

**National Security Policy**

...safeguarding America's national interests from external and internal threats...

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**National Security Policy**

- *Pattern* of government decisions & actions
  - intended to counter perceived threats – foreign & domestic – to America's national interests,
  - and especially America's vital interests
- Vital Interests the most powerful policy legitimizing values
  - Invokes survival of the state
- Security as a basic value
  - Others make little sense without security
  - Overshadowing other values
    - Liberty                      • Equity
    - Efficiency

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**Begs four questions:**

- What are America's *national interests*?
- What are America's *vital interests*?
- Who determines these?
- How do we choose the appropriate *actions & tradeoffs* for protecting these public interests?

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## National Security is Government's Job

	<b>Individual Decisions</b> I can choose, alone & without interference	<b>Collective Decisions</b> Choices are made by the community & are binding on all
<b>Private Decisions</b> My choice has no consequence for your welfare	<i>Liberty of the Individual:</i>	<i>Tyranny of the Majority:</i>
<b>Public Decisions</b> My choices affect your welfare	<i>Theft by the Minority:</i>	<i>Liberty of the Group:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are American national &amp; Vital Interests?</li> <li>• Who and what threatens those interests?</li> <li>• How should we cope with those threats?</li> </ul>

September 29, 2003 17.30j Public Policy Based on: Michael Munger (2001) *Analyzing Policy* (CO Press) 4

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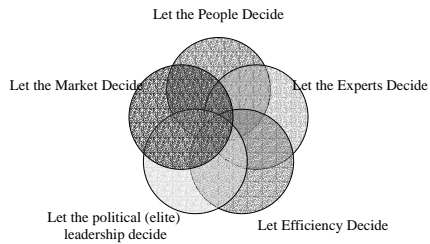
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How does the community determine what is in the national interest & *appropriate* national security policy?



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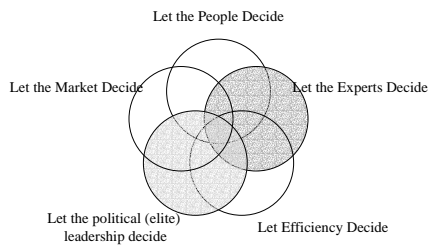
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How does the community determine what is in the national interest & *appropriate* national security policy?



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## National Security Policy is Elite Driven

- Agenda setting flows from government to the public
  - Is the typical of public policy issues?
- Deliberation in option formulation takes place out of the public arena
  - Closed networks of politicians and experts
  - Almost exclusively in executive branch
  - Small group deliberation (crisis decisions)

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## “Who” Frames the problem and who defines the policy choices?

- NSC
  - President
  - Vice President
  - Sec. of Defense
  - Sec. of State
  - Secretary of the Treasury
  - National Security Advisor
  - Chairman JCS
  - Director CIA
  - Others...
- NSC coordinating committees
  - Principals & deputies of the DoD, State, Treasury, White House, CIA, DOJ, NSC staff, JCS

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## Constraints on Deliberating National Security Policy

- Before the fact
  - Closed decisionmaking inside government
  - Secrecy, “they know best,” & public rational ignorance
- After the fact
  - Symbolics of “Patriotism” constrains debate
    - Support the President
    - Support the Troops
  - “What’s done is done” mentality

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# Institutional Context

## Executive Control

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# National Security Policy is vested in the Presidency

- Agenda setting
  - President as head of state
    - Defines national interests & threats
- Policy formulation
  - President as Chief Executive
    - Budget proposals
    - Strategy
- Implementation
  - President as "commander-in-chief"

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# Other Institutional Actors defer to Presidency in times of Crisis

- Congress
  - Ret. Gen. Wesley Clark on the Congressional vote to use force against Iraq:
    - "...On balance, I probably would have voted for it...The simple truth is this: When the president of the United States comes to you and makes the linkages and lays the power of the office on you, and you're in a crisis, the balance of the judgment probably goes to the president of the United States."
- Supreme Court
  - Internment of Japanese Americans in WWII
  - Rights of those held under terrorism laws

