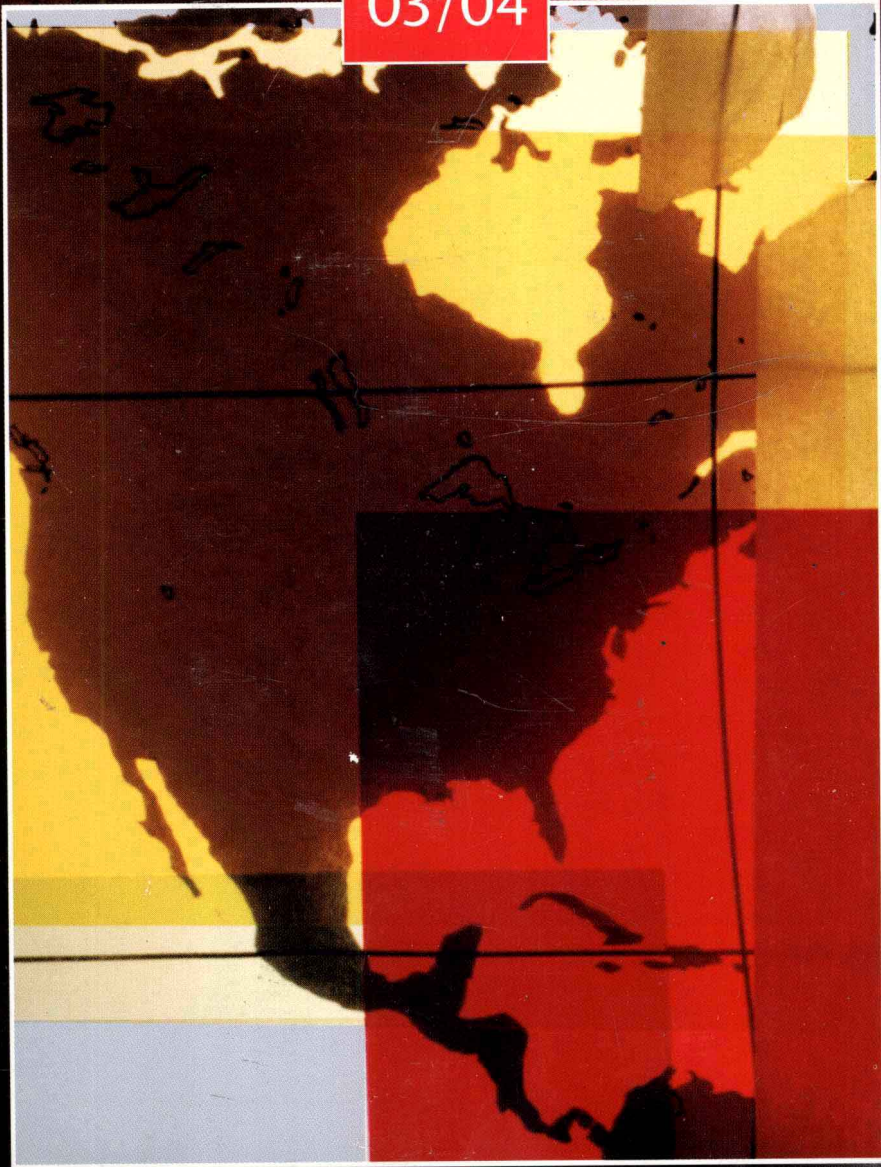


ANNUAL EDITIONS

American Foreign Policy

03/04



A·N·N·U·A·L E·D·I·T·I·O·N·S

American Foreign Policy

03/04

Ninth Edition

EDITOR

Glenn P. Hastedt

James Madison University

Glenn Hastedt received his Ph.D. from Indiana University. He is professor of political science at James Madison University, where he teaches courses on U.S. foreign policy, national security policy, and international relations. His special area of interest is on the workings of the intelligence community and the problems of strategic surprise and learning from intelligence failures. In addition to having published articles on these topics, he is the author of *American Foreign Policy: Past, Present, Future*; coauthor of *Dimensions of World Politics*; and editor and contributor to *Controlling Intelligence*. He has also published two volumes of readings, *Toward the Twenty-First Century* and *One World, Many Voices*.

