39 states, and the Belgian FAL assault rifle has been manufactured in such diverse states as Argentina, Australia, Canada, Mexico, Israel, and South Africa.

The potential impact of globalization extends far beyond realms of military security and economic prosperity. Benjamin Barber fears that the emerging global consumer culture that is accompanying economic globalization is indifferent to the existence of democracy in the United States and around the world.⁴ Alan Tonelson is also fearful of the noneconomic consequences of globalization.⁵ He sees the globalization of production as threatening America’s future as a cohesive and successful society. David Rieff summarizes many of these concerns in worrying that “globalization is an extremely unfavorable environment for the exercise of great power duties and prerogatives, at least as traditionally understood.”⁶

WHAT TYPE OF INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM EXISTS TODAY?

While it is a striking feature of the contemporary international system, globalization is not its sole defining characteristic. Some observers stress the continued importance of underlying structural constants in assessing the ways in which the international system provides opportunities and challenges to policy makers. Others emphasize the importance of post–World War II trends. More recently some scholars have begun to catalog the emerging characteristics of the post–cold war era. In the remainder of this chapter we examine each of these aspects of the contemporary international system in order to clarify the global setting of American foreign policy.

The International System: Structural Constants

DECENTRALIZATION

The first enduring feature of the international system is its decentralized nature. Unlike in highly developed domestic political systems, there exist no central political institutions to make laws or see to their enforcement. In addition, there is no common political culture in which to anchor an agreed-upon set of norms governing the behavior of states. The combined result is a highly competitive international system in which there is a constant expectation of violence and very little expectation that either international law or appeals to moral principles will greatly influence the resolution of an issue.

Decentralization does not mean that the international system operates in a state of anarchy. Ordered anarchy would be a more apt characterization. For while enforceable laws and common values are absent, rules do exist that lend a measure of predictability and certainty to international transactions. They do so by indicating the limits of permissible behavior and the directions to follow in settling disputes. Rules are less permanent than laws, are more general in nature, and tend to be normative statements rather than commands. Different international systems operate according to different rules and therefore place different opportunities and challenges before policy makers. Neutrality, for example, is generally held to be permissible according to the rules of loose bipolarity but impossible under the rules of tight bipolarity.

SELF-HELP SYSTEM

The second structural constant grows out of the first: The international system is a self-help system. States must rely on only themselves to accomplish their foreign policy goals. To do otherwise runs the risk of manipulation or betrayal at the hands of another state. It is important to stress that great powers as well as smaller powers need to heed the admonition to avoid excessive dependence on others. One of the points stressed by opponents within the Reagan administration to using Israel as a go-between in its plan to sell weapons to Iran in hopes of gaining the release of American hostages in Lebanon was that Israeli and U.S. national interests were not identical and that in some cases they were in direct conflict.⁷

The self-help principle challenges policy makers to bring goals and power resources into balance. Pursuing more goals than one has the resources to accomplish or squandering resources on secondary objectives saps the vitality of the state and makes it unable to respond effectively to future challenges. Vietnam is argued by many to be a classic example of the inability to balance goals and resources and its crippling consequences. American policy makers entered into the Vietnam conflict with little understanding of the history of the region or of the Vietnamese struggle for independence. Once involved, U.S. policy produced steady increases in the level of the U.S. commitment to the war, but it did not bring the United States any closer to victory. Instead the reverse occurred. The longer the United States was there