HAS THE WAR POWERS RESOLUTION MADE A DIFFERENCE?

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Abstract

This thesis examines whether or not the 1973 War Powers Resolution (Resolution) has made a difference. I examine the Resolution from a theoretical and an empirical standpoint. Theoretically, I apply two competing approaches, one from the Analytical Liberal perspective, and the other from the Neoclassical Realist. These two approaches generate different expectations concerning the Resolution. Although these two approaches are widely used, they have rarely been compared in a direct fashion. By applying both to one question, I hope to shed light on their relative strengths and weaknesses. Empirically, I evaluate the Resolution's impact through historical military interventions, before and after the passing, to prove that the Resolution has not altered the intervention decision-making within the U.S. government. By examining interventions, this paper not only demonstrates that the Resolution has had little impact, but that the results support the Neoclassical Realists' argument. The Neoclassical Realist depiction of American foreign policy as a top-down endeavor is more accurate, when focusing on decisions to use military force. This paper intends to prove that the 1973 War Powers Resolution has been an ineffective piece of American legislation.

Résumé

Cette thèse examine si la Loi sur les pouvoirs de guerre de 1973 (la Loi) vraiment fait une différence. J'examine la Loi des points de vue théorique et empirique. Je fais appel à deux approches théoriques opposées, une de la perspective Analytical Liberal, et l'autre de la perspective Neoclassical Realist. Ces deux approches généreront des attentes différentes concernant la Loi. Bien que ces deux approches soient largement utilisées, elles ont rarement été comparées d'une façon directe. En appliquant les deux à la même question, j'espère pouvoir clarifier sur leurs points forts et faibles relatifs. J'évalue l'impact de la Loi par le biais des interventions militaires tant avant et après l'adoption de la Loi, pour prouver que la Loi n'a pas modifié la décision du gouvernement américain d'intervenir. En examinant des interventions, ce document ne démontre non seulement que la Loi a eu peu d'impact, mais aussi que les résultats appuient l'argument des Neoclassical Realists. La représentation Neoclassical Realist de la politique étrangère américaine comme processus descendant explique le mieux les décisions d'utiliser la force militaire. Ce document pour objectif de prouver que la Loi sur les pouvoirs de guerre de 1973 ont été un projet de loi américaine inefficace.

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1
Introduction

The Puzzle

Since its inception, the United States has been involved in over 200 armed foreign conflicts. The framers of the U.S. Constitution gave Congress the power to declare war, while the president was given the title of Commander-in-Chief. [1] Congress has declared only five conflicts wars, with the last being World War II. [2] Few would argue that the United States has been in a state of peace since 1945. A declaration of war appears now to be a forgotten formality. In 1970, Congress felt the president was expanding his constitutional role by unilaterally continuing the deployment of troops to Vietnam. Americans felt strongly that the disaster of Vietnam never would have happened if the authority exercised by Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon had been restrained. Determined to check presidents' actions, Congress voted the War Powers Resolution (Resolution) into law by overriding President Nixon's veto in 1973.[3] The Resolution commands the president to notify Congress within forty-eight hours of sending troops to an area where it is likely they will participate in an armed conflict. If troops are sent, they must be withdrawn from the conflict after ninety days if Congress does not give its consent for participation in the conflict.[4]

Has the Resolution made a difference? More specifically, has the Resolution proved itself in practice to be a meaningful check on the unilateral authority of the president? Scholarly debate almost always ignores the actual question, and instead circles back to the legal dilemma of who should control the world's most powerful military. Scholars who avoid the constitutional issues to focus on the empirical reality have reported conflicting results. To address this question, I examine the Resolution from a theoretical and an empirical standpoint. I apply two competing approaches: one from the Liberal perspective, the other from the Realist. These two approaches generate different expectations concerning the Resolution. Although these two approaches are widely used, they have rarely been compared in a direct fashion. By applying both to one question, I hope to shed light on their relative strengths and weaknesses.

Analytical Liberals[5] model American foreign policy as a bottom-up process in which public opinion tells the president and Congress the policies to pursue *(See Figure 1)*. Analytical Liberals expect the Resolution to have had an impact on the United States' armed interventions. The executive and the legislative branches are both servants of the public, but each represent different constituencies. Presidents take action when public opinion is first behind them. The Resolution gives Congress powers to ratify or veto presidents' actions when military force is used. Vetoes should occur when Congress and the President do not share preferences. One indicator of different preferences is political party. Vetoes should be more likely during periods of divided government, while authorization should be more likely when the President and Congress are from the same party.

Figure 1.

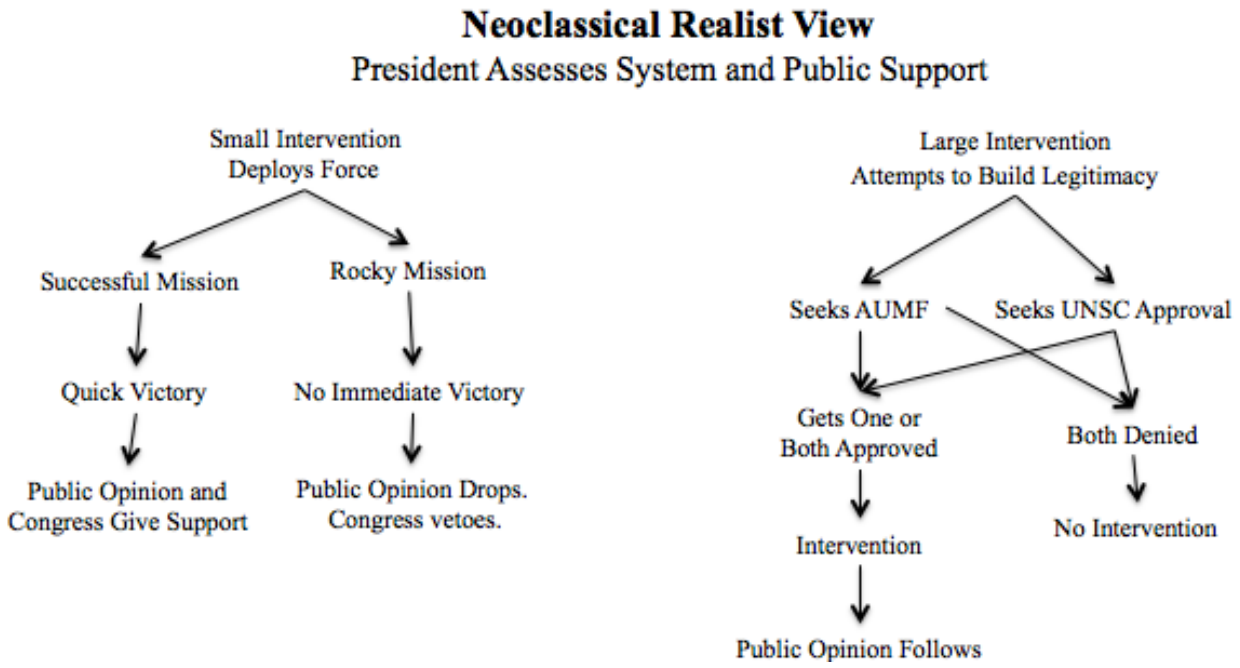
Analytical Liberal View

Public Opinion on Intervention

	Tells President NO	Tells President YES
Tells Congress NO	Nothing Happens	Reject or Veto
Tells Congress YES	Unlikely	AUMF

Neoclassical Realists[6], on the other hand, model American foreign policy as a top-down process, in which the president initiating foreign policy, then must convince Congress and the public to support the policy selected. Neoclassical Realists expect the Resolution to have had less of an impact. This perspective expects armed interventions to be largely unaffected by the Resolution, since the legislature is only designed to serve as a constraint after the initial decision to deploy force has been made. Neoclassical Realism expects the president, as the foreign policy executive, to take action based on security concerns.[7] The choice to seek authorization to use force before deploying the military or after deploying troops remains with the president. The president selects one process or another depending on his calculation of domestic support, and on the need to build support behind his preferred policy. The president chooses one path over the other in order to shape public opinion, rather than follow it *(See Figure 2)*.

Figure 2.



Each approach leads to a different expectation. There are three possible outcomes when force is used, but also two different processes. In terms of outcomes, Congress can authorize for the use of military force (AUMF), reject or veto the use of force, or do nothing. In terms of process, the president can deploy forces first, and then report this to Congress, or seek authorization before deploying forces. Analytical Liberalism focuses on the public demand for policy. When the president and Congress are of the same party, they are more likely to share preferences. This means the process does not matter, since the two branches reach a consensus. When different parties control the two branches, their different preferences should produce more vetoes or rejections of presidential requests to use military force.

Neoclassical Realism emphasizes the choice of process made by the president. If the president expects an easy military victory, he is more likely to deploy troops first, and then seek support. In contrast to the Analytical Liberal explanation, he does not wait for public demand, but seeks to create support afterwards. If the president observes a security threat that is more difficult to address, he will instead choose to build support first. In these scenarios, the president builds public support in order to get Congress behind his desire to use force. The request follows after the president has successfully made a strong case — if he fails to do so, he would not make

the request. In short, from this perspective, it is unlikely we would ever see Congress rejecting a formal request to use force, or exercising a veto.

I evaluate the Resolution's impact through analyzing historical military interventions before and after the passing, to prove that the Resolution has not altered intervention decision-making within the U.S. government. By examining interventions, this paper not only demonstrates that the Resolution has had little impact, but that the results support the Neoclassical Realists' argument. The Neoclassical Realist depiction of American foreign policy as a top-down endeavor is more accurate, when focusing on decisions to use military force.

Though I expect my findings to support a Neoclassical Realist approach in that the pattern of interventions before and after the passing of the Resolution look alike, I do expect to find differences in the policy-making patterns from intervention to intervention. I predict that my findings will point out that presidents exhibited greater hesitation when it came to interventions immediately after 1973 because of the public's post-Vietnam aversion to foreign conflict. This, however, should not be confused with the ultimate impact of the Resolution. I also believe that the findings will illustrate that the size of the intervention affects the policy-making process. Presidents on both sides of 1973 were more likely to consult with their advisors, Congress, and the U.N. Security Council before large-scale interventions. Large troop deployments reflect a greater threat from an enemy, and draw increased public attention. Consistent with Neoclassical Realism, presidents anticipate greater opposition in these instances, and thus build consensus before authorizing military force. Presidents make their decision to intervene more quickly and act before notifying Congress or the U.N., when conflicts are smaller.

Contributions of This Study

This paper intends to prove that the 1973 War Powers Resolution has been an ineffective piece of American legislation. By empirically examining case studies, this study expects to find support for Neoclassical Realist thinking. Even with the 1973 Resolution, the president has been able to maintain ultimate decision-making authority regarding intervention within the U.S. government. This study will contribute to the Neoclassical Realist versus Analytical Liberal debate.

I will examine cases from post-WWII to 1972, and from 1972 to present day. However, instead of quantitatively examining the cases and attempting to generalize patterns like previous

research has done[8], I will qualitatively examine cases before and after the passing of the Resolution. If the cases truly do follow the Neoclassical Realist explanation, each case will clearly show the president considered an intervention, and selected the route for executing his choice. The likely success of the intervention plays a key factor in whether presidents deployed force first or asked Congress for authorization. In the latter instances, he may have made the case for intervention, but failing to find support, then declined to make a formal request. Instances of Congress rejecting a formal request, or exercising a veto should therefore be rare. Though the 1973 War Powers Resolution may have been well-intentioned, this paper will show that it has been ineffective.

Methodological Strategy: Case Studies

A country's decision to send combat troops abroad to a conflict zone involves a complex array of factors that cannot be adequately captured with a purely quantitative analysis. Though its possible to record the number of troops sent abroad, the president's public approval rating, and the Congressional support for the intervention, it also requires an incisive qualitative analysis of the case in order to determine the decision-making process. Historical narratives do more than register outcomes, if properly constructed. Since Neoclassical Realism and Analytical Liberalism make different assumptions about the political process, and each expect the process to make a difference, one needs to incorporate the process into one's case. This paper will cite eight historical cases to prove the 1973 War Powers Resolution's main purpose (to ensure that the "collective judgment" of both the president and Congress apply when sending troops to intervene) has not worked, consistent with Neoclassical Realist thinking. The president has remained the ultimate decision-maker.

One major issue with previous papers that have attempted to examine the effectiveness of the Resolution is they choose to narrate one or two historical cases that have occurred post-Resolution. This is a poor method, because a single case may be anomalous. If one wants to question whether the Resolution has made a difference, one must compare a range of similar cases both before and after 1973.