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Ninth Edition

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Members of the Advisory Board are instrumental in the final selection of articles for each edition of ANNUAL EDITIONS. Their review of articles for content, level, currentness, and appropriateness provides critical direction to the editor and staff. We think that you will find their careful consideration well reflected in this volume.

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To the Reader

In publishing ANNUAL EDITIONS we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the public press in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Many of these articles are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced in a low-cost format, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed. That is the role played by ANNUAL EDITIONS.

This ninth edition of *Annual Editions: American Foreign Policy* presents an overview of American foreign policy. Much has happened in the past year. Prior to September 11, 2001, the debate over the future of American foreign policy proceeded at a measured pace since few pressing threats to American national security seemed to exist. The foreign policy debate centered on selection strategies and tactics that could guide the United States in the transition period between the end of the cold war and the emergence of a post-cold war era. It was a debate largely conducted in the language of academics and it was one that did not engage large numbers of the American public. All of that has changed. After September 11, the debate over the proper course of American foreign policy has been conducted in passionate tones and is seen as important by virtually all Americans.

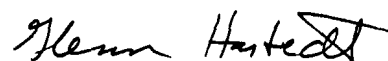
The immediate focus of this debate is on combating and eradicating terrorism. At first glance the urgency of this challenge may make it appear that there is little left to contest over the future direction of American foreign policy. The reality is quite different. Only by fully understanding the strategic and tactical choices available to the United States, the perspectives of other countries, the strengths and weaknesses of our own society and institutions, and the possible shapes that the international system may take during and after the war on terrorism can U.S. foreign policy succeed. Differing views exist on all of these points.

It is also important that we keep in mind that the terrorist attacks of September 11 did not wipe the foreign policy slate clean. Other important foreign policy issues remain. Too great a fixation on terrorism will cause these issues to fester and worsen, potentially creating very serious foreign policy problems. For this reason, while many of the articles in *American Foreign Policy 03/04* focus on terrorism, we continue to examine a broad range of issues confronting American foreign policy.

Annual Editions: American Foreign Policy 03/04 is divided into seven units. The first unit addresses questions of grand strategy. The second unit focuses on selected regional and bilateral relations. In the third unit, our attention shifts inward to the ways in which domestic forces affect the content of American foreign policy. The fourth unit looks at the institutions that make American foreign policy. In the fifth unit, the process by which American foreign policy is made is illustrated through accounts of recent foreign policy decisions. The sixth and seventh units provide

an overview of the economic and military issues confronting the United States today. Together the readings in these seven units provide students with an up-to-date overview of key events in American foreign policy, the forces that shape it, and the policy problems on the agenda. The essays were chosen for their ability to inform students and spark debate. They are not designed to advance any particular interpretation of American foreign policy.

I would like to thank Ian Nielsen for supporting the concept of an *Annual Editions: American Foreign Policy* and for helping to oversee the process of putting this volume together. Also deserving of thanks are the many people at McGraw-Hill/Dushkin who worked to make the project a success and those faculty on the Advisory Board who provided input on the selection of articles. In the end, the success of *Annual Editions: American Foreign Policy* depends upon the views of the faculty and students who use it. I encourage you to let me know what worked and what did not so that each successive volume will be better than its predecessor. Please complete and return the postage-paid *article rating form* at the end of this book.



Glenn Hastedt
Editor

World Wide Web Sites

The following World Wide Web sites have been carefully researched and selected to support the articles found in this reader. The easiest way to access these selected sites is to go to our DUSHKIN ONLINE support site at <http://www.dushkin.com/online/>.

AE: American Foreign Policy 03/04

The following sites were available at the time of publication. Visit our Web site—we update DUSHKIN ONLINE regularly to reflect any changes.

General Sources

The Federal Web Locator

<http://www.infoctr.edu/fwl/>

Use this handy site as a launching pad for the Web sites of federal U.S. agencies, departments, and organizations. It is well organized and easy to use for informational and research purposes.

