

## CHAPTER II

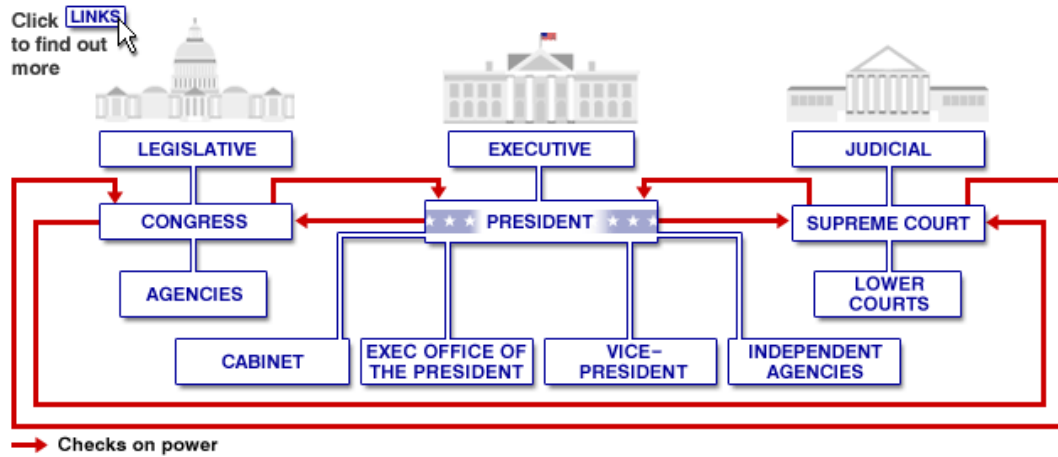
### United States Political System and Foreign Policies

The output of foreign policy depends the role of actors and its interaction in the decision-making process. The interaction will result on the foreign policy and how to achieve it. In order to achieve it, it needs several instruments to get the output of foreign policy as what has been expected. This chapter will be divided into two parts: United States political system and the foreign policy instruments. The first part will explain about what are the positions within the U.S. government system are, its functions and the interactions in making foreign policy. The second part will explain about the instruments of U.S. foreign policy.

#### A. United States Political System

The supreme law of U.S. is the Constitution of the United States which was implemented since 1787 replacing Article of Confederation. It consists of seven articles and had been amended 27 times. It regulates the government and political system of United States. United States itself is a state that implement the system of federal government. It consists of fifty states and several other territories. The federal government consists of three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial branch as it exercises the *trias politica*. Executive branch consists of the president, the vice president, the cabinet, the executive departments, and agencies. Legislative branch consists of the Congress while judicial branch consists of courts. The government is simply illustrated as the

following: the legislative makes the law, the executive carries out the law, and the judicial evaluate the laws.<sup>1</sup>



Source: BBC News. (2016). U.S. Government System. Retrieved October 24, 2016 from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/shared/spl/hi/americas/04/us\\_election/govt\\_system/img/government\\_system\\_inf629\\_3.gif](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/shared/spl/hi/americas/04/us_election/govt_system/img/government_system_inf629_3.gif)

**Figure 2.1 Relations among branches on United States government system**

## 1. The Executive Branch

The source of president power came from the Article II Section I of United States Constitution as it clearly stated that “The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America...” The President of United States acts as the head of government and state as it uses the presidential system. The president serves for four-year terms and could be extended for once. The executive powers and function of the President simply could be divided into four main points. Those are war power, appointments, foreign relations, and involvement on the legislative.

<sup>1</sup> Branches of Government. (n.d.). Retrieved June 29, 2016, from <https://www.usa.gov/branches-of-government>

a. War Power

The President of United States acts as the commander-in-chief of armed forces as Section 2 of Article II stated “The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States....”<sup>2</sup> He is fully responsible for the security of the country. The president is vested the power to appoint the military officers with the consent of the Senate and can remove them based on his considerations.<sup>3</sup>

b. Appointments

The president has the power to appoint the high-level government official, including the Judges of The Supreme Court. However, the appointments have to be approved by the Senate, the president also has immunity in appointing the Secretaries, Ambassadors, and the diplomats which the Senate could not interfere, as stated on the constitution “...he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States...”<sup>4</sup>

c. Foreign Relations

The president acts as the chief negotiator as stated on the Constitution, “He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent

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<sup>2</sup> The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription. (n.d.). Retrieved June 29, 2016, from [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html)

<sup>3</sup> U. F. (2013, May 8). Powers & Functions of The US President. Retrieved June 29, 2016, from <http://www.studylecturenotes.com/constitutional-laws/powers-functions-of-the-us-president>

<sup>4</sup> The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription. *op. cit.*

of the Senate, to make Treaties...” He also acts as chief diplomat who conducts the foreign relations with the assistance of the Secretary of State. He negotiates the treaties with the foreign powers. However, the treaties can only come into effect if it is signed by two third of Senate majority. The president also acts as the Chief Spokesman of the U.S. in international affairs and is fully responsible for foreign policy of the country and the result.<sup>5</sup>