Due to more than 200 deployments of U.S. troops abroad since the Declaration of Independence, it is important to limit the potential cases so that I can concentrate on the eight best cases for this project. First, I decided to examine cases that occurred after World War II. In

the field of Political Science, post-WWII is considered the current era and critiques of the president in the War Powers debate often consider this the turning point towards greater presidential unilateral decision-making.[9]

In a perfect world, it would be ideal to examine cases before and after 1973 when the president did not use force when Congress may have wanted to, or when he did not because he failed to build public consensus. It is impossible to accurately categorize those cases. For the purpose of this paper, I define "military intervention" as the deployment of more than 500 military combatants to a conflict zone resulting in an engagement. By establishing a threshold of 500 troops, I exclude those cases where troops have been deployed for the sole purpose of providing protection and evacuation support of U.S. civilians and government personnel.[10] By using this definition, I also exclude cases where U.S. troops conduct airstrikes and are used as peacekeepers. Cases when 500 or more U.S. combat troops are deployed to fight on foreign soil receive the most attention from the public, placing the most pressure on Congress and the president. By including only the controversial use of troops, one can better examine high-risk decision-making by U.S. government personnel.

Using the above-mentioned conditions, I was able to compile lists of the United States' interventions from 1947 to 1972 (*See Table 1*) and 1973 to the present day (*See Table 2*).[11] Of the 16 total cases, eight occurred before the Resolution, and eight occurred after.

Table 1.

Pre-War Powers Resolution	
Initiation Date	**Case**
6/27/50	Korean War
8/17/54	Taiwan Straits
12/12/55	Vietnam War
7/15/58	Lebanon
4/19/61	Laos
5/19/62	Thailand
4/28/65	Dom. Republic
4/29/70	Cambodia

Table 2.

Post-War Powers Resolution	
Initiation Date	**Case**
8/25/82	Lebanon
10/25/83	Grenada
12/20/89	Panama
8/28/90	Gulf War
12/3/92	Somalia
9/19/94	Haiti
10/7/2001	Afghanistan
3/20/2003	Iraq War

Due to time and length constraints, I was not able to properly examine all sixteen cases for this paper. In choosing half of the cases, I was able to properly represent the case pool, while allowing adequate space to effectively examine each case. I did not, however, want to pick eight

cases randomly; I aimed to create the best comparison of cases before and after the Resolution. The solution was to pick cases that faced similar domestic opposition, as well as had a similar quantity of troops deployed (*See Table 3*). I used the deployment of greater than 100,000 troops to differentiate the large-scale interventions from the small-scale interventions. I then looked at similar levels of Congressional support and other comparable attributes when determining which pre-Resolution case best matched its post-Resolution counterpart.

Table 3.

Large Scale Interventions		**Small Scale Interventions**	
Pre-Resolution	**Post-Resolution**	**Pre-Resolution**	**Post-Resolution**
Korean War	Gulf War	Lebanon '58	Lebanon '82
Vietnam War	Iraq War	Dom. Republic	Panama

Independent Variables

In order to examine each narrative, I used a method based on Bradley F. Podliska's model in Chapter 5 of his book *Acting Alone: A Scientific Study of American Hegemony and Unilateral Use-of-Force Decision Making.* Each case narrative is briefly summarized and then tested by examining the case's independent variables: *domestic politics, military power, and the president's interactions with Congress concerning the intervention.* In the domestic politics sections of each chapter, I examined the public approval rating of the president, public approval of the intervention, who had control of Congress, and other domestic factors that vary from case to case. In the military power section of each chapter, I examined the strength of the U.S. military at the time of the intervention, and the strength of its opponent's military. In the president's interaction with Congress sections of each chapter, I examined whether or not the president asked Congress for an AUMF before or after the start of the intervention, if he did at all. By examining the independent variables, I was able to assess which theoretical model applied to each case, and whether or not there were significant differences in the decision-making process that could be attributed to the War Powers Resolution.

Plan of the Thesis

Chapter 2

I provide background for the War Powers debate and background on the formation of the 1973 War Powers Resolution. I also provide background on the Realism vs. Liberalism debate.

Chapters 3 and 4

I conduct narratives on large-scale interventions. In the third chapter, I will compare and contrast the Korean War and the Gulf War. In the fourth, I will compare and contrast the Vietnam War and the Iraq War.

Chapters 5 and 6

I examine accounts of small-scale interventions. In the fifth chapter, I will compare and contrast the interventions of the Dominican Republic and Panama. In the sixth, I will compare and contrast the 1958 and 1982 Lebanon interventions.

Chapter 7

Has the 1973 War Powers Resolution made a difference? Previous research has examined particular instances where the president has deployed troops since the Resolution. Politicians on both sides of the aisle have both praised and critiqued the Resolution. All previous research has failed to properly address whether or not the Resolution has actually fulfilled its central purpose. I submit that the case studies will show that the Resolution has had little to no effect on presidential decision-making.

Notes

[1] *U.S. Constitution*. Art. 2.
[2] "War Powers Act of 1973," The New York Times. 29 June 2011.
[3] "Nixon's Veto: President's Veto of War Powers Resolution," 9 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1285, 24 October 1973.
[4] *War Powers Resolution*, Pub. L. No. 93-148, 87 Stat. 555 (1973) (codified at 50 U.S.C. 1541-1548.)
[5] Mark Brawley, "Liberalism, Neo-Classical Realism, and the Hamiltonian Solution: The Domestic Sources of British Foreign Policy 1900-1914," McGill University August 2009.
[6] Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," World Politics 51, no. 1 October 1998, pp. 144-77.
[7] Norrin Ripsman, Peacemaking by Democracies: Domestic Structure, Executive Autonomy and Peacemaking after Two World Wars (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2002)
[8] David P. Auerswald,"Ballotbox Diplomacy: The War Powers Resolution and the Use of Force." International Studies Quarterly 41.3 1997: 505-28.
[9] Stephen M. Griffin, Long Wars and the Constitution (Harvard University Press June 2013) 2.
[10] Jon W. Western, Selling Intervention and War: The Presidency, the Media, and the American Public (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2005) 22.
[11] For the data in Tables 1 and 2 I used information gathered from various sources, Finnemore: The Purpose of Intervention (2003); Auerswald: Ballot Box Diplomacy (1997); Beede: The Small Wars of the United States 1899-2009 (2010).

2
The Debate

Problems with the Debate

The war powers debate started long before the Vietnam War and the signing of the War Powers Resolution. The founding fathers regularly argued over who should hold the war powers, and after significant debate they compromised on the current United States Constitution. The founding fathers understood the dangers in giving too much power to the executive branch, thus they gave the president the " executive power" and title of "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States."[1] The framers of the constitution gave Congress the power "to declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water… to raise and support Armies… to provide and maintain a Navy, [and] to make rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces."[2]

Reflecting on the framer's creation, Thomas Jefferson wrote in a 1789 letter to James Madison, that the Constitution provides an "effectual check to the Dog of war by transferring the power of letting him loose from the Executive to the Legislative body."[3] However, the framers understood that certain instances require the "energy," "secrecy," and dispatch" found only in the executive branch.[4] Alexander Hamilton observed that, "energy in the executive is leading character in the definition of a good government."[5]

The debate continued with the "Helvidius-Pacificus" argument between Madison and Hamilton in 1793, after President Washington unilaterally declared U.S. neutrality in the war between France and England. Thinking the president overstepped his powers, several members of Congress denounced the president's action as an infringement of congressional power. Hamilton, writing as Pacificus, defended the president's exercise of this implied executive power; while Madison, writing as Helvidius, denied that the powers of making war and treaties were executive, and rest instead in the hands of the legislature.[6]

The "Helvidius-Pacificus" debate continued for nearly 180-years before "Congress stood ready to check the increasing presidential assumption of authority."[7] It became clear that, regardless of the president's constitutional authority to send troops to a conflict without prior

congressional assent, it had become an undeniable practice within the U.S. government. Arthur Schlesinger observed, " [t]he Vietnam experience persuaded many Americans that something had to be done to discourage presidents from regarding the war making power as their private property, to be exercised at presidential will."[8] It took three years of debate and compromise for Congress to pass the War Powers Resolution.[9] The Resolution's central purpose, as stated in section 2A, is to restrain the president from unilaterally deploying United States armed forces. The Resolution states:

> It is the purpose of this joint resolution to fulfill the intent of the framers of the Constitution of the United States and ensure that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President will apply to the introduction of the United States Armed Forces into hostilities, or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances, and to the continued use of such forces in hostilities or in such situations.[10]

Now, after over 40-years, does the Resolution ensure that the "collective judgment" of both the president and Congress apply when sending troops to intervene? The answer is difficult; despite the continued War Powers debate since 1973, evaluation of the performance of the Resolution has been virtually non-existent.[11]

The first problem with the debate over the Resolution is that it focuses primarily on the legality of the Resolution, rather than its effectiveness. The legality argument reverts back to the war powers debate, as if the over 200-year old debate never had a hiccup. Scholars such as Bennett C. Rushkoff argue that the Resolution is constitutional because the framers of the Constitution did not intend for the president's power as Commander-in-Chief to include the power to send troops to intervene abroad. Rushkoff argues that that the framers made him Commander-in-Chief to keep the armed forces under civilian control, concluding that the Resolution "provides satisfactory controls on the president's power to send American forces into combat abroad."[12] Louis Fisher and David Gray Alder on the other hand argue that it is "time to say goodbye" to the Resolution because it is not constitutional and does not fulfill the intent of the framers.[13] They argue that Resolution gives the president too much power for the first 90-days, and that the Resolution has enacted into law the unilateral presidency, something that the framer's were ultimately wary of. Fisher and Alder argue that Congress must repeal the Resolution and "rely on traditional political pressures and the regular system of checks and balances, including impeachment."[14] As one can see, the constitutionality argument over the

Resolution is only an extension of the already prevalent war powers debate, and does not properly determine whether or not the Resolution has been effective at curbing presidential power.

The second problem with the debate over the Resolution is that politicians tend to try to avoid the debate unless it is politically convenient for them. Statements for or against the Resolution by politicians and scholars tend to occur only after controversial U.S. interventions. Politicians tend to avoid the debate in times of peace because, as Professor Louis Henkin has called it, the war powers and the War Powers Resolution tends to fall into a sort of constitutional "twilight zone."[15] Though the courts have so far been reluctant to rule on the Resolution and other "twilight zone" issues, because they constitute controversies over it as non-justiciable "political questions,"[16] politicians on both sides of the aisle tend to steer away from the debate when not needed, because the court ruling may not go their way.[17] Despite this reluctance, some politicians have occasionally taken stabs at the effectiveness of the Resolution, while lacking any significant form of scholarly research. Former Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-ME) complained that the law simply "has not worked,"[18]while William Bundy, who served in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, concluded that the Resolution has made a difference.[19]

The third and final problem with the debate of the Resolution is the limited scope of the research or conclusions. Donna H. Henry[20], Eileen Burgin[21], Ryan C. Hendrickson[22], and Michael Rubner[23] all examined the overall effectiveness of the Resolution. However, each focused on just one case, offering little generalizable theory. Henry, who examined the Resolution through the 1982 Lebanon intervention, concluded that although the president was able to evade Congress by keeping troops in Lebanon without congressional approval for 18-months, the Resolution is considered a success because Congress was able to voice its opinion through the Resolution and thus had a check on the president's power, not giving him an 18-month "blank check."[24] A problem with this logic is though President Reagan may have heard consistent opposition from Congress, he was still able to act untouched for 18-months, 14-months longer than the Resolution should have allowed. It was not until the situation in Lebanon received negative press that Congress found the foothold to start demanding change.

Eileen Burgin – in her paper, *Congress, the War Powers Resolution & the Invasion of Panama –,* found , that despite Congress consistently criticizing the interventions presidents authorized in the eighties, Congress was relatively silent before the Panama intervention because

of Bush's popularity and the high success of the intervention.[25] Burgin, like the previously mentioned authors, focused on a specific case and failed to compare her results with other cases before and after the Resolution. Accordingly, she concluded that the Panama situation may just be an "anomaly" and that no significant conclusion regarding the Resolution could be reached from the Panama experience.[26]

In order to create a more general sense of the Resolution's impact, David P. Auerswald and Peter F. Cowhey attempted to examine historical cases before and after the creation of the 1973 Resolution. In *Ballotbox Diplomacy: The War Powers Resolution and the Use of Force,* Auerswald and Cowhey examined a selection of military conflicts involving the U.S. from 1905-1995, breaking the cases into three time periods: 1900-1925, 1947-1972, and 1973-1995.[27] Using cases that encountered hostilities (not UN peacekeeping missions) and cases involving more than 500 U.S. troops, the authors concluded that the cases before and after the Resolution were significantly different. They determined that while there were eight military interventions from 1947-1972, all greater than 60-days, of the 14-post Resolution interventions, only four were greater than 60-days. Auerswald and Cowhey concluded that this data proved that "presidents have significantly limited the duration of foreign intervention to conform to the limits set forth in the act."[28]

The problem with Auerswald and Cowhey's conclusion is three-fold. First, the increased number of short military interventions after the Resolution can be explained by America's post-Vietnam consensus. Though they argued that the numbers speak for themselves, and that the presidential behavior is simply more than a post-Vietnam mentality[29], writing in the 90's the authors did not have the chance to examine U.S. military interventions such as the prolonged conflicts in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Secondly, during nearly seventeen years in the 1947-1972 data section[30] the United States was involved in the very unpopular Vietnam War. Though it is difficult to determine, one can speculate that the president did not deploy troops for short interventions during that time period due to a lack of resources and public support. Finally, military technology in the 1973-1995 period was significantly better than the 1947-1972 period. Presidents could send troops on shorter missions and complete objectives in a fraction of the time that they could pre-Resolution. Given more recent interventions, the issue deserves reexamination.