Foreign Affairs

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org>

The *Foreign Affairs* site allows users to search the magazine's archives and provides access to the field's leading journals, documents, online resources, and so on. Links to dozens of other related Web sites are possible from here.

International Information Programs

<http://usinfo.state.gov>

This wide-ranging page offered by the State Department provides definitions, related documentation, and a discussion of topics of concern to students of foreign policy and foreign affairs. It addresses today's hot topics as well as ongoing issues that form the foundation of the field. Many Web links are provided.

Oneworld.net

<http://www.oneworld.net/front.shtml>

Information and news about issues related to human sustainable development throughout the world is available at this site by topic or by country.

U.S. International Affairs

<http://www.state.gov/www/regions/internat.html>

Data on U.S. foreign policy around the world are available here. Some of the areas covered are arms control, economics and trade, international organizations, environmental issues, terrorism, current treaties, and international women's issues.

UNIT 1: The United States and the World: Strategic Choices

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

<http://www.bullatomsci.org>

This site allows you to read more about the Doomsday Clock and other issues as well as topics related to nuclear weaponry, arms control, and disarmament.

The Henry L. Stimson Center

<http://www.stimson.org>

The Stimson Center, a nonprofit and (self-described) nonpartisan organization, focuses on issues where policy, technology, and politics intersect. Use this site to find assessments of U.S. foreign policy in the post-cold war world and to research many other topics.

ISN International Relations and Security Network

<http://www.isn.ethz.ch>

Maintained by the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, this site is a clearinghouse for information on international relations and security policy. The many topics are listed by category (Traditional Dimensions of Security and New Dimensions of Security) and by major world regions.

UNIT 2: The United States and the World: Regional and Bilateral Relations

Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies

<http://reenic.utexas.edu/reenic.html>

Information ranging from women's issues to foreign relations and covering more than two dozen countries in Central/Eastern Europe and Eurasia may be found here. Also check out University of Texas/Austin's site on Broader Asia (<http://asnic.utexas.edu/asnic/index.html>) for more insight into bilateral/regional relations.

Inter-American Dialogue (IAD)

<http://www.iadialog.org>

This IAD Web site provides data on U.S. policy analysis, communication, and exchange in Western Hemisphere affairs. The organization has helped to shape the agenda of issues and choices in hemispheric relations.

World Wide Web Virtual Library: International Affairs Resources

<http://www.etown.edu/vl/>

Extensive links to learn about specific countries and regions, to research for various think tanks, and to study such vital topics as international law, development, the international economy, human rights, and peacekeeping are available here.

UNIT 3: The Domestic Side of American Foreign Policy

American Diplomacy

<http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/>

American Diplomacy is an online journal of commentary, analysis, and research on U.S. foreign policy and its results around the world. It provides discussion and information on such topics as Life in the Foreign Service and Americanism and Strategy Security.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP)

<http://www.ceip.org>

One of the most important goals of CEIP is to stimulate discussion and learning among both experts and the public on a range of international issues. This site provides links to the magazine *Foreign Policy*, to the Moscow Center, and to descriptions of various programs.

RAND

<http://www.rand.org>

RAND, a nonprofit institution that works to improve public policy through research and analysis, offers links to certain topics and descriptions of RAND activities as well as major research areas (such as international relations and strategic defense policy).

UNIT 4: The Institutional Context of American Foreign Policy

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

<http://www.cia.gov>

Use this official CIA page to learn about many facets of the agency and to connect to other sites and resources.

The NATO Integrated Data Service (NIDS)

<http://www.nato.int/structur/nids/nids.htm>

NIDS was created to bring information on security-related matters within easy reach of the widest possible audience. Check out this Web site to review North Atlantic Treaty Organization documentation of all kinds, to read *NATO Review* magazine, and to explore key issues in the field of European security and transatlantic cooperation.

United States Department of State

<http://www.state.gov/index.html>

This State Department page is a must for any student of foreign affairs. Explore this site to find out what the department does, what services it provides, what it says about U.S. interests around the world, and much more.