#### d. Legislative Involvement

The president is able to propose the legislation to be processed in the Congress. He also has the power to ratify the legislation in order to come into effect. The president has the power to veto the presented bill. The Congress can override the veto by voting two third of Congress majority. The president can drive the issue by addressing the State of the Union.<sup>6</sup>

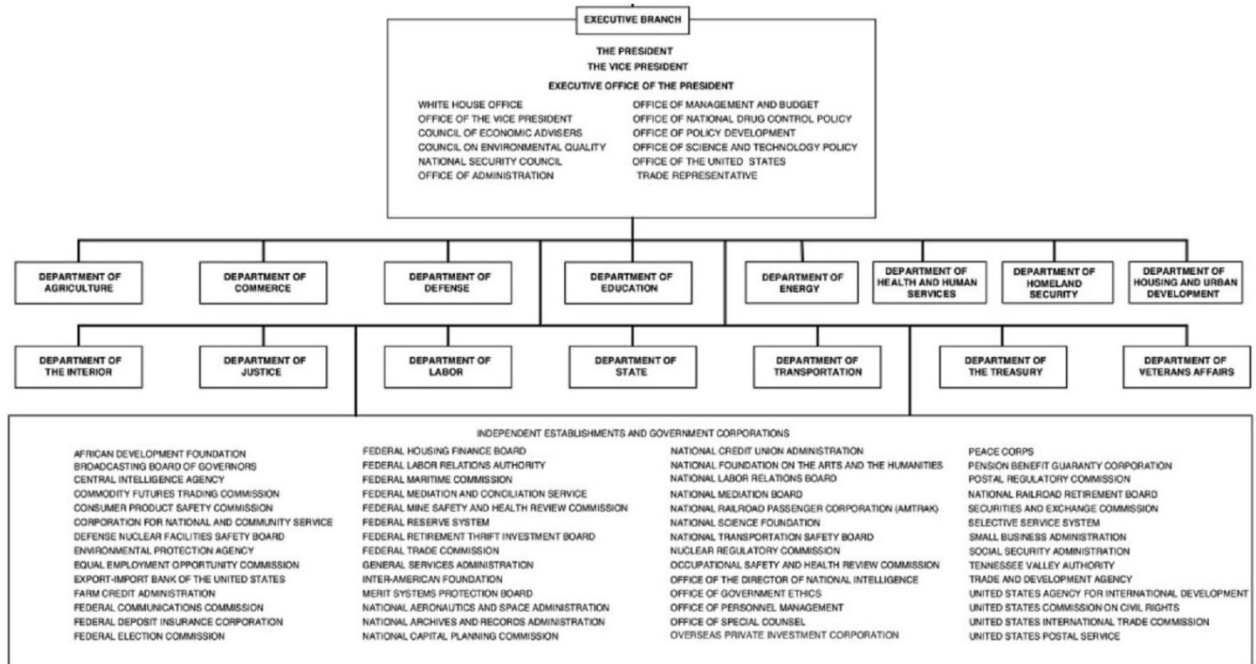
In running the executive power, the president is assisted by the bodies within executive branch, which are the Executive Office of the President, Cabinet, and Independent Establishment and Government Corporation. National Security Council is the most significant player in foreign policy making process in The Executive Office of the President. After that, there is Cabinet which gives advices to the President relating to the subjects of every respective office. Currently, there are 15 departments in the cabinet. However, the departments which at the core of

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

foreign-policy making process are the Department of State and the Department of Defense. Below the Cabinet are Independent Bodies and Government Corporation which is Central Intelligence Agency plays the most significant role.



Source: Conservative New Age. (2011). Retrieved on June 11, 2016 from <https://conservativenewager.files.wordpress.com/2011/10/exec11.jpg>

**Figure 2.2 United States Executive Branch**

The National Security Adviser (NSA) is the other word of the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs or National Security Council (NSC) if it is referring to the institution. The NSC is the institutional umbrella within the Executive Office of the President bearing the primary responsibility for foreign

policy. The NSA is appointed directly by the President without consent from the Senate and is responsible only to the President.<sup>7</sup>

The Department of State or equivalent to Ministry of Foreign Affairs in other countries is the primary agent responsible to manage U.S. foreign relations and to coordinate the leadership role of U.S. in foreign policy. The Department of State is led by the Secretary of State. Currently, U.S. maintains its diplomatic relations with about 180 countries and open around 250 post of embassies, consulates, and diplomatic mission around the world under the coordination of the Department of States.<sup>8</sup>

The Department of Defense or simply referred as the Pentagon is the department in U.S. which has function to provide the military forces to protect the security of the state and deter war.<sup>9</sup> It is headed by the Secretary of Defense. The Department of Defense has four important roles to the U.S. security policy. First, the policy role as it provides advice and analysis regarding military and security to the White House. Second, it exercises the military command over the nation's armed forces under the authority of the President as the commander-in-chief. Third, it administers the military services, including providing training for military service, managing personnel and budgets, as well as weapons and supplies. Fourth, the Department of Defense collects intelligence in order to support the strategy and review and make foreign policy for U.S. government.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> National Security Council. (n.d.). Retrieved Nov 22, 2016 from <http://theusgov.com/ntlseccouncil.htm>

<sup>8</sup> Wittkopf, E. R., Jones, C. M., & Kegley, C. W. (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 335.