Theoretical Framework: Realism vs. Liberalism

When debating the effectiveness of the Resolution and who holds the war powers in the United States government, one must understand that there are essentially two theoretical sides: the Realists and the Liberals. Realists date their philosophical tradition back to the writings of Thucydides and Sun Tzu in the fifth century BCE. They hold "a profoundly pessimistic view of the human condition and the prospects for change in human behavior; a rejection of teleological conceptions of politics or notions of an 'end of history'; a 'skeptical attitude towards schemes for pacific international order'; and the recognition that ethics and morality are products of power and material interests, not the other way around."[31] For Realists, conflict among states results from a conscious struggle for power, and the chief actors in that struggle are the rulers of those states and their close advisors.[32]

Liberals, on the other hand, date their tradition back to the teachings of France's Physiocrats and England's Adam Smith in the mid-eighteenth century.[33] They believed, in direct contradiction to Realism, that human nature is inherently peaceful and that war is "a pathological aberration from the norm."[34] Liberals fear that a single absolute ruler of a state cannot contain the temptation to conduct war, and that instead the way to prevent war is "to strip warrior elites of the power to initiate war and place it in the hands of those who ha[ve] the most to lose from armed conflict—the people."[35] Over the years Liberals and Realists have evolved their theories in order to better account for different situations in the changing world. With regards to American foreign policy, Analytical Liberals, Structural Realists, and Neoclassical Realists tend to offer the most compelling explanations to how and why American foreign policy occurs the way it does.

Analytical Liberalism, a term coined by Professor Mark Brawley[36] to describe Andrew Moravcsik's Liberal theory of international politics,[37] connects several forms of Liberalism together to create a single theoretical paradigm. Analytical Liberals believe that "the state passively serves the interests of particular groups at the international level."[38] This "bottom-up" mentality tends to ignore domestic politics, instead placing an increased emphasis on domestic interest. Analytical Liberals expect policy makers to be influenced by elections, and thus reflect to a certain extent the views of the people. By giving Congress more leverage over the president, Analytical Liberals expect the Resolution to be a success. Though they may argue that the

Resolution is repetitive, they would agree that the reassertion of congressional authority only further institutes how domestic interests are channeled. However, Brawley points out that Analytical Liberals face a significant roadblock when attempting to explain American foreign policy. Analytical Liberals place so little emphasis on politics, a phenomenon which holds significant power in U.S. foreign policy, -that they attempt to "demonstrate that domestic economic forces or domestic political institutions vary often enough to be the most significant explanatory facts in issue-areas where we observe constant policy fluctuation."[39] On the other hand, Structural Realists like Kenneth Waltz[40] and John Mearsheimer,[41] entirely dismiss the importance of domestic interests and instead focus on the state's role in pursuing power in an anarchic world system. Structural Realists focus simply on the importance of the great powers and the constant struggle between those states to maximize their own influence. The best way for a state to ensure its survival is to be more dominant than another state.

Individually, Analytical Liberals and Structural Realists paint incomplete pictures when trying to depict what best explains American foreign policy. Though America's pursuit of power in the international system is important, it is clear the president has little wiggle room if the entire nation is against his policy. A top-down approach, where the president recognizes international pressures, and then pushes his policy prescriptions down through the domestic institutions, paints a more complete picture. Gideon Rose strived to make up for the shortcomings of other theories and coined the term Neoclassical Realism. Rose wrote that:

> Neoclassical realism argues that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy is driven first and foremost by the country's relative material power. Yet it contends that the impact of power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex, because systemic pressures must be translated through intervening unit-level variables such as decision-makers' perceptions and state structure.[42]\

Neoclassical Realism explains that though the president leads the initiative for the foreign policy decision-making, he still has to persuade the people.[43] This is evident in the case of Authorizations for the Use of Military Force. Though the initiative to intervene in a foreign conflict remains in the office of the president, the president still lobbies Congress and the American people to gain support for his policies. Congress may stop short of a Declaration of War, but by giving consent through other means, it legitimizes the intervention in the eyes of the people. With regard to the Resolution, Neoclassical Realists would argue that the Resolution does not work despite attempts by Congress to limit executive power, it is still the president who

leads all foreign policy in the U.S. government. The president initiates the policy, but then must convince domestic actors, Congress and the American people, to follow his policy in order for it to succeed. By approaching foreign policy as a top-down response to systemic pressures, Neoclassical Realism is the best lens to view the U.S. president's decision-making process for intervention in a foreign conflict. By describing foreign policy as a top-down response to systemic pressures, I expect Neoclassical Realism to provide a better lens for viewing U.S. decision-making for interventions in a foreign conflict.

The framers of the Resolution felt that the president had too much authority, and that Congress must limit his authority. Analytical Liberals expect the Resolution to work because institutions shape who gets heard. Analytical Liberals view foreign policy as a reflection of the people's interests. Though they may view the Resolution as redundant, they view the legislation as only further solidifying their perspective. Neoclassical Realists, on the other hand, expect the Resolution to just be another obstacle to the president's foreign policy authority.

Notes

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3
The Korean War vs. The Gulf War
A Comparison of Large-Scale Military Interventions

The first cases this thesis examines are the Korean and Gulf Wars. Both cases are examples of large interventions, and sanctioned by the U.N. Security Council. If the cases follow an Analytical Liberal view, they should show the president and Congress creating the intervention policies based off of domestic pressures. This chapter will show, that in both cases, the president decided to create the policy and intervene while indifferent to popular opinion. Despite the Gulf War falling under the umbrella of the Resolution, and Congress ultimately approving the use of military force, this chapter will demonstrate that Bush's decision-making leading up to the intervention, did not differ from Truman's decision-making leading up to the Korean War. At the end of this chapter it will be clear that, with respect to the Korean and Gulf Wars, the Resolution had no effect on limiting the power of the president. Additionally, it will be demonstrated that the processes leading up to these interventions are best explained through a Neoclassical Realist view.

Korean War

Summary

As a part of the post-World War II acceptance of Japanese surrender, Korea, a former colony of Japan, was divided into two parts. The Russians agreed to accept temporary control of the north, while the U.S. took over responsibility of the south. The division occurred at the 38th parallel line. It was intended to be a temporary administrative solution so that Korea could be reunited under a democracy.[1] The United Nations agreed to oversee the elections. Syngman Rhee won the election in the south, but in the north, all voting was blocked. The Soviets ignored the United Nations and instead appointed Kim Il Sung as the new leader. While both Rhee and Sung aimed for a united Korea, their visions of that Korea differed greatly. The north named itself the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). The Republic of Korea (ROK) became the name of the south.[2]

On September 19, 1948, in an attempt to deescalate tensions, the Soviets and the U.S., with exception of a few hundred military advisors, withdrew their forces from the Korean peninsula.[3] Despite these efforts, border skirmishes happened regularly. Cross border rhetoric put the U.S. and Soviets in difficult positions. Rhee, settling into his position as the ROK's president, continued to proclaim his intention of unifying Korea under his rule, by force if need be. On February 20, 1949, Rhee proclaimed that his troops "could defeat North Korea within 2 weeks." A week later, he reduced his claim to 3 days.[4] Rhetoric like this made General MacArthur and Truman nervous. The U.S. leaders knew that the DPRK had the superior military, and that the ROK would not hold the border in a conflict without significant U.S. support. Truman asked Congress for $150,000,000 in aid for the ROK. However, Congress appropriated only $27,640,000. This was to be divided among the ROK, Iran, and the Philippines.[5]

On June 25, 1950, at 4 a.m., the DPRK went beyond rhetoric and sent 90,000 troops, including 150 Soviet-built T-34 tanks, across the 38th parallel.[6] The ROK troops were unprepared, lacked proper weapons, and were completely overwhelmed. U.S. Army General Matthew Ridgway described the scene "as if a few troops of Boy Scouts with hand weapons had undertaken to stop a Panzer unit."[7]

Though every U.S. intelligence agency failed to predict the invasion,[8] it only took hours for Truman and his advisors to decide on a response. An American led U.N. Security Council resolution to halt the North's aggression quickly passed 9 to 0. Fifteen nations committed troops to halt the DPRK's aggression.[9] The U.N. forces, led by U.S. General Douglas A. MacArthur, managed to push back the North's forces by September 1950. In an attempt to push the Communists out of Korea, the U.N. forces continued to fight north. By October, they reached the Yalu River, China's border with Korea. The Chinese viewed this as a national security threat, and later that month, the Chinese joined the fight on the side of the DPRK. The U.N. forces were quickly forced back behind the 38th parallel. For the next two years, fighting continued back and forth across the border. Ultimately, a mutual defense treaty was signed between the United States and the Republic of Korea. Forces remain on each side of the 38th parallel as part of the demilitarized zone to this day.[10]

Domestic Politics

Truman was not particularly popular with the American people before the invasion of the ROK. On June 4, 1950, Truman had a thirty-seven percent public approval rating.[11] His

favorability increased significantly to forty-six percent by July 9, after deciding to send troops.[12] Truman was well aware that the public would be in support of the intervention. In a June 1948 poll, sixty-eight percent of Americans were in support of keeping troops in the ROK, while only thirteen percent opposed[13]. In July, just a few weeks after Truman committed U.S. forces, the same question was asked, and seventy-five percent of Americans supported his policy. Congress and the American people stayed favorable of Truman and the intervention until the Chinese joined the fighting. In December of 1951, forty-seven percent of Americans thought Truman made the wrong decision in sending troops to Korea the previous year.[14]

Truman, a Democrat, with both houses controlled by Democrats, initially faced little backlash from Congress. His fellow Democrats in Congress defended his decision to intervene, while a few legislators argued against it. Congressman Vito Marcantonio (American Labor Party, N.Y.) contended: "when we agreed to the United Nations Charter we never agreed to supplant our Constitution with the United Nations Charter."[15] Senator Taft argued that if Truman could intervene in Korea "without congressional approval, he [could] go to war in Malaya or Indonesia or Iran or South America."[16]

Truman was also well aware that the military found little interest in Korea. In September of 1947, the Joint Chiefs of Staff reported that from "the standpoint of military security, the United States has little strategic interest in maintaining the present troops and bases in Korea."[17] They cited the forces in Korea as a military liability that could not be maintained "without substantial reinforcement prior to the initiation of hostilities." Pentagon officials reported that the 45,000 troops stationed in Korea could be used elsewhere. Even Truman's own cabinet recommended the immediate removal of the troops. George Kennan contended: "our policy should be to cut our losses and get out of there as gracefully as possible."[18] Acheson cautioned that in the wake of WWII, the American people were not prepared for another all-out war.[19]

Military Power

Despite Rhee's rhetoric, General MacArthur and the Joint Chiefs knew that the ROK would not last long against the DPRK if they were to cross the 38th parallel. At the time of the invasion in June of 1950, North Korea had the "best armed and equipped military force of its size in the far east."[20] The DPRK's Army had 135,000 troops, a third of which were hardened combat veterans who had served in the Chinese Communist and Soviet Armies in WWII. In addition, the Soviets had also provided the DPRK 3,000 military advisors, and massive stockpiles of weapons.

South of the 38th parallel, the ROK Army had only 65,000 combat troops, and only a small stockpile of weapons. If the ROK were to survive, the U.S. would have to contribute to its protection. In 1950, after disbanding much of its forces five years earlier, the U.S.'s military was heavily understaffed. The Army had 592,000 troops. The Navy had 646 ships, manned by 378,000 men. The Air Force had 411,000 men. The Marines only had two understrength divisions. Despite a total force of about 1.4 million troops, the U.S. military was spread terribly thin throughout the globe.