United States Institute of Peace (USIP)

<http://www.usip.org>

The USIP, which was created by Congress to promote peaceful resolution of international conflicts, seeks to educate people and disseminate information on how to achieve peace.

UNIT 5: The Foreign Policy-Making Process

Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (BCSIA)

<http://ksgwww.harvard.edu/csia/>

BCSIA is the hub of the John F. Kennedy School of Government's research, teaching, and training in international affairs and is related to security, environment, and technology. This site provides insight into the development of leadership in policy making.

National Archives and Records Administration (NARA)

<http://www.nara.gov/nara/welcome.html>

This official site, which oversees the management of all federal records, offers easy access to background information for students interested in the policy-making process, including a search of federal documents and speeches, and much more.

UNIT 6: U.S. International Economic Strategy

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

<http://www.imf.org>

This Web site is essential reading for anyone wishing to learn more about this important body's effects on foreign policy and the global economy. It provides information about the IMF, directs readers to various publications and current issues, and suggests links to other organizations.

United States Agency for International Development

<http://www.info.usaid.gov>

Information about broad and overlapping issues such as Democracy, Population and Health, Economic Growth, Development, and Regions and Countries is available here.

United States Trade Representative

<http://www.ustr.gov>

The mission of the U.S. Trade Representative is presented on this site. Background information on international trade agreements and links to other sites may be accessed.

World Bank

<http://www.worldbank.org>

News (including press releases, summaries of new projects, and speeches), publications, and coverage of numerous topics regarding development, countries, and regions are provided at this Web site. It also contains links to other important global financial organizations.

UNIT 7: U.S. Military Strategy

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA)

<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/acda/>

This archival ACDA page provides links to information on arms control and disarmament. Researchers can examine texts of various speeches, treaties, and historical documents. For further current information, go to the Bureau of Arms Control page at <http://www.state.gov/global/arms/bureauac.html>.

The Commission on Global Governance

<http://www.cgg.ch>

Access to *The Report of the Commission on Global Governance*, produced by an international group of leaders who want to find ways in which the global community can better manage its affairs, is possible on this site. It pays particular attention to reform of the United Nations.

Counterterrorism Page

<http://counterterrorism.com>

A summary of worldwide terrorism events, groups, and terrorism strategies and tactics, including articles from 1989 to the present of American and international origin, plus links to related Web sites and graphs are available on this Web site.

DefenseLINK

<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/>

Learn about the Department of Defense at this site. News, publications, and other related sites of interest are noted. BosniaLINK and GulfLINK can also be found here.

Federation of American Scientists (FAS)

<http://www.fas.org>

FAS, a nonprofit policy organization, maintains this site to provide coverage of such topics as Global Security, Peace and Security, and Governance in the post-cold war world.

Human Rights Web

<http://www.hrweb.org>

The history of the human rights movement, text on seminal figures, landmark legal and political documents, and ideas on how individuals can get involved in helping to protect human rights around the world can be found here.

We highly recommend that you review our Web site for expanded information and our other product lines. We are continually updating and adding links to our Web site in order to offer you the most usable and useful information that will support and expand the value of your Annual Editions. You can reach us at: <http://www.dushkin.com/annualeditions/>.

UNIT 1

The United States and the World: Strategic Choices

Unit Selections

1. **The New Rome Meets the New Barbarians**, The Economist
2. **The Eagle Has Crash Landed**, Immanuel Wallerstein
3. **The Lonely Superpower**, Samuel P. Huntington
4. **U.S. Foreign Policy After September 11**, Craig Eisendrath
5. **Phony War**, Mark Helprin
6. **The Liberty Doctrine: Reclaiming the Purpose of American Power**, Michael McFaul

Key Points to Consider

- Make a scorecard of the successes and failures of the Bush administration's foreign policy to date. Defend your choices and explain why these policies turned out as they did.
- How powerful is the United States today? How should it use this power?
- Make a list of the five most important foreign policy problems facing the United States today. Defend your choices and explain why you ranked them in this order.
- Has the United States become a rogue superpower? Defend your answer.
- What principles do you think should guide American foreign policy in the future?
- How much and what type of responsibility does the United States have for maintaining world order?
- How helpful is the past as a guide to the future in constructing foreign policy strategies?