<sup>9</sup> The Executive Branch. (2015). *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Wittkopf, E. R., Jones, C. M., & Kegley, C. W. (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 378-380.

The information needed by the decision makers are provided by the Central Intelligence Agency or CIA. It is the intelligence body of U.S. which has primary mission to provide intelligence information to the President and other policy makers in making decisions regarding the national security and policies toward other countries.<sup>11</sup>

## **2. Legislative Branch**

The legal foundation for legislative branch is the Article I of the United States Constitution which stated “All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.” It is the bicameral legislature that is divided into the Senate as the upper body and the House of Representatives as the lower body. The members are elected through the election usually affiliated with the Republican Party or Democratic Party. The primary role of the Congress is to create the laws. Other roles of the Congress are to declare war, to confirm to the President’s appointments, to do substantial investigative power, and to do impeachment of national government officers.<sup>12</sup>

The Senate consists of total a hundred senators or two senators per state who are elected every six years from fifty states. The election is held every two years which means a third of member of the Senate will face the re-election. A senator could serve for the unlimited times. A senator must be at least 30 years

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<sup>11</sup> About CIA. (2013). Retrieved October 30, 2016, from <https://www.cia.gov/about-cia/>

<sup>12</sup> The Legislative Branch. (2015). Retrieved November 15, 2016, from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/1600/legislative-branch>

old, the citizen of the United States for the past nine years or longer, the inhabitant of the states that he represents at the election time. The Senate is headed by the President of the Senate who is the Vice President of the United States. His job is to break tie on voting. The Constitution allows the Senate to elect a president pro tempore to preside over the Vice President's absence.<sup>13</sup>

The Senate has an exclusive role to confirm or reject the President's appointment that require consent, as well as ratifying treaties which require two third of members' approval. However, there are two exceptions to this regard: The House also has to approve on the appointment and any foreign trade treaties. Regarding to the impeachment, the Senate can try an impeachment case for the national government officials.<sup>14</sup>

The House of Representative consists of 435 representative members who are elected using proportional measure to the population of the States every two years and can serve for unlimited terms. A member of the House have to be 25 years old or older, has been a U.S. citizen for seven years or longer, and have to be a citizen of represented state. The House of Representatives is headed by the Speaker of the House who is elected by the member of the House. The role of the House is to initiate revenue bills, impeach federal officials initiated by the Senate, and break ties on the electoral college of President election.<sup>15</sup>

The leadership of the Congress is divided on both chambers. Those two chambers have some similarities. Beside the Speaker of the House, the President

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<sup>13</sup> Jillson, C. C. (1999). *American government: Political change and institutional development* (4th ed.). Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College. Page 222-225.

<sup>14</sup> The Legislative Branch., *op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Ibid



of the Senate, and the President pro tempore, the leadership is on the area of the parties. There are the parties' leader and whip. The parties are, then, classified as majority or minority depending on the number of each party's members in the chamber. The Speaker of the House presides the House and sets its agendas. He heads the party committee which appoints the members to the committees. He decides whether a legislation will be put on one committee or several committees together for the orders and for how long. He controls the Rules Committee that determines whether and how the bill will reach the floor of debate and lead the debate. He also represents the party's position to the president, media, and the public.<sup>16</sup>

The majority leader together with the Speaker of the House are working to set the legislative agenda, maintain the communication with the committees and its leader, inform to the members about the flow of legislation, lead the member's sentiments concerning issues and legislations, and encourage support for party's positions and bills. The minority whip's role in general is to mobilize and turn out the majority party coalition on the critical issues to the party.

Other roles are to encourage support of majority party's members for the legislation and positions of the party, count votes, advise the senior leadership regarding the possibility of success on the floor. Meanwhile, the minority leader only has little role in agenda setting and highly depend on partisan balance for leverage, and the minority whip has role to mobilize and hold together to the

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<sup>16</sup> Jillson, C. C. (1999). *American Government: Political Change and Institutional development* (4th ed.). Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College.

opposition to the majority's agenda.<sup>17</sup> The roles and functions are not much different in the Senate.

The members of both chambers are then assigned to different committees that will focus on discussing particular legislation in broad range of issues, from budgets, foreign policy, military, to domestic affairs. There are 26 committees in the House and 23 committees in the Senate. The House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are the committees that concern about foreign policy. The Armed Services Committee on both chambers concern about military. The Budget Committee on both chambers concern in approving budget including for foreign relations and aids. Inside the committee, the members are reassigned into subcommittee that will focus on more specified issues and share the specific task of the committee. Beside the committees, there are also congressional caucuses. It is an informal body which focuses on discussing a specific issue. There is one congressional caucus which focuses on Vietnam, that is Congressional Caucus on Vietnam.