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## Non-Crisis National Security Policy

- Congress acts as a "policy editor" in National Security Policy
  - Budget authorization
  - Investigation
  - Affirming senior appointments
  - Ratifying Treaties
- Courts defer to Executive on national security issues
  - Protection of classified information
- Public plays little direct role beyond electing the President
  - Public opinion highly susceptible to manipulation
  - Social mobilization (extraordinary circumstances)
- States (federalism) play a policy role
  - Anti-terrorism
  - National Guard (implementation)

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## Rational Model & National Security

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## Factors favoring Rational Model

- High Stakes of National Security
- Broad Consensus on *Vital Interests*
  - American territorial integrity
  - Preservation of American political and economic institutions
  - Safety of Americans at home and abroad
  - Stable and friendly Canada & Mexico
  - Strong & Prosperous European free market democracies
  - Access to Middle East Oil ?
- President is nationally elected

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Where does consensus on these vital interests come from?

- Education & socialization (patriotism)
- National Security issues move from Government agenda → public agenda
  - Problem framing
- Public deliberation?
  - Opinion polling
  - Elections?

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Defense Modernization as a Case of a National Security Problem

Day-to-day policy making

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Defense Modernization as a Case of a National Security Problem

- What is the issue?
  - How to re-engineer the U.S. defense posture to match the threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century
- What is the problem?
  - Non-traditional threats to vital interests
    - Weapons of mass destruction
    - Terrorism
  - Expansion defendable of national interests

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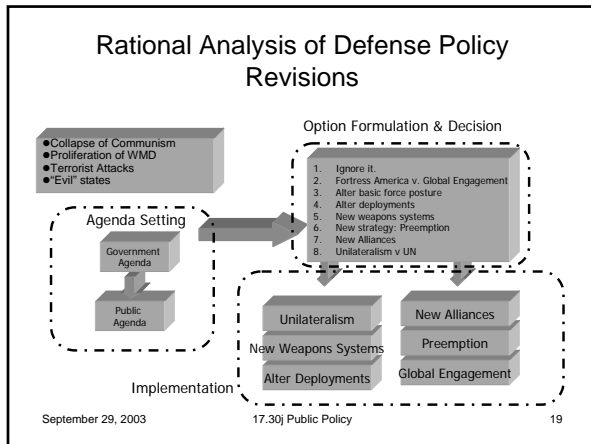
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- ### Closer look reveals interesting anomalies
- Most imminent threats ignored, while distant threats receive priority
    - Missile Defense
      - Tens of billions of dollars for no defense against a non-existent threat
    - Iraq v. North Korea v. Al Qaeda
  - Weapons systems cut by DoD restored to budget
    - Weapons systems preferred by DoD underfunded/delayed
  - Force structure changes altered/stopped
  - Proposed Base closings halted
  - New Strategy receives no public scrutiny
  - Overall DoD Budget altered
    - Budget is used to manipulate policy
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- ### Factors Competing with the Rational Model
- Consensus on national interests does not translate into consensus on how to be protect those national interests
    - War v. diplomacy
    - Defense budget v. domestic spending
    - Missile Defense v. Harbor defense
    - Draft v. all volunteer force
    - Equity v. efficiency & security (civil rights & the military)
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## Factors Competing with the Rational Model

- Leadership Politics
  - Presidential reelection
  - Presidential psychology
  - President as head of political party
    - Missile defense
- Bureaucratic Politics
  - Within the Executive Branch
    - State Department v. Defense Department
  - Within Congress
    - Protecting prized weapons programs
    - Personal political ambitions

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## Factors Competing with the Rational Model

- Organizational politics
  - Military Services resist changes in structure, organization, weaponry, funding, mission, etc.
    - Army & Crusader artillery gun
    - Military resists larger role in domestic security
- Pluralist Politics
  - State & Local governments lobby to protect defense jobs & military bases
  - Weapons industries lobby for contracts
  - NGOs provide counter-analyses
- International Politics