Links: www.dushkin.com/online/

These sites are annotated in the World Wide Web pages.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

<http://www.bullatomsci.org>

The Henry L. Stimson Center

<http://www.stimson.org>

ISN International Relations and Security Network

<http://www.isn.ethz.ch>

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UNIT 1

The United States and the World: Strategic Choices

Six articles review some of the foreign policy choices the United States has today.

Unit Overview

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1. **The New Rome Meets the New Barbarians**, *The Economist*, March 23, 2002

Joseph Nye cautions that ***the new conventional wisdom that the United States is all-powerful is dangerous*** because it leads to a foreign policy that combines unilateralism, arrogance, and parochialism. In a global information age the United States cannot achieve its objectives by acting alone but must be prepared to pursue a multilateral foreign policy.

2

2. **The Eagle Has Crash Landed**, Immanuel Wallerstein, *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2002

The United States has become the powerless superpower, according to Immanuel Wallerstein. The same economic, political, and military factors that gave rise to American hegemony are now leading to its inevitable decline. The key question today is, Can the United States devise a way to descend gracefully or will it crash-land in a rapid and dangerous fall?

5

3. **The Lonely Superpower**, Samuel P. Huntington, *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1999

Samuel Huntington argues that while the world is not unipolar, the United States is acting as if it is. In doing so, the ***United States is becoming increasingly isolated*** from other states, and it is taking on the characteristics of a rogue superpower.

10

4. **U.S. Foreign Policy After September 11**, Craig Eisendrath, *USA Today Magazine (Society for the Advancement of Education)*, May 2002

The author presents the outlines of ***an alternative strategy in the war against terrorism that is multilateral and liberal internationalist in spirit***. It builds upon the strategy embraced by the United States at the end of World War II. Craig Eisendrath calls for strengthening the United Nations, advancing human rights, creating an International Criminal Court, and promoting economic and social development.

15

5. **Phony War**, Mark Halperin, *National Review*, April 22, 2002

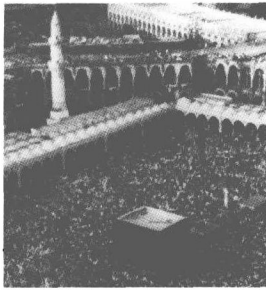
Mark Halperin is highly critical of the Bush administration's approach to fighting a global war on terrorism. He ***faults Bush for failing to pursue a massive across-the-board buildup of American military power*** that would allow it to act unilaterally in combating terrorism. Halperin is also critical of the administration's failure to understand the dynamics of world politics by abandoning the two-war policy.

19

6. **The Liberty Doctrine: Reclaiming the Purpose of American Power**, Michael McFaul, *Policy Review*, April/May 2002

For Michael McFaul, the key question raised by the U.S. response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, does not center on winning battles in Afghanistan. It is what comes next. He ***proposes that a foreign policy dedicated to promoting individual freedoms*** abroad is the answer. McFaul presents a three-step program for accomplishing this goal.

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UNIT 2

The United States and the World: Regional and Bilateral Relations

Ten selections consider U.S. relations with Russia, Europe, Asia, and the South.

Unit Overview

34

Part A. Russia

7. Realism About Russia, William E. Odom, *The National Interest*, Fall 2001

According to William Odom, Americans incorrectly view Russia as an emerging liberal democracy. ***Russia has become a "normal country."*** It is weak, poor, and ambling along headed nowhere in particular. On the international scene, Russia is not acting constructively in international affairs because of how it views the West.

36

Part B. Europe

8. Estranged Partners, Jessica T. Mathews, *Foreign Policy*, November/December 2001

The author reviews points of disagreement between the United States and its European allies before and after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Jessica Mathews cautions that ***Europe can no longer be treated as a junior partner*** and that the United States through its actions may be pushing the European Union toward a more coherent and activist foreign policy than it would otherwise be capable of.