**Table 2.1 List of Committees in the Congress**

House	Senate
<b>Standing Committees</b>	
Agriculture	Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Appropriations	Appropriations
Armed Services	Armed Services
Budget	Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Education and the Workforce	Budget
Energy and Commerce	Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Ethics	Energy and Natural Resources
Financial Services	Environment and Public Works

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid

Foreign Affairs	Finance
Homeland Security	Foreign Relations
House Administration	Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions
Judiciary	Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs
Natural Resources	Judiciary
Oversight and Government Reform	Rules and Administration
Rules	Small Business and Entrepreneurship
Science, Space, and Technology	Veterans' Affairs
Small Business	
Transportation and Infrastructure	
Veterans' Affairs	
Ways and Means	
<b>Special and Select Committees</b>	
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence	Aging
Select Committee on the Events Surrounding the 2012 Terrorist Attack in Benghazi	Ethics
	Indian Affairs
	Intelligence
<b>Joint Committees</b>	
Joint Economic	
Joint Library	
Joint Printing	
Joint Taxation	
<b>Commissions and Caucuses</b>	
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe	Caucus on International Narcotics Control
Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission	

Source: The Congress. (2016). Retrieved on July 20, 2016 from <https://www.congress.gov/committees>

One of the legislative branch functions is to create laws. It needs to be processed into several steps. First, the idea is introduced through a proposal. There are four forms of proposal. Those are: bills, joint resolutions, concurrent resolutions, and simple resolutions.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The House Explained. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2016, from [http://www.house.gov/content/learn/legislative\\_process/](http://www.house.gov/content/learn/legislative_process/)

- i. Bills. Bills is the most common form of legislation. Bill is divided into two types: public and private. Public bill is a bill that has affected to general public while private bill is a bill which affects certain individuals or private entities. A bill can be proposed by both chambers. A bill which is proposed by a member of the House is designated by “H.R.” then followed by the numbers it attained in the parliamentary stages. If the Senate introduced it, it would be designated by “S.”
- ii. Joint Resolutions. Both chambers may propose a joint resolution. A joint resolution is processed the same way as a bill with code “H.J.Res” or “S.J.Res” depended from which chamber. It is then followed by the legislation number. The different between a bill and a joint resolution is a joint resolution may propose an amendment to the Constitution. It needs two-thirds approval from both chambers to be passed. The President does not ratify a joint resolution approval, but send to the Administrator of General Services.
- iii. Concurrent Resolutions. It is a tool to affect the operation on both chambers. A proposal for concurrent resolution is designated by “H.Con.Res.” or “S.Con.Res.” then is followed by the number. Upon approval, it is signed by the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House and not being represented to the President.
- iv. Simple Resolutions. It is a tool which specialized one chamber’s rules, operation, or opinion. It is coded with “H.Res.” or “S.Res.” then is followed by the number of legislation. A simple resolution is only a matter

on the chamber which it was proposed. It is then sent to the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives before being published on the Congressional Record.

Every member in both chambers may introduce a bill when the Congress is in session. A member introducing a bill is called as primary sponsor, and a member who supports a bill is called as a cosponsor. A bill may be cosponsored by unlimited number of members, except on the private bill. After the introduction, the Speaker of the House would refer it to the related committee.

In the committee, the bill is going through the public hearings and markup sessions. The bill is open for public and public is given the opportunity to voice its standpoint on the bill. The committee set the date, place, and subject to the hearing at least one week before the public hearing. The hearing will produce a transcript which will be inspected in the committee office. It is then continued to the mark-up session. In this session, members of the committee will study about the stand point that is presented in details. The bill might be “favorably” reported to the House with or without amendment, or unfavorably, or without recommendation.

After the committee agrees to pass the bill to the House, the content and the substance of the bill will be debated by the members of the House. The debate will produce amendment and be voted on final passage. The member would vote as ‘yay’ or ‘nay.’ If a bill is passed in the house, it would go to the Senate for considerations. The Senate would also vote for the bill. A bill has to pass from both chambers before it can be presented to the President in order to be signed as

a law. However, if the Senate does not pass the bill, it will be sent back to the House.

### **3. Judicial Branch**

The foundation for judicial branch is the Article III of the Constitution of the United States. It guarantees that every wrongdoing person has the right to access a fair trial processed by a competent judge and a jury. The members of the Judicial Branch are appointed by the President and then the Senate will confirm it. The form and structure of the judicial branch are set by the Congress. The House of Representative is able to impeach a federal judge after the conviction by the Senate.<sup>19</sup>

The Supreme Court is the highest court in U.S which consists of nine Justices are all nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The Justices hold on office for their lifetime. The Supreme Court's task is to make interpretation of the meaning of a law, to decide relevancy of a law to a specific set of facts, and to set on how a law should be applied.<sup>20</sup>

The political systems of U.S. which consists of the roles of the actors and its interaction in the foreign policy decision making process have been discussed. The interaction also decides which instruments that will be used on the

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<sup>19</sup> The Judicial Branch. (2015). Retrieved November 15, 2016, from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/1600/judicial-branch>

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

implementation. The next subchapter will explain the instruments of U.S. foreign policy that is used to influence other states.