Though with the U.S.'s aid the ROK could resist a DPRK invasion, this was assuming that the Soviets or the Chinese would not join in on the fight. Both countries still had massive militaries remaining from WWII. Ultimately, 15 nations would contribute to the ROK's defense, though the majority of the responsibility remained in the hands of the U.S.

The President's Interactions

Truman's decision to intervene in Korea was not influenced by domestic politics, or even his own cabinet. He entered the war without ever seeking congressional approval. He referred to the intervention as a police action, and sought U.N. approval only to avoid the appearance that he was acting unilaterally.

Truman was notified of the invasion while visiting his family in Independence, Missouri. The rest of his cabinet, and the Joint Chiefs, were on vacation, scattered throughout the country. Assistant Secretary of State Jack Hickerson quickly worked with the U.N. to convene an emergency Security Council session. Urged not to fly back to Washington until they had more information by Secretary of State Acheson, Truman waited impatiently in Missouri.[21] Margaret, Truman's daughter, reflected on the events: "none of us got much sleep that night… "my father made it clear from the moment we heard the news that he feared this was the opening round in World War III."[22] Despite a plea for a U.N. cease-fire, North Korea made it clear they were conducting an "all-out invasion" of the ROK.[23] On the morning of Sunday, June 25, Truman flew back to Washington with this news, and made his decision to intervene while on the flight. Truman reflected on his decision in his memoirs: "I had time to think aboard the plane… and if the free world allowed the Communists to take over the Republic of Korea, no small nation would have the courage to resist threats and aggression by stronger Communist neighbors."[24]

While the politicians back home were trying to consider their options, U.S. officials stationed in Japan decided to take action. At 6:00 p.m. on June 25, General MacArthur met in his

office with key officials to discuss the unexpected invasion. Joining him was Ambassador Sebald, Director of the Office of North Asian Affairs John M. Allison, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and John F. Dulles. MacArthur did not seem "unduly concerned" by the attack, and guessed that it was "probably only a reconnaissance force."[25] He said, "if Washington only will not hobble me, I can handle it with one hand tied behind my back."[26] MacArthur was then informed that the ROK's army would run out of ammunition in ten days. He responded by ordering the Eighth Army to load a cargo ship in Yokohama Harbor with "howitzer, mortar, and carbine ammunition," to immediately bring to the aid of the ROK.[27] Thus, without consulting Truman or the Joint Chief's, MacArthur had committed the U.S. military to the defense of the ROK.

The Truman administration made it clear to the world in 1947 that the U.S. was taking a strong stance against Communist expansion. The containment policy became known as the Truman Doctrine. However, whether or not the doctrine applied to the invasion of the ROK was complicated. Earlier that year, the State Department made it clear that Korea was not within the U.S.'s Far Eastern Defense Perimeter; the administration acted nonetheless. While Truman was on the plane, State and Army representatives assembled at the State Department. The officials drew up a tentative action program, and alerted MacArthur of the plans. MacArthur alerted the Joint Chiefs that he had already started the plans, and they did not object.[28]

That afternoon, the U.N. Security Council assembled an emergency session at Lake Success, New York. The Soviet delegate, Yakov Malik, was absent from the assembly. The U.S. delegation, led by Ambassador Gross, immediately submitted a resolution calling the North's invasion "an unprovoked act of aggression," demanding for the immediate withdrawal of North Korean forces from behind the 38th parallel.[29] With little debate, the resolution was quickly called to a vote. With the Soviet absence, and with Communist Yugoslavia abstaining, the resolution was passed nine to zero.[30] At this point, the United States and the United Nations were completely committed to stopping the Communist invasion of the ROK.

Shortly after the passing of the U.N. resolution, Truman and Acheson realized that they were going to escalate fighting beyond the U.N. mandated parameters. The two discussed the idea of seeking congressional support. They ultimately rejected the notion and decided, as Acheson later explained, "that we were in this fight, and it was desperate fight, and we had better concentrate all our energies in fighting it and not in trying to get the people to formally approve

what was going on."[31] On June 27, Truman met with congressional leaders to provide updates on the situation in Korea. The congressional leaders were never asked their opinions or permission.[32]

Gulf War

Summary

During the 1980s the United States had supported the government of Iraq and its president, Saddam Hussein. Policy makers in Washington knew well of Hussein's brutality. Hussein was infamous for exterminating thousands of his potential opponents, and for using chemical weapons on his own subjects during the Kurdish rebellion. In order to contain Iran, as well as pull away an ally from the Soviet Union, the U.S. reluctantly supported Hussein during his eight-year war with Iran.[33]

Relations between Iraq and the U.S. began to deteriorate in early 1990 when a Voice of America broadcast called Hussein a "tyrant." The State Department subsequently compiled a list of Hussein's human rights violations. Matters worsened when Hussein publicly executed a British journalist and threatened Israel with chemical weapons.[34] Hussein continued the theme of violence when he revived talks of invading Kuwait. Iraq had long believed that Kuwait was its "lost" nineteenth province, and that Kuwait, and all the oil it produced, was its rightful property. Hussein sent Kuwait a list of impossible demands, including $10,000 million USD reparations in aid, and $2,400 million in compensation for stolen oil.[35] Troubled by the list of demands, U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie met with Hussein on July 25, 1990. Hussein assured Glaspie that he would not under any circumstance invade Kuwait.[36] Despite the now obvious signs, the world was shocked when Hussein invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, just a week after his meeting with Glaspie.

At the time of the Kuwait invasion, Iraq had the world's fourth largest army. Hussein had over 900,000 troops, most of which were well seasoned, thanks to an eight-year war with Iran. However, what was feared most was Hussein's nuclear program. Despite Israel damaging the program significantly in the early '80s, it was predicted that Iraq would have a fully functional nuclear arsenal by 1993.[37] Hussein viewed himself as the new Nasser, and believed he was the true ruler of the Arab world. The unpredictability of Hussein, coupled with the world's fourth largest army at his disposal, gave great concern to world leaders and neighboring Arab states.

The United States responded to Hussein's aggression on Kuwait in a three-stage process. The first stage, Operation Desert Shield, commenced just four days after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. On August 6, 1990, Bush ordered the 82nd Airborne Division to defend Saudi Arabia at the request of King Fahd bin Abdulaziz Al Saud.[38] During this buildup period, the Bush administration worked with the U.N. to pass twelve resolutions condemning Hussein's invasion. United Nations Security Council Resolution 678, the final and most demanding resolution, authorized the use of all necessary means to force Iraq from Kuwait beginning on January 12, 1991.[39]

Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz met in Geneva on January 9th to discuss the impeding war. Aziz warned Baker: "you are a power which possesses strong weapons… I sincerely and without pretention tell you that the nineteen million Iraqis, including the Iraqi leadership, are convinced that if war erupts with you, we will win." Baker responded warning Aziz: "please do not let your military commanders convince you the strategy used against Iran will succeed here. You will face a completely different force. Midnight of January fifteenth is a very real date."[40]

The U.S. started the second-stage of the process on January 16, 1991, with the launching of Operation Desert Storm. The operation started with a tremendous thirty-nine day air attack against Iraqi targets.[41] Hussein tried to fight back by firing scud missiles at Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain, but all attempts failed. Ignoring negotiation attempts from Hussein, on February 24th the U.S. sent in the Marines. By the 28th, Bush ordered to halt the ground offensive with all the Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.[42] Operation Desert Storm was a complete victory for the coalition. Operation Provide Comfort I, the third and final phase, began on February 28th. The U.S. formed a no-fly zone over the Kurdish region of Northern Iraq. The operation lasted several months, and allowed the transition and withdrawal of the coalition forces from the region.[43]

Domestic Politics

Both the American people and Congress were openly supportive of President Bush's decision to use force against Iraq in the Gulf War. The American people were very aware of the situation transpiring in the region, and of Hussein's history for brutality. Though support for the U.S. sending troops to the region was just at six percent favorability on August 3-4, 1990, a week later, support was up to seventy-eight percent.[44] In the months leading up to the war, the public approval for intervention never dropped below fifty percent, and it never fell below sixty-five

percent during the actual war.[45] The public was very aware of the potential of an estimated 10,000 American casualties, but their support never swayed.

Bush was welcomed with a significant amount of congressional support for the intervention. Congress, which was controlled by the Democrats, felt that force was most likely the only way to deal with Hussein. Even one of the most liberal senators, Christopher Dodd, admitted that his "own view is that at some point military action is probably going to be necessary."[46] Congressional approval was not to be confused with giving Bush a free reign. At the time of the crisis, the phrase 'no more Vietnams' still echoed through the halls of the Capitol.[47] Bush was very careful to not trigger the ninety-day War Powers Resolution clock when he sent troops to the region in August. He informed Congress of the deployment, but did not want to give them a chance to strike it down.[48] Unlike the Korean War, Congress did vote for the intervention before it took place. Congress approved Operation Desert Storm on January 12, 1991, just four days before the intervention. With full congressional approval and public support, one could argue that it was domestic pressures that caused the United States to intervene in Kuwait in 1991. However, despite this strong domestic support for the operation, domestic pressures while making the decision to use force on Iraq did not influence the Bush administration. President Bush and his administration would have used force against Hussein with-or-without congressional approval.

Military Power

Despite making his decision to use force on August 3rd, Bush made the decision to use multilateral force on October 30th. His administration had numerous military briefings on the strength of the Iraqi military and the high-expected costs associated with the U.S. removing Hussein's troops from Kuwait. Bush was not willing to have an estimated 10,000 American casualties. On November 8, with the help of the fifty-country coalition, the operation increased to 844,660 troops (532,000 Americans), and 2,614 aircraft (1,990 American). Hussein's forces consisted of roughly 900,000 Iraqi troops and 750 aircraft.[49]

The President's Interactions

President Bush made the conclusive decision that the U.S. would use force against Iraq on August 3, 1990, one day after Hussein's troops crossed the border into Kuwait. Public approval for the use of force on August 3 was at six percent. Congress had not lobbied the president at all on the matter. Bush made his decision to use force after having August 3

meetings with the United Kingdom Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the United States National Security Council. Prime Minister Thatcher told Bush in the meeting that the U.S. had the responsibility as the hegemon to unite the world and defeat Hussein. She urged Bush to pick a strong stance and stop Hussein.[50] Once Bush decided to use force after the meeting, there is no evidence that he ever second-guessed his decision. Bush stated after the meeting:

> "I had decided in my own mind in the first hours that the Iraqi aggression could not be tolerated. During my press remarks at the outset of the first NSC meeting [August 2nd], I did say that I was not contemplating intervention that perhaps inadvertently led to some confusion about my intent. I did not intend to rule out the use of force. At that juncture I did not wish explicitly to rule it in. But following the series of meetings [August 3rd meetings with Thatcher and NSC], I came to the conclusion that some public comment was needed to make clear my determination that the United States must do whatever might be necessary to reverse the Iraqi aggression."[51]

At the time of his decision, Bush did not know how Congress or the American people would react to him sending troops to the Middle East. His administration immediately sought legitimacy by going to the U.N. and getting twelve resolutions passed. This technique was used to discredit any potential domestic opposition.[52] From the beginning, Bush argued to Congress that he needed the freedom to threaten legitimate force against Hussein. He exceeded the ninety-day War Powers limit and Congress did nothing about it. Bush made it clear that Congress's opinion on the intervention was "irrelevant".[53] Bush wrote in his diary: "our role as a world leader will once again be reaffirmed, but if we compromise and if we fail, we would be reduced to total impotence, and that is not going to happen. I don't care if I have one vote in the Congress."[54] This was later confirmed when Bush told his allies just before Christmas day: "if I have to go [to war], it's not going to matter to me if there isn't one congressman who supports this, or what happens to public opinion. If it's right, it's gotta be done."[55] A few days later, on December 29th, Bush authorized Operation Desert Shield, two weeks before the congressional vote.

If not for domestic pressures, why did President Bush want to get involved in a war with a country on the other side of the globe? The answer may have been oil. With Hussein gaining control of Kuwait, he had control of over twenty percent of the world's oil production. Bush believed that, "access to Persian Gulf oil and the security of key friendly states [were] vital to U.S. national security."[56] Hussein would have had the potential to monopolize the world's oil prices. He would have been in a strong position to threaten the sovereignty of key U.S. allies,

such as Saudi Arabia. Bush was not going to tolerate the brutal dictator having that much influence in the world.