43

9. All That NATO Can Be: To Prague and Beyond, Charles Gati, *The National Interest*, Summer 2002

NATO was bypassed and its importance in U.S. strategic thinking downplayed in the initial phase of the war against terrorism. Charles Gati argues that a new strategy and rationale are needed for NATO. This is especially important since ***NATO is set to expand again***. He asserts that the proper way to view NATO's expansion is as a marathon and not a sprint.

47

10. Germany, Japan and the War on Terror, Thomas U. Berger, *Society*, July/August 2002

The author argues against being overly dismissive of the roles that Germany and Japan play in the U.S.-led war against terrorism. He notes that, while militarily small, their contributions are politically significant and represent ***a critical breakthrough in how Germany and Japan define their roles in world politics***.

54

Part C. Asia

11. Korea's Place in the Axis, Victor D. Cha, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2002

In his 2002 State of the Union address, President George W. Bush identified North Korea as part of an axis of evil along with Iraq and Iran. Victor Cha notes that this was a significant departure from the rhetoric used earlier in his administration when the idea of a diplomatic dialogue with North Korea was advanced. Cha argues that there is no contradiction here and ***defends the Bush administration's policy of "hawk engagement."***

60

12. China: Economic Power, Political Enigma, Joshua Kurlantzick, *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2002

The author asserts that in order to develop an effective China policy the Bush administration must recognize that ***a disconnect exists between China's economic and diplomatic foreign policy***. The former has been constructive. The latter has all but ignored the negative global implications of these actions for Asia and on the global war against terrorism.

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Part D. The South

13. Be Careful What You Wish For: The Future of U.S.-Saudi Relations, F. Gregory Gause III, *World Policy Journal*, Spring 2002

This article examines Saudi domestic politics before and after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The author is **critical of those in the United States who feel that Saudi Arabia has been tepid in its support of the war against terrorism** and have called for political reforms in that country. He concludes that a closer relationship between the two is not desirable.

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14. Great Leap Backwards, Ahmed Rashid, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 18, 2002

Ahmed Rashid argues that **the United States has no long-term political strategy, for bringing about national economic growth and political stability in Afghanistan**. He fears that without a long-term strategy, ethnic divisions and Islamic fundamentalism will reassert themselves and divide Afghanistan.

80

15. India, Pakistan, and the Prospect of War, Alexander Evans, *Current History*, April 2002

Alexander Evans recounts the events of December 2001 that set the stage for a dramatic and sudden rise in tensions between India and Pakistan, both of which possess nuclear capabilities. He examines contemporary Pakistani and Indian foreign policy thinking and argues that **the United States plays a crucial role in averting war in South Asia**.

82

16. A Shaken Agenda: Bush and Latin America, Michael Shifter, *Current History*, February 2002

This article **surveys issues in Latin America that now struggle for attention in Washington**. Among them are trade, drugs, immigration, and monetary stability. Michael Shifter identifies two temptations, bullying and retreat, that need to be avoided if a constructive relationship is to be forged.

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UNIT 3

The Domestic Side of American Foreign Policy

Three selections examine the domestic impact of American foreign policy.

Unit Overview

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17. Imperial America and the Common Interest, James Chace, *World Policy Journal*, Spring 2002

James Chace discusses the American response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, in the context of the traditional way in which Americans think about national security. Central to this outlook is **the conviction that absolute security is an attainable goal**. He also links it to the American penchant for unilateralism in foreign policy undertakings.

97

18. Foreign Policy: It Works at Home, *The Economist*, April 20, 2002

This article examines the **domestic political calculations behind President Bush's foreign policy**, with special attention to his Israeli policy. Rather than stemming from political pressure from the pro-Israeli lobby, Bush's position is linked to an unlikely coalition between neoconservatives and the religious right.

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19. The New Cuba Divide, Daniel P. Erikson, *The National Interest*, Spring 2002

For several decades, U.S. foreign policy toward Cuba was dominated by the lobbying efforts of staunchly anti-Castro emigré groups. Daniel Erikson asserts that **the politics of the Cuban policy are changing**. Not only is the Cuban emigré community more divided than in the past but a coalition led by religious organizations and American farmers is working to bring an end to the U.S. trade embargo.