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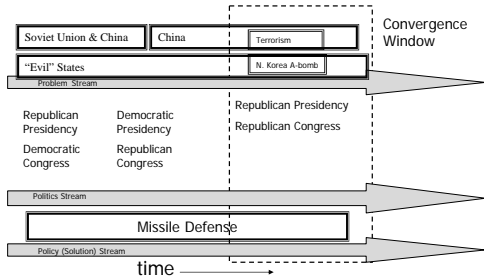
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## Policy Streams Model of Decision to Build Missile Defense



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# The Special Case of North Korea

“Crisis”

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## North Korea as a Case of a National Security Problem

- What is the issue?
  - Spread of nuclear weapons poses a danger to U.S. national & vital interests
- What is the problem?
  - “Evil” states are acquiring nuclear weapons
    - Some have relationships with terrorists
    - Others have weak command & control of these weapons
  - U.S. & allies have no defenses against these weapons
- Intelligence: North Korea is attempting to produce nuclear weapons

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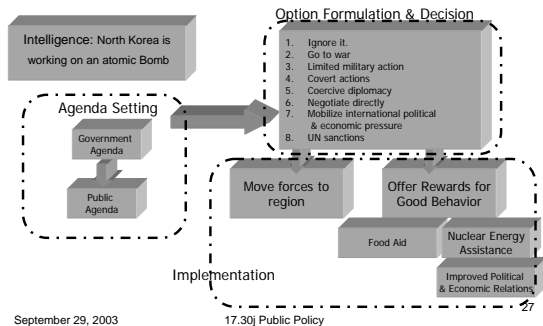
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## Rational Analysis of Clinton Administration (1994) National Security Policy v. North Korea



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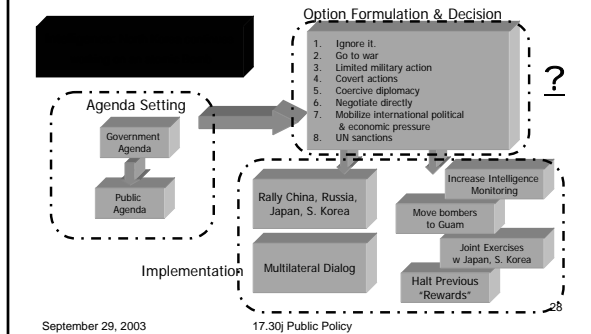
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## Rational Analysis of Bush Administration (2001) National Security Policy v. North Korea




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## Questions

- Does the specific strategy for dealing with the North Korean “threat” represent the most effective & appropriate actions for dealing with that threat?

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## Larger Questions

- If the primary threat is the imminent acquisition of nuclear weapons by “axis of evil” states, why did the U.S. attack Iraq rather than North Korea?
- If the primary threat is nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorists, why didn’t the U.S. focus on Pakistan’s nuclear weapons rather than Iraq or North Korea; and North Korea rather than Iraq?
  - Especially given Pakistan’s assistance to North Korea

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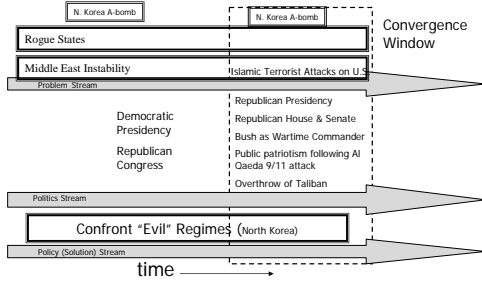
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## Policy Streams Model of Decision to Confront with North Korea



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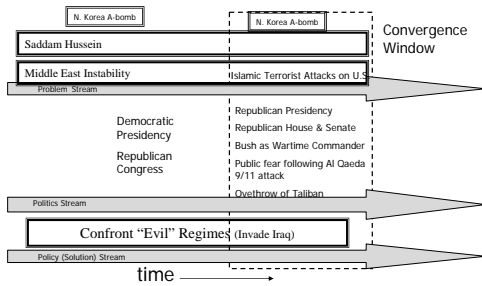
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## Policy Streams Model of Decision to Invade Iraq



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