Theoretical Assessment

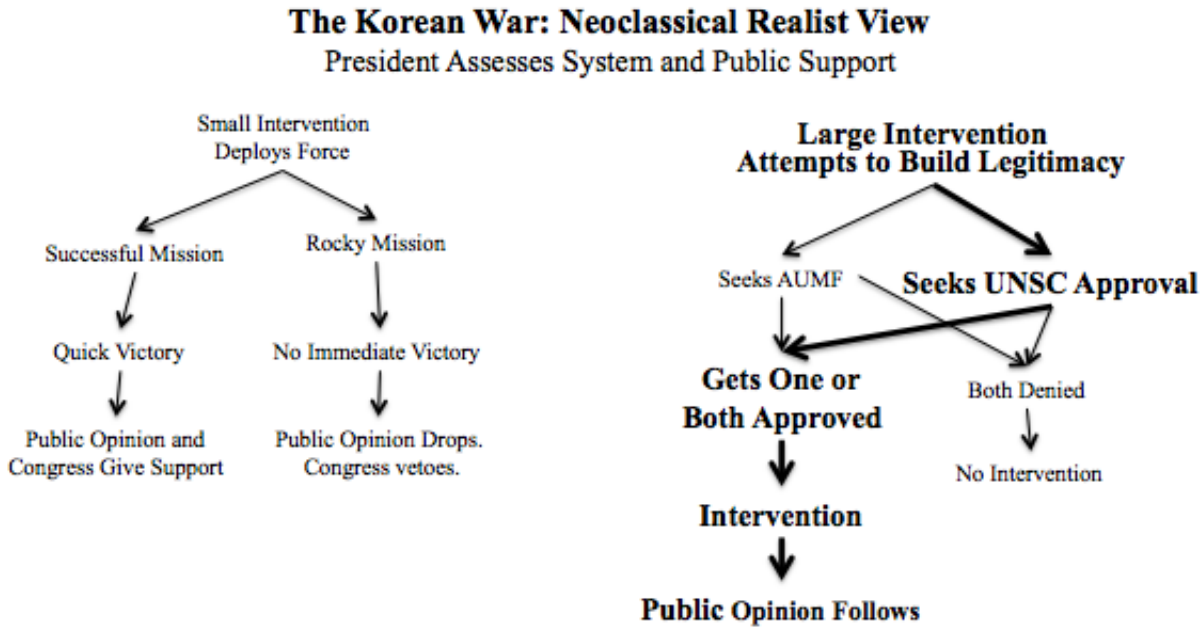
Korean War

After thoroughly examining the Korean War, can the decision to intervene be explained by an Analytical Liberal view? The answer is no. The Domestic Politics section determined that President Truman's decision to intervene in Korea was not influenced by popular opinion or congressional pressure. The Truman administration acted without Congress to create the policy, which led to U.S. involvement in the war. The Analytical Liberal view assumes that public opinion shapes all policy. As previously mentioned, the U.S. people, military, and Congress had little interest in getting involved in another war so close to WWII. The public paid little attention to the events going on in Korea, and most of the U.S. government felt that Korea did not fall into U.S. interest at all. Despite these obvious oppositions, President Truman, who had a poor public approval rating at the time, still decided to pursue an interventionist policy.

Ruling out Analytical Liberalism, does Truman's decision to become involved in the Korean War fall under a Neoclassical Realist model? As a Neoclassical Realist would expect, Truman reacted to an international situation, the DPRK invading the ROK, and decided that he wanted to do something about it. He realized that U.S. military involvement in Korea would be considerable and he would need some sort of credibility in order to explain sending hundreds of thousands of troops across the globe. A Neoclassical Realist expects, in cases of large interventions, that the president will either seek legitimacy from Congress or the U.N. Security Council. Assistant Secretary of State Jack Hickerson was able to quickly work with the UNSC to pass a resolution to authorize force against the DPRK. With this apparent legitimacy in his pocket, Truman had no need to gain a formal authorization from Congress.

With a U.N. force of fifteen countries at his disposal, Truman ordered the protection of the ROK, and ultimately the invasion of the DPRK. Following the invasion, Truman's public opinion skyrocketed, as did approval for U.S. involvement in the Korean peninsula. Truman's process of getting the U.S. involved in the Korean War follows the Neoclassical Realist model perfectly.

Figure 3.



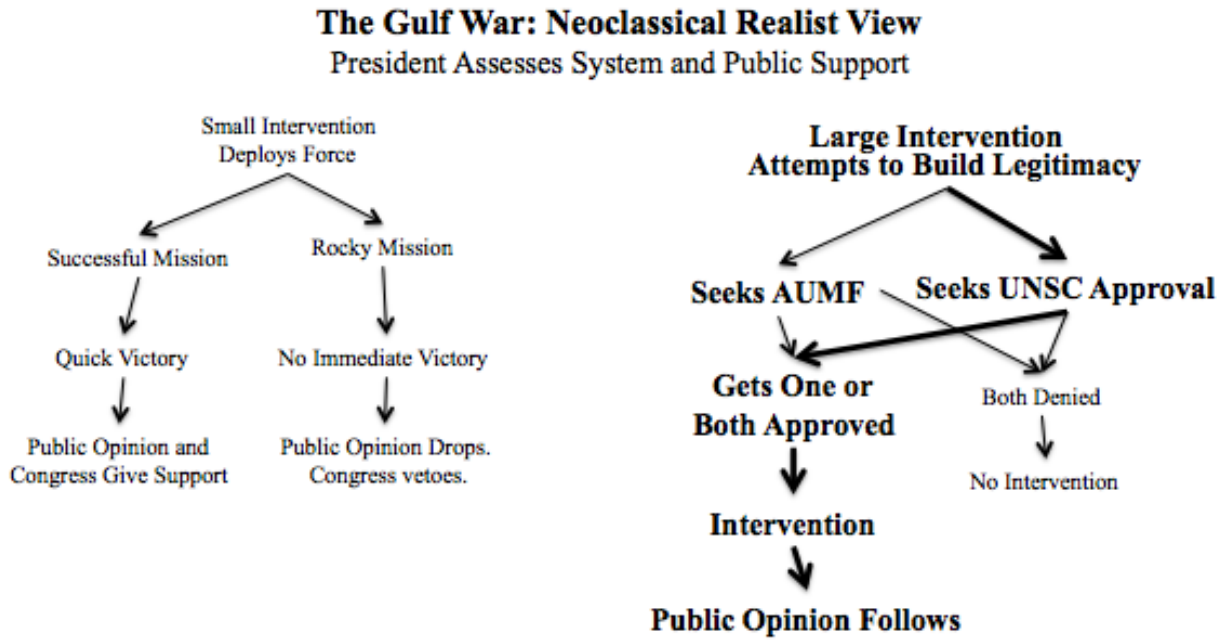
Gulf War

On the surface, whether or not the Gulf War case fits into an Analytical Liberal model is more difficult to determine. Unlike the Korean War, President Bush was given authorization from Congress to use military force against Saddam Hussein. The American people were also supportive of Bush's decision to use force. Is this a case that can be explained by Analytical Liberalism? Once again, the answer is no. When President Bush made his final decision to use force on August 3, 1990, public approval for sending troops into the region was six percent. Though this number quickly went to seventy-eight percent after U.S. involvement became likely, the initial policy decision was in no way influenced by the American peoples' need for U.S. troops in the Middle East.

Ruling out Analytical Liberalism, can Bush's decision-making process fall in line with a Neoclassical Realist view? One must first apply it to the model. Similar to the Korean War case, and concurrent with the Neoclassical Realist model, Bush made his decision to intervene and then assessed the system and public support. In 1990, Saddam Hussein had the world's fourth largest military, and a U.S. war against the dictator would involve hundreds of thousands of troops, which could potentially result in ten thousand American casualties. Bush knew he needed

to build legitimacy for his cause, and to do so he went to the U.N. Security Council. Bush's administration worked closely with the U.N. and had twelve resolutions passed against Hussein. Bush had the U.N. support, and set a date for the intervention. As the intervention became closer, as a Neoclassical Realist would expect, public opinion followed. Bush never asked for congressional approval. He felt that the U.N.'s approval and support was enough. Congress ultimately gave Bush formal authorization, but this was not done until four days before the intervention was scheduled to take place. Though in the chart below congressional AUMF is bolded, it was ultimately irrelevant to the intervention decision-making process.

Figure 4.



Resolution

Did the Resolution make a difference from Truman's decision to become involved in the Korean War to Bush's decision to become involved in the Gulf War? As I hypothesized, the answer is no. Though Congress ultimately gave Bush authorization to intervene in the Gulf War, Bush made it very clear that he would have ordered the intervention with or without congressional approval. Bush's deployment of troops to the region, months before the intervention, violated the ninety-day provision of the Resolution. Congress did nothing about it. The steps Bush and Truman took to gain international legitimacy for the interventions, and their

complete indifference towards domestic pressures, are uncannily similar. Both cases followed the expectations of the top-down Neoclassical Realist model, a model that the framers of the Resolution had hoped to reverse.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the U.S. government's decision-making processes leading up to the large-scale military actions of the Korean and Gulf Wars. The interventions involved the deployment of more than 500,000 U.S. troops each. The case studies in this chapter focused on the domestic politics and its influence on the decision to intervene, the military power of the U.S. and enemy forces at the time of the intervention, and the president's interactions and decision-making leading up to the intervention. By focusing on the domestic politics at the time of each case, I concluded that these cases could not be explained by a bottom-up, Analytical Liberal view. Then applying the individual cases to the Neoclassical Realist model, through the examination of military force and government interactions, I was able to determine that both cases followed the Neoclassical Realist explanation. In both cases the administration created the policy, went to the U.N. to build legitimacy, and after allowed public opinion to follow once the planning process for the interventions were well underway. This chapter also determined, despite the Gulf War falling under the umbrella of the Resolution, that there was remarkably little difference in presidential decision-making leading up to the interventions. This case study, examining the Korean and the Gulf Wars, supports my hypothesis that the Resolution has been an ineffective piece of legislation and is best explained by a Neoclassical Realist perspective.

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4
The Vietnam War vs. The Iraq War
A Comparison of Large-Scale Military Interventions

The case study this chapter examines is the Vietnam War and the Iraq War. Both crises are examples of large interventions. What makes these crises uniquely interesting in comparison to the other cases is that the U.N. Security Council sanctioned neither, while Congress authorized both. Though congressional approval may appear to be explained best by an Analytical Liberal perspective, this chapter will show that this is not the case. In both cases, the president designed the intervention policy, and strategically convinced the American people to support that policy. Despite the Iraq War's approval by Congress, and its falling under the scope of the Resolution, this chapter will explain why the Bush administration's decision-making barely differed from the Johnson administration's leading up to the Vietnam War. This chapter will demonstrate that Johnson's decision to intervene after the Gulf of Tonkin incident was more influenced by domestic pressures than Bush's decision to invade Iraq. This chapter will also elaborate on why actions leading up to both interventions are best explained by a Neoclassical Realist approach.

Vietnam War

Summary

A former French colony, Vietnam saw the opportunity for independence after World War II. The popular nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh led the revolt. France, still recovering from WWII, did not have the necessary resources to put down the rebellion. In the fall of 1945, the U.S., under President Truman, started sending financial and military aid to the struggling French troops fighting Minh's Vietminh forces.[1] As the Cold War grew, and the U.S. implemented NSC-68, U.S. commitment to stopping the expansion of Communism grew as well. After the 1954 Geneva Conference, where France and the Vietminh signed an armistice, the U.S. took it upon itself to preserve a non-communist South Vietnam. Truman's successor, President Eisenhower elaborated on Truman's containment policy with the "falling domino" principle to explain the need for U.S. involvement. He explained: "If you have a row of dominos set up, you knock over the first one… what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly." He believed that if Communism were to take over all of Vietnam, it would spread

to all of Southeast Asia, and eventually the world. Though Eisenhower was against sending U.S. combat troops, he made it clear that the U.S. would support the South Vietnamese by sending military advisors, economic aid, and weapons.[2]

President Kennedy continued his predecessor's Vietnam policies when he took office in 1961. Still opting against sending overt combat troops to the region, Kennedy poured more military advisors, money, and weapons into the region. After Kennedy's assassination, President Johnson inherited a complicated situation in Vietnam. After recently experiencing a coup, the South Vietnamese government was in turmoil. The U.S. had over 16,000 military advisors in the country. On February 1, 1964, Johnson made it clear that he would continue Kennedy's efforts, and authorized the intensification of covert operations against the Vietminh. The operations, code-named PLAN 34A, first began under Kennedy in 1961. The public remained unaware of the covert actions, and the U.S. presence in South Vietnam continued to grow.[3]