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UNIT 4

The Institutional Context of American Foreign Policy

Six articles examine how the courts, Congress, the presidency, and bureaucracy affect U.S. foreign policy.

Unit Overview

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Part A. Law and the Court

20. The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction, Henry A. Kissinger, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2001

One of the most controversial developments in the field of international law is the establishment of a permanent international criminal court. Of major concern to opponents is its relationship to the American legal system. Henry Kissinger warns that its creation may not produce international peace but simply ***substitute the tyranny of judges for that of governments.***

112

21. Bad Neighbors, Doug Cassel, *The American Prospect*, August 27, 2001

Doug Cassel is ***critical of the American Servicemembers Protection Act*** that is designed to protect Americans from the International Criminal Court. Cassel asserts that the legislation does not protect Americans as is claimed and that opponents of the International Criminal Court (ICC) have misrepresented key provisions.

116

Part B. The Presidency

22. The Return of the Imperial Presidency?, Donald R. Wolfensberger, *Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 2002

Following the events of September 11, 2001, many spoke of a ***return to the imperial presidency.*** Donald Wolfensberger examines the history of this concept and its roots in the excesses of Watergate and Vietnam. He warns against investing the idea of an imperial presidency with too great an aura of legitimacy.

118

Part C. Congress

23. The Folk Who Live on the Hill, James Kitfield, *The National Interest*, Winter 1999/2000

James Kitfield examines ***the growing split within Republican congressional ranks between aging assertive internationalists and newer international minimalists.*** Nowhere is the gap greater than on the question of using military force. Kitfield discusses the ***Hutchinson Doctrine***, which would place the United States behind a missile defense shield and leave peacekeeping to others.

122

Part D. The Bureaucracy

24. Fixing Intelligence, Richard K. Betts, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002

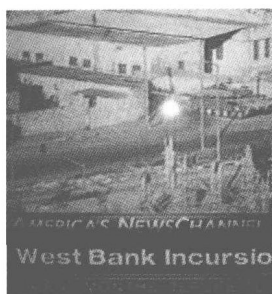
Richard Betts observes that even the best intelligence systems will have big intelligence failures and that the U.S. intelligence system has generally done a good job. In this article he reviews the merits of reform proposals. Betts maintains that ***the only thing worse than business as usual in the intelligence area would be naive assumptions about the potential benefits of reform.***

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25. Law in Order: Reconstructing U.S. National Security, William Wechsler, *The National Interest*, Spring 2002

The core argument made in this article is ***that few tools of U.S. foreign policy are as consistently overlooked as is law enforcement.*** To illustrate this point, the author examines the complex set of foreign policy issues that involve international criminal organizations.

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UNIT 5

The Foreign Policy-Making Process

Three selections review some of the elements that influence the process of American foreign policy.

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26. **Outmaneuvered, Outgunned, and Out of View: Test Ban Debacle**, Stephen I. Schwartz, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January/February 2000

Policy making occurs in **Congress** as well as in the White House. This essay examines the political maneuvering that took place in Congress leading up to the vote to reject the **Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty** in October 1999. Author Stephen Schwartz is critical of the Clinton administration's handling of the vote.

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27. **Powell vs. the Pentagon: Is Defense Thwarting State's Efforts Toward a Mideast Peace?**, Alan Sipress, *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, May 6–12, 2002

This article highlights **the internal conflicts that drive the question-making process in the Bush administration on the Arab-Israeli question**. At its core is a dispute between Secretary of State Colin Powell and forces allied with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Vice President Dick Cheney. Powell has been the loser in this battle.

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28. **At Camp David, Advise and Dissent**, Bob Woodward and Dan Balz, *Washington Post*, January 31, 2002

This article recounts **one full day of decision making inside the Bush administration following the terrorist attacks** of September 11, 2001. It begins with Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) George Tenet making a case for CIA covert action in Afghanistan, and goes on to chronicle the positions advocated by Powell, Rumsfeld, and other key decision makers.

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UNIT 6

U.S. International Economic Strategy

Four selections discuss how American foreign policy choices are affected by economic and trade strategies.