## **B. The Instruments of United States Foreign Policy**

United States in conducting its foreign policy uses two main instruments. They are military power and economic power. Military power is used through military intervention, military assistance, and military sanction. According to Joseph Nye (2011), the use of military power to control the action of others through inducements and threats is called as hard power.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, the use of economic power is in form of economic assistance and economic sanction. Economic assistance is “a combination of low interest loans and grants provided by donors to developing countries.”<sup>22</sup> Its goal is to support friends, providing market for U.S., and to contain from enemies.<sup>23</sup>

Sanction as part of military and economic power implementation is defined by Kevin Leyton-Brown (1987) as “deliberate government actions to inflict economic deprivation on a target state or society, through the limitation cessation of customary economic relations.”<sup>24</sup> Economic and military sanction can be in form of embargo (prohibition to sell commodities to a state) or boycott (prohibition to buy commodities from a state). United States implements sanctions

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<sup>21</sup> Wagner, J. N. (2014, May 24). The Effectiveness of Soft & Hard Power in Contemporary International Relations. Retrieved November 25, 2016, from <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/14/the-effectiveness-of-soft-hard-power-in-contemporary-international-relations/>

<sup>22</sup> Wittkopf, E. R., Jones, C. M., & Kegley, C. W. (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p. 123-125

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p. 131

to several states which become the enemy of U.S. or to states which are involved in an event against U.S. values. Using its dominance in the economic and military world, with many states depend on U.S., United States will easily implement sanctions to pursue its interests. The goal is to weaken its economy or military. Therefore, the states will adjust their policy in favor with U.S. interests.

### **1. Military Power**

United States uses military power as an instrument on its foreign policy is started since World War II. Even after World War II, U.S. is consistent in using its military power in achieving its national interest. In World War II, it joined the Allies with Soviet Union, United Kingdom and Republic of China against the Axis that consists of Nazi Germany, Empire of Japan, and Kingdom of Italy. The war from 1939 until 1945 caused more casualties on the Allies side and it almost lost in World War II. However, U.S. flipped the table by bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki of Japan which ended the World War II with the Allies as the winner.

As the output of World War II, U.S. and Soviet Union became the world power. However, both state had the fundamental distinction which was their ideologies. The different ideologies led them to the war of influence spreading which is called as the Cold War. United States was still dominant in using its military power in Cold War against Soviet Union.

The Cold War had trapped both states into balance of power and arms race condition. The indication was the significant and consistent development of



technologies, most notably is the technology of military. The example of significant development in military technology was the development of nuclear power. Even though they had it, it was only used as bargaining power. Because of that reason, both U.S. and Soviet Union never were involved in direct military war, but through their proxies.

The proxies were the states which had the risk of being influenced by communist ideology. The involvement was based on Truman Doctrine which was announced by President Harry S. Truman in front of the U.S. Congress on March 12, 1947. Truman Doctrine was followed by Containment Policy and Marshall Plan. Containment Policy was a policy to limit the communist ideology to move beyond its territorial, and Marshall Plan was a policy in giving economic aid to recover the European countries which was devastated as the impact of World War II.<sup>25</sup>

Some examples of U.S. used its military power in proxies in Cold War era were Korean War and Cuban Revolution. Prior to World War II, Korean Peninsula was occupied by Japan since 1910. However, Soviet Union invaded the northern peninsula on August 1945. Being afraid of Soviet invade the whole peninsula, United States sent troops to southern Korea. In order to prevent long term conflict, United States and Soviet Union agreed to divide the Korea Peninsula into two states. Since then, the two states were established, Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the north and Republic of Korea on the south.

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<sup>25</sup> Saull, R. (2008). American Foreign Policy During the Cold War (D. Stokes, Ed.). In M. Cox (Ed.), *U.S. Foreign Policy* (p. 72). Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

The Korean War itself started since North Korean troops organized attacks to the borders and headed to Seoul on June 25, 1950. The U.S. involvement, besides being pushed by Korea factor, was also pushed by the events recurring in Asia itself. In China, a revolution happened establishing the communist government under Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong then joined with Soviet Union alliance and signed a treaty in 1950. Thus, United States sent 10 divisions of troops to South Korea to defend the left noncommunist area.<sup>26</sup>

Cuban Revolution was the revolution led by Fidel Castro against the authoritarian government of President Fulgencio Batista. Although President Fulgencio Batista was an authoritarian government and was supported by Communist Party of Cuba, he later became strongly anti-communist. It made he gained the support from United States. Fidel Castro was the strong opposition of President Fulgencio Batista because he perceived President Fulgencio Batista as a corruptor and tyranny. At first, he tried a constitutional way to replace the regime,. However, he got rejected. Being rejected, he chose the military revolution to topple the Fulgencio Batista regime. United States involved in Cuban Revolution by giving military support. Fidel Castro got strong support from the Soviet Union. The result of Cuban Revolution was the change of regime from Fulgencio Batista to Fidel Castro. Fidel Castro then revolutionized Cuba as a communist state and nationalized many foreign companies. Later, Cuba became the Soviet Union's ally in the American continent.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid

<sup>27</sup> Renwick, D., Lee, B., & McBride, J. (2016, September 7). U.S.-Cuba Relations. Retrieved November 27, 2016, from <http://www.cfr.org/cuba/us-cuba-relations/p11113>

After the Cold War, U.S. still used military power to conduct its foreign policy. However, the issue was shifting from traditional issue which the target is state into non-traditional issue, such as terrorism for example is on President George W. Bush War of Terrorism agenda created Bush Doctrine that laid on three main pillars: preemptive war, unilateralism, and hegemony, U.S. launched its War on Terror by invading Afghanistan and Iraq.

Bush stated that in fighting terrorism, he would not distinguish between terrorists and nations that harbor terrorists. He added his statement on a Joint Session of Congress on September 20 that,

...We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime....<sup>28</sup>

United States and allies started to invade Afghanistan since 2001 based on the information of intelligence saying that Taliban government was harboring Al Qaeda. Bush described Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as the "axis of evil" which supported terror of World Mass Destruction (WMD) as a part of his preventive war. He said, "...We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons...." Later, he accused

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<sup>28</sup> Saull, R. Op. cit.

Iraq of hiding WMD and invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003, toppling Saddam Hussein's regime.<sup>29</sup>

United States stopped its invasion to Afghanistan in 2002 and calling for reconstruction in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, United States invasion to Iraq ended on May 1, 2003. Even though both invasion had been officially ended, the conflict which had been caused by the invasion still lasted until a decade later. The War in Afghanistan lasted until 2011 while Iraq War lasted until 2014. Later, it was continued by Iraqi Civil War until today.

Besides using military presence, United States also uses its military power by giving military aid or military assistance to other countries. It has been implemented since the Cold War era. Some states who received military aid in Cold War were South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Pakistan, South Korea, and Taiwan. All states have direct border with the communist states. Along with economic aid, military aid also continue even the Cold War had been ended. Military aid after Cold War era was distributed through International Military Education and Training (IMET), Peacekeeping Operation (PKO), and Foreign Military Financing (FMF).<sup>30</sup>

Other use of military power is giving military sanction. The example of U.S. using its military power in giving sanction is when U.S. imposed military embargo to Indonesia in 1999. The embargo was imposed because Indonesia did human rights violation in East Timor. Being unable to maintain the military

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p. 126.

equipment which imported from U.S., Indonesia planned to modernize its military equipment by buying military equipment from other countries such as China and Russia. However, United States eased arms embargo to Indonesia in 2005 after a long lobby from Indonesia government.<sup>31</sup>

The reason why U.S. can be very flexible in using its military power is because U.S. is number one of economic power making them as the number one state on the military spending even until today. In 2015, United States military spending covers around a third of the world's military spending that only covers 3,3% of its GDP. In 2015, it spent \$596 billion on military sector. It is more than the military spending of China, Saudi Arabia, Russia, United Kingdom, India, France, and Japan if they are combined. United States covers about 39% of global military spending in 2012.<sup>32</sup> Its military power is showed through its presence in the world. United States has almost 800 military bases overseas in more than 70 territories abroad that were divided into air force bases, army bases, navy bases, and communication bases. In 2006, United States deployed around 325.000 military personnel overseas and increased every year. It spent around \$85 to \$100 billion to maintain military bases overseas on fiscal year 2014.<sup>33</sup>

United States is also the leader in the world's military industries. It supplies various military products such as military aircrafts, warships, guns,

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<sup>31</sup> Arms Control Today. (2006, January 1). Retrieved November 27, 2016, from [https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006\\_01-02/JANFEB-Indonesia](https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006_01-02/JANFEB-Indonesia)

<sup>32</sup> Shah, A. (2013, June 30). World Military Spending. Retrieved November 25, 2016, from <http://www.globalissues.org/article/75/world-military-spending>

<sup>33</sup> Dufour, Jules. (2007, July 1). The Worldwide Network of US Military Bases. Retrieved November 25, 2016 from <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-worldwide-network-of-us-military-bases/5564>

missiles, military technologies not only for domestic use, but also for other states. Some of the world’s biggest military contractors are located in U.S., including Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Raytheon, Northrop Grumman, etc. In 2010, the military industries generated \$324 billion in sales revenue and contributed \$43,3 billion in corporate and individual employment tax to the U.S. budget.<sup>34</sup> United States becomes the largest arms exporter with value of \$10,50 billions, almost double comparing to Russia.<sup>35</sup> Using its status, United States can impose military sanction to other countries.