On August 2, 1964, U.S. commitment to the conflict changed drastically. Three North Vietnamese gunboats attacked the U.S. destroyer Maddox while it was on an "electronic intelligence-gathering mission" in the Tonkin Gulf. The Maddox easily repelled the smaller boats, forcing all three to retreat. To increase presence in the area, another destroyer, the C. Turner Joy, was ordered to accompany the Maddox in the Gulf. Two days later, while in heavy seas, the destroyers viewed images resembling oncoming torpedoes on their radars. The destroyers, already on high alert, immediately assumed that they were under attack and reacted accordingly. While the Joy's radar detected several enemy vessels, the radar on the Maddox detected twenty-six oncoming torpedoes. Both ships dropped depth charges, and fired their guns in the direction of the detected vessels. Eventually, Commander Ogier, the Maddox's skipper, realized that the images his sonarmen were reporting must have been something else. He ordered to stop the attack. The "battle" came to an end after an hour, and neither ship had taken any damage. Neither ship had actually seen any enemy vessels.[4]

Despite confusion over the events, the two destroyers ultimately reported to Washington that they had indeed been attacked on August 4. Coupled with intercepted North Vietnamese communications, which hinted towards the North's involvement, officials in Washington had little reason to doubt the attack.[5]

At 11:37 p.m., less than fourteen hours after the two destroyers reported the first oncoming torpedoes, President Johnson addressed the public on television. Johnson notified the

American people of the attack on the destroyers as well as the retaliatory strikes by U.S. forces against "gunboats and certain supporting facilities in North Viet-Nam."[6] Two days later, with tremendous public support, Johnson obtained easy passage through Congress for the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. The Resolution read:

> " Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression… The United States is… prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."[7]

With the Tonkin Resolution in hand, the Johnson administration restrained an escalation of attacks for the remainder of 1964; a tactic that certainly helped him secure the November election. In early 1965, U.S. bombings in the north increased significantly. By the end of the year, there were more than 184,000 U.S. combat troops in Vietnam. Over the next ten years, 2.7 million Americans served in Vietnam. American forces experienced more than 58,000 deaths, and 300,000 wounded. The U.S. spent more than $140 billion on the war, and ultimately failed to preserve a non-communist state in South Vietnam.[8]

Domestic Politics

Before the Gulf of Tonkin incident, President Johnson had very little domestic pressure to intervene in Vietnam. Thirty-one percent of Americans wanted to put military pressure on the North, and Johnson's public approval was forty-two percent. After Tonkin, fifty-percent of Americans wanted to intervene, and Johnson's approval went up to eighty-five percent.[9] Though Johnson was skeptical about the authenticity of the attack, he knew that such an event would do wonders for his Vietnam policy.

The press, as hoped by the Johnson administration, accepted unanimously that the destroyers had actually been attacked. The U.S. News & World Report reported that vessels attacked the Turner Joy with automatic weapons, while Life magazine reported that 37-mm cannons attacked the destroyers. Time magazine reported that the destroyers were attacked by Russian-designed "Swatow gunboats armed with 37-mm. and 28-mm. guns, and P-4s." The New York Times, meanwhile, wrote an article blaming the Chinese for instigating the attacks against the destroyers.[10]

The confusing reports by the press obviously did not deter public approval, nor did it stop Johnson's political rivals in Congress from trying to exploit the crisis and turn it against Johnson, regardless of his initiative. Though Johnson's Democrats controlled Congress, he was in the middle of an election campaign at the time of the incident. Republicans, not aware of Johnson's covert operations in Vietnam, regularly criticized Johnson for being too soft on North Vietnam. His opponent for presidency, Senator Barry Goldwater, campaigned hard against Communism, and regularly argued for an increased U.S. presence in Vietnam.

Military Power

Between 1964 and 1968, North Vietnam had roughly 300,000 troops.[11] The Vietcong, the organized communist insurgents in the south, had roughly 300,000 of their own troops.[12] China covertly contributed an additional 170,000.[13] The North Koreans and Soviets were also suspected of contributing troops.

The South Vietnamese had more than 850,000 troops. The United States averaged 536,000 troops in Vietnam by 1968[14]. South Korea, Australia, Thailand, the Philippines, and New Zealand, combined, contributed an additional 65,000 troops.[15]

While the United States and its allies clearly had better weapons and more troops than the North Vietnamese Army and the Vietcong, guerrilla tactics used by the Vietcong proved extremely useful against their enemy forces. U.S. and South Vietnamese forces relied heavily on their superior air power. U.S. troops and their allies used American-manufactured weapons, while the North Vietnamese used Soviet and Chinese weapons. The U.S. utilized their airpower to drop chemical defoliants or herbicides on enemy forces, while the Northern forces became famous for their booby-traps.[16]

The President's Interactions

On August 4, at 9:12 a.m., Washington time, Secretary of Defense McNamara called Johnson and notified him that an attack on the Maddox and the Joy was possibly about to occur.[17] Johnson immediately asked how quickly he could respond with a retaliatory airstrike. The order was not given then, but Alexander Haig, McNamara's assistant, later said that after the conversation, "there was never any realistic doubt that the air raid would take place."[18]

In his memoirs, Johnson explained that he decided not to retaliate for the attack on the Maddox because he seriously doubted that the North Vietnamese government had ordered the attack.[19] Though, even with doubts of the legitimacy of the second attack, Johnson said he knew

that he had to respond. Johnson knew that the story of the two American destroyers being attacked by Communists would eventually reach the public. He knew that he would be criticized heavily if he chose not to respond because of lack of evidence from the scene.[20] The pressure Johnson experienced was illustrated later that month when Johnson expressed doubt of the occurrence of another reported attack in the Gulf. Despite barely any proof from the destroyers, Secretary of State Rusk criticized Johnson for "failing to support the judgment of the officers on the scene."[21]

Though U.S. officials discussed a variety of retaliatory measures, a consensus emerged that airstrikes should be carried out against three of North Vietnam's naval bases, and a petroleum storage facility.[22] The proposal for the retaliatory strikes was completed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff at 1:25 p.m. Johnson viewed the plans and added two additional naval bases as targets. Operation Pierce Arrow commenced the following day, August 5. Sixty-four U.S. aircraft conducted the raids. Two planes were lost.[23]

While Johnson was awaiting the green light to go on television to announce the events, he notified Goldwater of the plans for the retaliatory strikes. His competitor for the presidency told Johnson that he approved of the plan, and notified the public of his approval as well. Goldwater said, "I am sure that every American will subscribe to the actions outlined in the President's statement. I believe it is the only thing he can do under the circumstances. We cannot allow the American flag to be shot at anywhere on earth if we are to retain our respect and prestige."[24]

With the public's support, on August 7, Johnson obtained easy passage for the Tonkin Gulf Resolution through his Democrat-controlled Congress.[25] The House adopted the resolution unanimously. The Senate approved it overwhelmingly with a vote of eighty-eight to two. Johnson did not want to make Truman's mistake in Korea of being unilaterally blamed for an unpopular war, and sought Congress's approval. Johnson stated, "By God, I'm going to be damned sure those guys are with me when we begin this thing, or they may try to desert me after I get in there… I'm gonna get 'em on the takeoff so they'll be with me on the landing."[26] Though Johnson viewed this as Congress's approval for war, many members of Congress felt differently. During the debate for the resolution in the House, Thomas Morgan, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, stated that the resolution was " definitely not an advance declaration of war. The Committee has been assured by the Secretary of State that the

constitutional probative of the Congress in this respect will continue to be scrupulously observed."[27]

Iraq War

Summary

Following the Gulf War, covered in the previous chapter, relations between Saddam Hussein's Iraq and the U.S. continued to deteriorate over the next decade. Hussein was faced with a U.S.-enforced "no-fly zone" after Iraq failed to comply with the U.N.'s inspections of its nuclear installations.[28] Incidents between Iraq and the U.S. happened frequently after this. U.S. airstrikes against Iraqi air defense installations occurred as late as February 2001.[29] Tensions escalated in January of 2002, when President George W. Bush, son of the president during the Gulf War, declared Iraq a member of the "axis of evil." Allied with the nations of North Korea and Iran, Bush suggested that pre-emptive attacks might be made against the three countries.[30]

The Bush administration continued its rhetoric against Iraq for the next several months. In the wake of the one-year anniversary of 9/11, on September 8, 2002, Bush's national security team covered the morning talk shows.[31] They made their message clear. Iraq was "aggressively seeking nuclear weapons", it had links to Al-Qaeda, and it desired to harm the United States.[32] On *Face the Nation,* a CBS News program, U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld warned America to "Imagine a September 11 with weapons of mass destruction. It's not 3,000; it's tens of thousands of innocent men, women, and children."[33] The campaign worked; a large majority of Americans were captivated. Bush spoke to the U.N. General Assembly on September 12. He demanded for the U.N. to enforce its many resolutions on Iraq. Bush warned that, though he would work with the U.N. Security Council for the necessary resolution, if they did not step up to protect international security, the U.S. would.[34]

A month after his address to the U.N., Congress passed resolutions supporting Bush's strong stance against Iraq. Both houses gave authorizations for Bush to use force if needed for him to accomplish his goal.[35] With Congress's approval, Bush's administration continued to push the international community for support. On November 8, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 1441. The resolution demanded Iraqi cooperation with U.N. arms inspections. It stated that Iraq would "face serious consequences" if it continued to obstruct inspectors.[36] Despite weapons inspections resuming on November 27, ambiguity in the resolution led to confusion in the international community. While the U.S. expected a complete and detailed

report sixty days following the passing of the Resolution, Chief Inspector Hans Blix thought that he had sixty days to conduct an interim report, while he expected additional site visits to occur after the sixty-day window.[37] France, Germany, and Russia demanded that no action be taken until the inspectors had issued their final report. The Bush administration gave up hope for a U.N.-backed intervention in Iraq.

In his 2003 State of the Union address, Bush once again pleaded to Americans that Iraq must be stopped from developing weapons of mass destruction. He explained, "the British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." Bush added that Hussein would not hesitate to give these weapons to terrorist organizations, such as Al-Qaeda. "If this threat is permitted to fully and suddenly emerge, all actions, all words, and all recriminations would come too late."[38]

On February 3, Secretary of State Powell addressed the U.N. Security Council in a last-ditch effort to sway those undecided to support intervention. He presented that Iraq was producing weapons of mass destruction. Although this evidence did little to win over the Security Council, it was enough to win over the majority of Americans. Bush wanted to remove Saddam Hussein. He had political and public support to do so. On March 17, Bush issued a final ultimatum to Hussein to leave Iraq or face military attack. On March 19, America found itself fighting two wars in the Middle East. Despite Bush declaring a quick victory on May 1, 2003, it would be another eight years and over 4,485 U.S. casualties before the U.S. abandoned its efforts and withdrew from Iraq.[39]

Domestic Politics

Despite later being deemed one of the most controversial wars in America's history, the Bush administration initially faced little domestic opposition regarding its plans to invade Iraq. Post-Gulf War, it became clear that Americans did not like Saddam Hussein. His unpopularity became further entrenched throughout the '90s after skirmishes with the U.S., both rhetorical and belligerent, became regular. In 1996, sixty-five percent of Americans favored using military force to remove Hussein from power.[40] Congress passed the Iraq Liberation Act in 1998. The act stated formally that the U.S. was not in favor of Hussein staying in power. This did not mean that the U.S. would use the legislation to intervene militarily. James Baker, former Secretary of State, wrote in the New York Times, "there is nothing wrong with containment of Iraq's weapons programs as a policy, provided that it is sufficiently robust and sustained."[41] Brent Scowcroft,

then National Security Advisor, argued in the Washington Post: "if containment could produce a peaceful end to the Cold War on our terms, surely it can be sufficient to deal with threats posed by Saddam Hussein."[42]

Despite Hussein's obvious unpopularity with the American people, the general rhetoric appeared non-interventionist during the '90s. This changed after 9/11. In February 2001, fifty-two percent of Americans favored U.S. military action to overthrow Hussein, while a month after the attacks revealed that seventy-four percent of Americans expressed support for a U.S. overthrow.[43] During this same time, conservatives in-and-out of the government strove to develop their own case against Hussein. The Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee, a nongovernmental advisory group to Rumsfeld, looked for ways they could justify attacking Iraq. Neoconservatives outside of the administration wrote an open letter to President Bush urging a direct military response against both Iraq and Afghanistan.[44]

However, over the next year, public support for a U.S. overthrow of Hussein dropped drastically. In early September 2002, seventy-two percent of Americans said that they would be upset if the U.S. sent troops to Iraq to remove Hussein from power.[45] Later that month, after the Bush administration started its campaign to remove Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction, American favorability for intervention reached fifty-seven percent.[46] A month later, Congress passed resolutions in both houses giving Bush the authority, if necessary, to disarm Iraq. The Democrat-led Senate voted seventy-seven to twenty-three in favor of the resolution. The Republican-led House passed the resolutions with a vote of 296 to 133.[47] Public approval for the U.S. toppling Hussein remained in the majority, with little fluctuation, throughout the remainder of the pre-intervention period. Just before the intervention, in March of 2003, it was clear that Americans wanted Hussein out of power. This was not because he was a tyrannical leader, but because he was supposed to have weapons of mass destruction. A majority of Americans believed that he was personally involved in the 9/11 attacks.[48]