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29. **Global Petro-Politics: The Foreign Policy Implications of the Bush Administration's Energy Plan**, Michael T. Klare, *Current History*, March 2002

Michael Klare asserts that **President Bush's energy plan introduced in May 2001 increases the amount of foreign oil coming into the United States by 50 percent**. He examines the implications of this for United States national security policy through a survey of regional politics in the Middle East, the Caspian Sea, Latin America, and Africa.

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30. **Oiling the Wheels of War**, Michael T. Klare, *The Nation*, October 7, 2002

Michael Klare questions the merits of **invading Iraq** in this article.

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31. **The U.S. Trade Deficit: A Dangerous Obsession**, Joseph Quinlan and Marc Chandler, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2001

A large trade deficit has become a persistent feature of U.S. trade policy. To many it is an important indicator of the health of the U.S. economy. The authors assert that this is incorrect and that **the trade balance is no longer a valid index for measuring American global competitiveness**. The United States is better positioned than ever to compete in the global marketplace.

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32. **Can Foreign Aid Help Stop Terrorism?**, Carol Graham, *Brookings Review*, Summer 2002

Carol Graham identifies a series of conceptual and practical problems that stand in the way of using foreign aid programs to prevent terrorism. She concludes with *a series of do's and don'ts in trying to fight terrorism with foreign aid.*

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UNIT 7

U.S. Military Strategy

Six articles examine U.S. military planning in the context of the post-cold war era.

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Part A. The Use of Military Strategy

33. **The Threats America Faces**, John Newhouse, *World Policy Journal*, Summer 2002

John Newhouse presents an overview of the types of **threats that American military planners must take into account** in acquiring weapons and formulating strategies. Included in this list are nuclear weapons, dirty bombs, cruise missiles, rogue states, plus an array of lower-profile threats. **Newhouse calls for abandoning a me-first strategic policy** and adopting a policy of multilateralism.

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34. **Next Stop Baghdad?**, Kenneth M. Pollack, *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2002

According to the author, there are **no good policy options toward Iraq**. Neither containment nor deterrence have worked. After reviewing existing policy options, **Pollack calls for invading Iraq** and ending Saddam Hussein's rule.

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35. **Musclebound: The Limits of U.S. Power**, Stephen M. Walt, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March/April 1999

The extraordinary power position of the United States does not guarantee that it can achieve its objectives. Some reasons for this are that other states may care more about an issue than does the United States, other states fear U.S. hegemony, and the United States has pursued an overly ambitious set of goals.

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36. **Keeping Track of Anthrax: The Case for a Biosecurity Convention**, Michael Barletta, Amy Sands, and Jonathan B. Tucker, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May/June 2002

Efforts to deal with the acquisition and use of biological weapons have stalled. The authors call upon the Bush administration to take the lead in injecting new life into this cause. They recommend a policy that involves both enhancing national regulations that control and secure dangerous materials and launching **new international negotiations to create a biosecurity treaty.**

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37. **Return of the Nuclear Debate**, Leon Fuerth, *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2001

Leon Fuerth presents **10 assumptions that underlie the Bush administration's thinking on nuclear weapons and arms control**. He argues that when the concept of **strategic stability** is applied to this policy line it is found wanting.

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38. **Deterrence and the ABM: Retreading the Old Calculus**, Robert A. Levine, *World Policy Journal*, Fall 2001

This article shows that **the debate over the construction of a national ballistic missile defense system is in many ways a repeat of earlier debates over deterrence** and the ABM. Robert Levine recaps these debates and examines what they tell us about protecting the United States today. He concludes with a pro and con analysis of the security potential offered by a missile defense system.

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Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to the subjects covered in your course. You may want to use the topics listed on these pages to search the Web more easily.

On the following pages a number of Web sites have been gathered specifically for this book. They are arranged to reflect the units of this *Annual Edition*. You can link to these sites by going to the DUSHKIN ONLINE support site at <http://www.dushkin.com/online/>.

ALL THE ARTICLES THAT RELATE TO EACH TOPIC ARE LISTED BELOW THE BOLD-FACED TERM.

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