**Table 2.2 Top 5 world’s largest arms exporters (in million dollar)**

No.	Supplier	Export Value
1	United States	10.484
2	Russia	5.483
3	Germany (FRG)	2.049
4	France	2.013
5	China	1.966

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

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<sup>34</sup> The Military and Defense Industry: An Economic Force in the U.S. (September 2012). Site Selection Magazine. Retrieved November 25, 2016 from <http://siteselection.com/issues/2012/sep/sas-military-economy.cfm>

<sup>35</sup> Defense and Arms – Statistics & Facts (n.d.). Statista. Retrieved November 25, 2016 from <https://www.statista.com/topics/1696/defense-and-arms/>

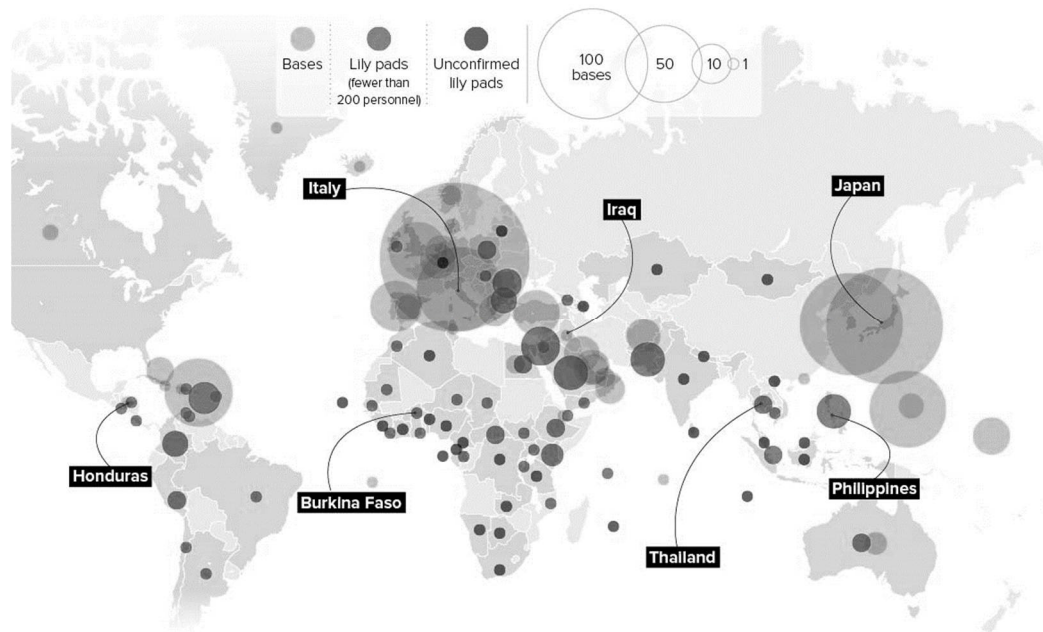
## The 15 countries with the highest military expenditure in 2015

Rank		Country	Spending, 2015 (\$ b.)	Change, 2006-15 (%)	World share 2015 (%)	Spending as a share of GDP (%) <sup>b</sup>	
2015	2014 <sup>a</sup>					2015	2006
1	1	USA	596	-3.9	36	3.3	3.8
2	2	China	[215]	132	[13]	[1.9]	[2.0]
3	4	Saudi Arabia	87.2	97	5.2	13.7	7.8
4	3	Russia	66.4	91	4.0	5.4	3.5
5	6	UK	55.5	-7.2	3.3	2.0	2.2
6	7	India	51.3	43	3.1	2.3	2.5
7	5	France	50.9	-5.9	3.0	2.1	2.3
8	9	Japan	40.9	-0.5	2.4	1.0	1.0
9	8	Germany	39.4	2.8	2.4	1.2	1.3
10	10	South Korea	36.4	37	2.2	2.6	2.5
11	11	Brazil	24.6	38	1.5	1.4	1.5
12	12	Italy	23.8	-30	1.4	1.3	1.7
13	13	Australia	23.6	32	1.4	1.9	1.8
14	14	UAE <sup>c</sup>	[22.8]	136	[1.4]	[5.7]	[3.2]
15	15	Israel	16.1	2.6	1.0	5.4	7.5
Total top 15			1 350		81		
World total			1 676	19	100	2.3	2.3

[ ] = SIPRI estimate. For notes and sources see Perlo-Freeman, S., Fleurant, A., Wezeman, P. and Wezeman, S., 'Trends in military expenditure, 2015' SIPRI Fact Sheet, Stockholm, Apr. 2016.

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. (2015). Retrieved on November 29, 2016 from <https://www.sipri.org/research/armament-and-disarmament/arms-transfers-and-military-spending/military-expenditure>

**Figure 2.3 List of states with the most military spending in 2015**



Source: Politico Magazine. (2015). Retrieved on November 13, 2016 from <http://images.politico.com/global/2015/06/23/backpage-11601.jpg>

**Figure 2.4 U.S. military bases overseas**

## 2. Economic Power

The example of economic assistance is best described by Marshall Plan in Cold War era. It was a policy in giving economic aid to recover the European countries which was devastated as the impact of World War II.<sup>36</sup> The plan started on April 1948 and was operated for four years until 1952. It was done by re-built the region which was devastated by the World War II, modernized industry, bolstered European currencies, and facilitate international trade, especially with United States. The aid was given base on the basis of income per capita of the states.