Military Power

Iraq's forces were down about forty percent from their 1991 Gulf War levels of over one million troops. The troops were not experienced, and had outdated weapons and equipment. The regular army had between 300,000 and 350,000 troops. Most of the troops were conscripts, and U.S. planners predicted most of these men would surrender quickly. The Republican Guard had between 60,000 and 70,000 men. These troops were career soldiers, with better equipment,

training, and pay. They were under the control of Hussein's son, Qusay, and were expected to defend Baghdad and Tikrit. The Special Republican Guard, Hussein's personal army, consisting of 15,000 men, had the best weapons, training, and pay. They were expected to defend central Baghdad. Hussein only had 1,800 working tanks, compared to the 5,500 of the Gulf War. Iraq had no functional Air Force to speak of during the operation. Iraq did have an extensive air-defense force of 850 surface-to-air missiles launchers and 4,000 anti-aircraft guns. [49]

Despite no formal U.N. approval for Operation Iraqi Freedom, the U.S. was still able to create a 'collation of the willing' of more than 300,000 collation troops. The U.S. had 255,000, the British 45,000, the Australians had 2,000, and Poland contributed 200 troops.[50] CENTCOM commander, General Tommy R. Franks took control of the operation. Coalition forces had the best weapons, training, and pay of any military in the world. The post-invasion coalition continued to grow, and at one point consisted publicly of almost fifty members. The population of coalition countries was approximately 1.23 billion people, with a GDP of approximately twenty-two trillion dollars.[51]

The President's Interactions

Unlike most of the cases that this paper will cover, it is very possible that the Bush administration made their decision to intervene and remove Hussein before they were even in office. Despite a non-existent foreign policy debate during the 2000 presidential election, Condoleezza Rice warned in early 2000 in the magazine, Foreign Affairs, that a Republican foreign policy team, unlike the Clinton administration, would "mobilize whatever resources necessary" to remove Saddam Hussein.[52]

In the first few months after Bush took office, his administration remained quiet concerning Iraq. This immediately changed after 9/11. During a National Security Council session, the day following the attacks, Rumsfeld said that this was the time to take action against Hussein. Powell countered arguing that there was no direct link between Iraq and Al-Qaeda, and that the "American people want us to do something about Al-Qaeda."[53] After the meeting, Powell approached General John Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He asked Shelton, "What the hell, what are these guys thinking about?" Powell explained that he didn't know what was going on, but that "all of this Iraq stuff is a problem."[54]

The anti-Iraq rhetoric continued in the Bush camp during the weekend of September 15 and 16. At Bush's "war council" at Camp David, advisors argued that Iraq presented the U.S.

with a better opportunity than Afghanistan for a quick military victory. The following Monday morning, on September 17, Bush agreed to table the discussion of overthrowing Hussein because the latest intelligence reaffirmed that Hussein had nothing to do with the 9/11 attacks. Bush made it clear, however, that given the opportunity, he would eventually deal with Hussein.[55]

With Afghanistan managed, and tremendous public opinion in favor of ousting Hussein, Bush decided in November of 2001 that it was time to start planning for an invasion of Iraq. Bush kept a tight circle, fearful that if information were to leak, it would trigger "enormous international angst and domestic speculation." Bush told Bob Woodward, " I know what would happen if people thought we were developing a potential or a war plan for Iraq."[56] The secrecy was especially important, because, though they had the public support in the weeks following 9/11, Bush and his advisors knew that this was likely "just an angry initial response and most certainly would not be sustained."[57]

Throughout the next months, the Bush administration continued to secretly plan for the war and attempted to find a link between Hussein and Al-Qaeda to ensure public approval. David Frum and Michael Gerson, Bush's top speechwriters, invented the term "axis of evil." In Bush's 2002 State of The Union, where the "axis of evil" term was delivered, Bush declared: "The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade." His speech triggered a media frenzy, and the world started focusing on Hussein and his defiance of U.N. resolutions. Bush gained the initial public attention that he needed, and he went to his Joint Chiefs of Staff to start drawing up plans, eight months before congressional approval, fourteen months before the intervention.[58]

Theoretical Assessment

Vietnam War

After thoroughly examining the Vietnam War, can the decision to intervene be explained by an Analytical Liberal view? The answer is perhaps more difficult than the cases from the previous chapter. The Domestic Politics section of this chapter determined that Johnson faced immense pressure to respond militarily immediately following the Gulf of Tonkin incident. If one solely examined the domestic pressure by Congress and the American people to intervene after the incident, then yes, an Analytical Liberal model could work to explain the U.S. retaliatory strikes following the incident.

Figure 5.

The Vietnam War: Analytical Liberal View

Public Opinion on Intervention

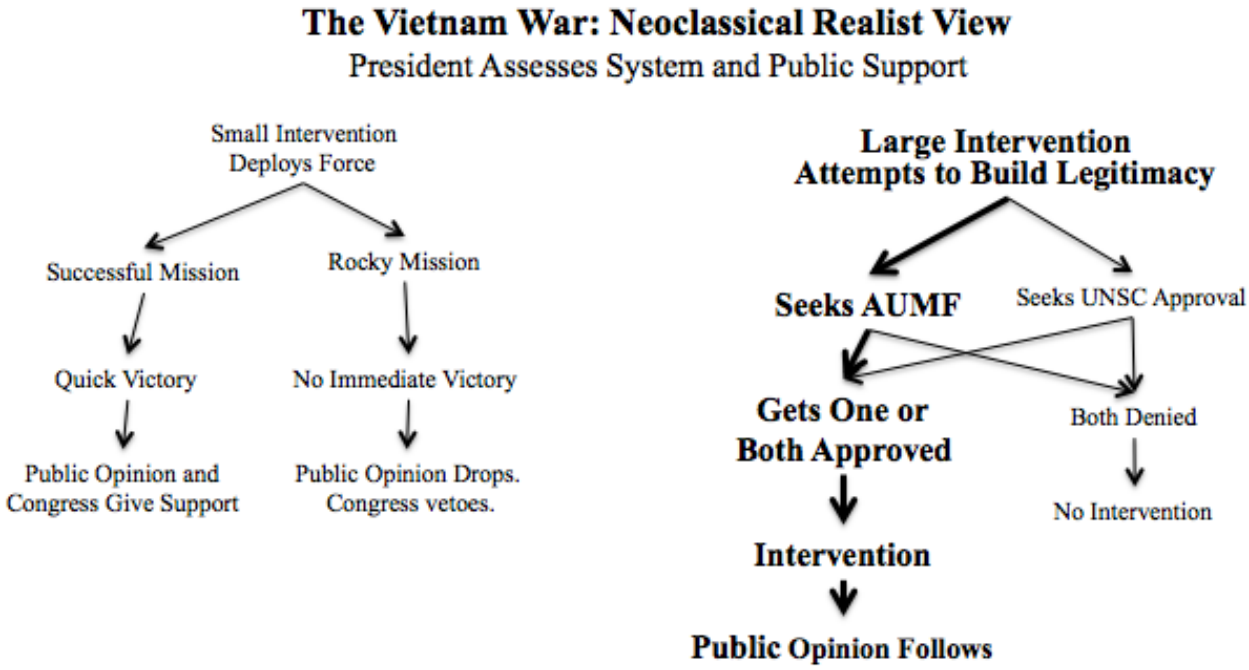
	Tells President NO	**Tells President YES**
Tells Congress NO	Nothing Happens	Reject or Veto
Tells Congress YES	Unlikely	**AUMF**

However, if analyzing the decision-making leading up to the Vietnam War, one must examine the bigger picture. In addition to the fact that Johnson faced obvious domestic pressure, the Domestic Politics section also highlighted that he had an approval rating of forty-two percent before the crisis, and thirty-one percent of Americans wanted to intervene in Vietnam. Johnson continued to increase covert operations in Vietnam from day one of his presidency and aimed to increase the U.S. presence in the region. The unpopularity of U.S. intervention hindered his plans. That was until the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Whether legitimate or not, the incident skyrocketed public support for both Johnson and U.S. intervention against the North Vietnamese. After the initial retaliatory strikes, Johnson waited until after the elections to continue his planned escalation of troops on the ground. Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution with the intention of a limited response. The American people supported a small U.S. response out of anger for the suspected attack on U.S. destroyers. Johnson could not have predicted the Gulf of Tonkin incident would have happened, but it did. Johnson reacted to the incident and the pressures that followed. He used the incident to pass the resolution through Congress and pursue his own policies that were drafted long before the Tonkin incident. Looking at it from this perspective, it becomes clearer that an Analytical Liberal model does not sufficiently explain the U.S. government's pre-intervention decision-making process.

With Analytical Liberalism only telling part of the story, does a Neoclassical Realist perspective do a better job? As a Neoclassical Realist would expect, Johnson examined the

situation in Vietnam and decided that the U.S. had to do something. Due to the unpopularity of intervention in the region, Johnson chose to wait and not do anything overt until after that fall's presidential election. Unfortunately for the Vietminh, the Gulf of Tonkin incident occurred in early August of 1964. As explained in the President's Interactions section, Johnson was notified of the second attack before it began. He made his decision to strike back. The president made the announcement of the retaliatory strike before it occurred to be sure that he stayed ahead of the public. Johnson created the policy, and later went to Congress for the approval. Public opinion followed his actions. Though in this case, an Analytical Liberal model explains the initial retaliatory air strikes after the Tonkin incident, a Neoclassical Realist model best explains Johnson's escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Figure 6.



Iraq War

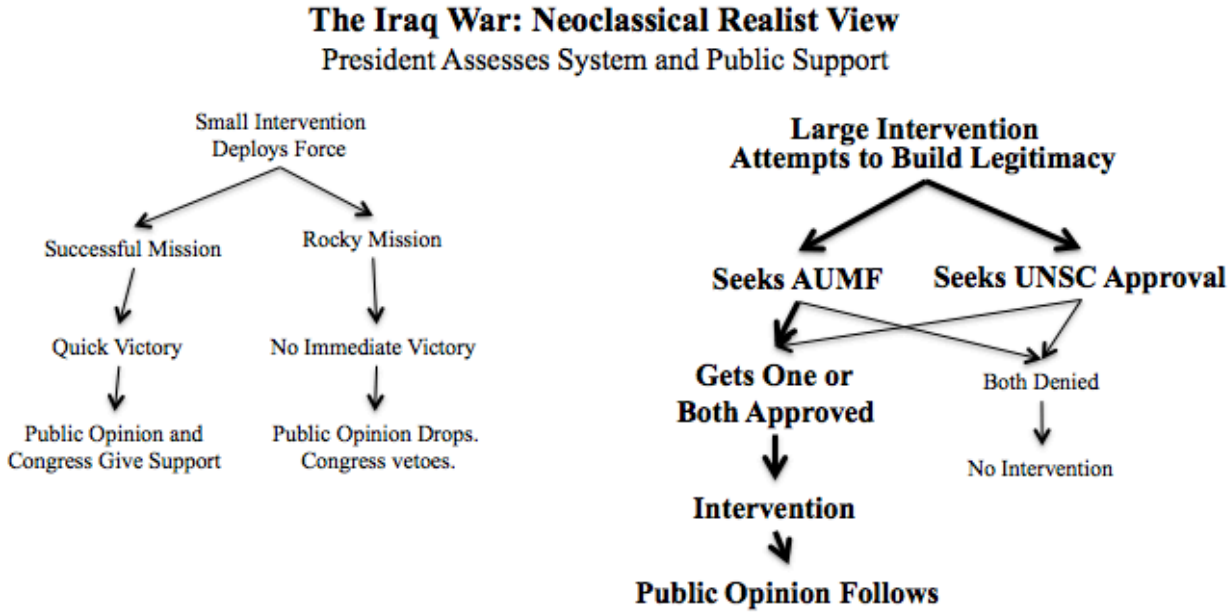
Choosing the model which best explains U.S. intervention in Iraq is less complicated than the Vietnam War. Bush's decision to intervene in Iraq is perhaps the most presidentially-driven intervention this thesis paper will examine. While Congress and the American people both approved of the intervention, this was a result of the Bush administration's manipulation of the American people, not because the citizens had an inherent desire for a military intervention in Iraq. As the President's Interactions section highlighted, it is likely that members of the Bush administration made their decisions to push intervention before they took office. When public

opinion for the intervention swayed, which was initially very high due to 9/11, the administration carefully leaked information to gain back support. The president heavily influenced public opinion for intervention in Iraq, not the other way around. Analytical Liberalism does not work to explain the U.S.'s decision to invade Iraq.