At first, all European countries were planned to receive the aid, including Soviet Union. However, Soviet Union refused to receive it and pressured Eastern European countries to do so. In the end, the participating states were Western Europe and Central Europe states, such as United Kingdom, France, West Germany, etc. During the operation, U.S. gave over \$12 billion to construct a democratic Europe.<sup>37</sup>

After the Cold War, United States still gave economic assistance to several developing states, but not under Marshall Plan anymore. United States distributed economic assistance through several agencies. However, the most dominant agency is U.S. Agency for International Development or USAID. Other form of economic assistance is debt relief. It is a policy to forgive the heavily debt states who have indication of not being able to pay it. United States implements the debt

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<sup>36</sup> Saull, R. (2008). American Foreign Policy During the Cold War (D. Stokes, Ed.). In M. Cox (Ed.), *U.S. Foreign Policy* (p. 72). Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>37</sup> Marshall Plan. (n.d.). Retrieved June 23, 2016, from <http://www.britannica.com/event/Marshall-Plan>



relief policy through Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiatives and Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) which is the extension of HIPC. MDRI initiative offers 100% debt forgiveness to multilateral debts such as to the World Bank, IMF, and African Development Bank.<sup>38</sup>

The example of U.S. sanction on economic is to Cuba in the era of Cold War. United State imposed economic sanction of embargo to Cuba after Fidel Castro was in power in 1960. United States pressured all countries to do the same. The aim of the embargo was to shake the Cuban economy and expected it to create crises leading to the overthrow of Fidel Castro. However, the embargo failed to reach its goal. Fidel Castro was still in power and led the Cuban Revolution which made Cuba one of the communist state in Latin America. Even though it failed, United States still implemented economic sanction until 2015 when U.S. and Cuba normalized its relationship. It was done when Cuba was under the presidency of Raul Castro.<sup>39</sup>

Another example of sanction is to Russia after Russia did military intervention to annex Crimea and created Crimea Crisis to many European countries. United States, together with European Union and other countries imposed sanctions that were divided into three rounds. First round is raising travel bans, to freeze Russian assets in U.S. Second round is banning seven Russian officials and 17 Russian companies on doing business transaction in United States. European Union also imposed travel ban to 15 Russian individuals. In the

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<sup>38</sup> Wittkopf, E. R., Jones, C. M., & Kegley, C. W. (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>39</sup> Renwick, D., Lee, B., & McBride, J. (2016, September 7). U.S.-Cuba Relations. Retrieved November 27, 2016, from <http://www.cfr.org/cuba/us-cuba-relations/p11113>

third round, U.S. gave sanction to two Russian energy companies, Rosneft and Novatek, and two Russian banks, Gazprombank and Vnesheconombank. Following the third sanction, many states also imposed sanctions to Russia. The sanctions affected Russian economy. The trade with EU fell sharply and put Russia into recession. The impact and sanction are still implemented until today.<sup>40</sup>

The ability of U.S. to be able to give economic assistance and sanction is the reflection of its economic power. It could be seen from its Gross Domestic Products (GDP) which becomes the largest in the world. According to the World Bank, U.S. GDP in 2015 was almost \$18.000.000.000.000, followed by China which was nearly \$11.000.000.000.000.

**Table 2.3 Top 10 world's largest GDP in 2015 (in million dollars)**

No.	Country	GDP
1	United States of America	17.946.996
2	China	10.866.444
3	Japan	4.123.258
4	Germany	3.355.772
5	United Kingdom	2.848.755
6	France	2.421.682
7	India	2.073.543
8	Italy	1.814.763
9	Brazil	1.774.725
10	Canada	1.550.537

Source: World Bank (<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf>)

<sup>40</sup> Ukraine and Russia Sanctions. (n.d.). Retrieved November 27, 2016, from <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/ukrainerussia/>

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the foreign policy of U.S. is highly influenced by the actors who are on the executive and legislative branch. In the executive branch, there are President, National Security Advisor, Secretary of State and Defense, and Central Intelligence Agency which are essential to the foreign policy decision making process. In the legislative branch, there are the House of Representative and the Senate. Both chambers are then divided into several committees. The committees that is important for foreign policy are House Foreign Affairs, Senate Foreign Relations, Armed Services on both chambers, and Budget on both chambers.

The interaction of the actors also decides which instruments that will be used in conducting foreign policy. There are two main instruments. They are military and economic power. Military power is used through military intervention, military assistance, and military sanction. Meanwhile, economic power is used through economic assistance and economic sanction. The use of those instruments is to reflect of U.S. status as the military and economic superpower. United States is both number one in the world on the military and economic power. The next chapter will explain about how U.S. uses the instruments of foreign policy to Vietnam and the dynamic of U.S-Vietnam bilateral relations.