On the other hand, Neoclassical Realism works quite well to explain the U.S.'s pre-intervention decision-making. Though Iraq did not have the military force it did when Bush's father led the Gulf War invasion in the early '90s, President Bush still recognized that it would take a large-scale intervention to topple Hussein's regime. Bush made his decision to invade Iraq, recognizing that he needed the public's support to do so. The process of gaining public support for the intervention took a long time. After 9/11, the American people were in favor of invading Iraq. The Bush administration, after some debate, ultimately decided against this, realizing that connecting Hussein to the 9/11 attacks would be too much of a stretch. They waited for a better moment. As the months passed, Bush strategically increased negative rhetoric against Hussein. He floated the idea of U.S. intervention in his "Axis of Evil" speech. The public slowly started accepting the idea.

After months of leaked intelligence, press conferences, and morning talk shows, the Bush administration felt they had enough public support. Bush went to Congress and the U.N. for approval to invade Iraq. Though Congress granted him approval, the U.N. Security Council was unwilling to act just yet. As a Neoclassical Realist would expect, Bush felt he did not need the U.N.; he was able to gain the legitimacy he needed through Congress's AUMF. The U.S. military and Bush's 'coalition of the willing' invaded Iraq on March 19, 2003. Bush created the policy, manipulated public opinion, and gained the necessary legitimacy for the large-scale intervention through Congress. The American people rallied around the flag and supported the initial intervention. A Neoclassical Realist view works exceptionally well to explain the U.S.'s pre-intervention decision-making pattern.

Figure 7.



Resolution

Did the Resolution make a difference in Johnson's decision to increase the U.S. military's presence in Vietnam or in Bush's decision to become involved in a war with Iraq? As I hypothesized, the answer is no. If anything, Bush acted with more disregard for domestic pressures than Johnson did. Johnson created a long-term policy that was expedited by domestic pressures after the Gulf of Tonkin incident. The Bush administration created a long-term goal to remove Hussein, and then manipulated public opinion over the course of years to fulfill its intentions. Both Johnson and Bush created the policies, convinced the American people and Congress, and then initiated the interventions. Both cases follow the top-down Neoclassical Realist model, a model that the authors of the Resolution had hoped to reverse.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the U.S. government's decision-making processes leading up to the Vietnam and Iraq Wars. Both cases focused on domestic politics and its influence on the decision to intervene, the military power of the U.S. and enemy forces at the time of the

intervention, and the president's interactions and decision-making leading up to the intervention. By focusing first on the domestic politics, in the theoretical assessment section I was able to rule out an Analytical Liberal explanation for both interventions. I was then able to apply both cases to the Neoclassical Realist model. I determined that this model worked well to explain why the U.S. government chose to intervene in both cases. In both the Vietnam and Iraq cases, the president created the policy, gained authorization from Congress, and allowed public opinion to follow their policies. While the Johnson administration allowed the public to react in favor of intervention after the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the Bush administration did the same after 9/11 and then leaked intelligence that Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction. Winston Churchill once said, "Never let a good crisis go to waste." After examining both cases, it is clear to me that both Johnson and Bush did not let their respective crises go to waste, and instead used them to achieve their long-term intervention goals. Both the Vietnam War and the Iraq War support my hypothesis that the Resolution has been an ineffective piece of legislation, and that U.S. intervention decision-making is best explained by a Neoclassical Realist perspective.

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5
The Dominican vs. Panama
A Comparison of Small-Scale Military Interventions

The third case study this thesis examines is the Dominican Republic and Panama. Unlike the previous cases thus far examined in this paper, the interventions of the Dominican and Panama are both examples of small-scale interventions. The president, in both cases, did not seek congressional or U.N. Security Council approval. This chapter will show that the president reacted to an external threat in neighboring Latin America, while expressing indifference to U.S. public opinion. The presidents ordered an overwhelming number of U.S. military forces to squash the threat, resulting in relatively short interventions in both cases. While an Analytical Liberal would argue that the popularity of the interventions explains the motives of the presidents, this chapter will explain why this is an incorrect assumption. At the end of this chapter, one will understand why a Neoclassical Realist perspective accurately captures the reasons why the U.S. intervened in the Dominican Republic and Panama. Additionally, after examining President Johnson and President Bush's interventions, one will conclude that the Resolution made no difference in the Panama intervention from the Dominican.

The Dominican Republic

Summary

The United States focused its attention on the Dominican Republic in September of 1963, following a military coup. The Dominican's first democratically-elected president, Juan Bosch, was forced out of office by the military eight months after assuming office. Though the U.S. did not approve of the forced takeover, they nevertheless recognized the new government. However, support for the takeover, even within the Dominican military, was not universal. In April of 1964, Bosch's backers began an armed uprising.

Although U.S. officials have historically supported democratically-elected leaders assuming control of neighboring countries, this was not the case in the Dominican Republic. President Johnson learned that the pro-Bosch rebels, as they occupied the presidential palace in Santo Domingo, had a heavy presence of Marxists within the ranks. There were fears within the

U.S. government that the rebels were motivated to make the Dominican Republic a Communist state. U.S. Embassy officials in Santo Domingo reported that "all members of country team feel strongly it would be against U.S. interests for Bosch [to] return to DomRep and resume power at this time especially in view of extremist participation in coup and announced Communist advocacy of Bosch's return."[1]

Dealing with the Communist forces of Vietnam, Johnson was weary of the establishment of another Cuba so close to home.[2] U.S. citizens in Santo Domingo were evacuated, and Johnson sent in 1,500 Marines to secure U.S. property and citizens. Although the U.S. expected the landing of 1,500 Marines to be sufficient to help the Dominican government crush the pro-Bosch forces, it proved not to be. On April 28, Johnson ordered more troops to the Dominican Republic. By April 29, there were more than 23,000 U.S. troops on the island. While U.S. forces quickly squashed the majority of the resistance, small factions of pro-Bosch forces continued to resist for the remainder of the summer. The final U.S. forces withdrew from the island in September.[3]

Domestic Politics

In the spring of 1964, President Johnson and the American people were not focused on the internal troubles of the Dominican Republic. With the exception of escalating involvement in Vietnam, U.S. focus was on domestic issues. The Great Society reform programs, which included "civil-rights and voting-rights laws, antipoverty and jobs programs, guaranteed health care for the poor and elderly, federal aid to education, and initiatives to clean up the environment and beautify the nation,"[4] consumed the political map for Americans. One White House aid noted that Johnson "would chop off the rest of the world if he could" in order to deal with the Great Society reforms.[5] Johnson quickly learned that the rest of the world would not go away. His administration feared that a Communist victory in Vietnam, or anywhere, would be profoundly damaging to U.S. international credibility.[6]

The American people, though paying no attention to the Dominican Republic before U.S. involvement, were extremely supportive of the intervention. According to a Gallup poll taken shortly after the intervention, seventy-six percent of Americans approved the sending of U.S. troops to Santo Domingo.[7] Johnson's Democrats controlled both houses of Congress. Even Republicans supported the decision to intervene. Notable Republicans such as Eisenhower, Nixon, and Goldwater all gave their public support to the president.[8]

Military Power

The U.S.'s military power vastly outnumbered the pro-Bosch rebels. Initially 1,500 Marines were deployed on April 27. After sending in more Marines and the Army's 82nd airborne division, there were now more than 23,000 U.S. troops in the Dominican Republic on April 30, 1964. Ultimately, more than 40,000 U.S. forces participated in Operation Power Pack.[9] The Organization of American States established an Inter-American Peace Force after the initial U.S. invasion. The force consisted of 1,700 troops from six Latin American countries.[10] Dominican government forces consisted of 1,700 troops, scattered around the city at the time of the U.S. invasion. U.S. officials determined, after the initial landing, that the government forces lacked the will "to see this thing through."

Pro-Bosch forces were significantly outnumbered. At the time of the intervention, U.S. officials estimated that the rebel forces consisted of 1,500 paramilitary troops, "under the direct leadership of experienced Communist-trained fighters", along with nearly 1,000 pro-Bosch army troops, and between 1,000 and 4,000 young "hangers-on."[11]

The President's Interactions

Johnson confided with congressional leaders several times before the intervention. Johnson famously stated that, " If I send in Marines, I can't live in the hemisphere, but if I don't, I can't live at home." He said, "I realize I am running the risk of being called a gunboat diplomat, but that is nothing compared to what I'd be called if the Dominican Republic went down the drain."[12]

The decision to intervene was finalized on the morning of April 30. McGeorge Bundy remarked that: "one thing is clear: a Castro victory in the D.R. would be the worst domestic political disaster we could possibly suffer."[13] Johnson was sure that he wouldn't allow another Bay of Pigs-style failure. Johnson knew "to avert a Communist takeover" would "probably" mean "losing the House of Representatives next year."[14]

After the Marines landed on April 28, Johnson's administration organized White House briefings and "targeted leaks." The idea was to persuade Congress that Castro-trained soldiers were leading the pro-Bosch rebel movement. On the evening of April 28, after ordering the first group of Marines to land, Johnson met with Everett Dirken and Gerald Ford, the Republican minority leaders of the Senate and House, respectively. Johnson told them, " I want you to know,

that I have just taken an action that will prove that Democratic presidents can deal with Communists as strongly as Republicans."[15] Though the president did not ask for Congressional approval before the intervention, just two days after, he presented Congress with a request for $700 million in emergency military appropriations. The funds were needed to face the challenges the administration faced "in both the Viet-Nam theater and the Dominican Republic." Johnson implied that rejecting the request would mean denying support to "those brave men" who were "risking their lives" fighting communism in the field. The request was quickly passed, with ten dissenting votes.[16]

Panama Invasion

Summary

The creation of the Panama Canal in the early 20th century divided Panama into two zones. Relations between the local Panamanians and the Americans, who occupied the Canal Zone, were tense from the start. In the 1950s and 1960s, clashes between the two groups often resulted in deaths on both sides.[17] Manuel Antonio Noriega, longtime head of the Panamanian military intelligence under Dictator Omar Torrijos, found an opportunity to rise to power when Torrijos died mysteriously in 1981.[18] In 1983, after taking control of the military, Noriega continued his rise, soon taking over the entire nation. Initially, the U.S. supported Noriega as leader. Noriega, with his tremendous influence in Panama's government, was a long time intelligence source for the U.S. He helped the U.S. government with various intelligence operations in the region. Noriega "seemed to be a frontline soldier in the Reagan administration's war on drugs by 'providing assistance in disrupting drug trafficking operations'" between Panama and the US.[19] However, by the mid-1980s, relations began to sour. Noriega became a growing embarrassment for the U.S., having pledged his support to Cuba and Nicaragua. In February of 1987, Noriega was indicted on drug charges while visiting Florida.[20] Although he could not be formally arrested as the leader of a foreign nation, he was charged with "helping a Colombian drug cartel ship more than 4,000 pounds of cocaine in the USA via Panama, and importing over $1 million worth of marijuana into the US." In the mid-1980s, Noriega was paid over $4.6 million from various drug cartels.[21]

Furious with the drug charges, Noriega ordered the Panama Defense Force (P.D.F.) to retaliate against the Americans living in the Canal Zone. In March of 1988, the P.D.F. shot a Marine corporal's wife with a shotgun, seriously wounding her. In August, an Air Force sergeant and his father were beaten by the P.D.F. In November, the P.D.F. beat a Navy petty officer, forcing him to beg for his life. Finally, in March of 1989, the P.D.F. detained six American school buses, two of which were loaded with children.[22]

Tensions continued to rise when the U.S. imposed sanctions on Panama, after Noriega had President-elect Guillermo Endara beaten with tire irons on live TV. This was done after Endara defeated Noriega's candidate Carlos Duque in the presidential election.[23] Later that same year, a U.S.-supported rebel element of the P.D.F. failed in a coup attempt on Noriega. This caused Noriega to declare war on the United States, killing a Marine lieutenant and beating a Navy lieutenant and his wife to make his point.[24] Two days later, on December 20, the United States responded with the largest military action since Vietnam, and the largest airdrop since D-Day. The invasion, codenamed Operation Just Cause, overwhelmed the ill-equipped P.D.F. to the point that they ceased to exist by December 24. Noriega was detained on January 3, 1990 after hiding out in the Vatican Embassy.[25] A new government, which the U.S. organized in the Canal Zone shortly before the invasion, took control. By February 13, all U.S. forces, which were deployed to Panama for Operation Just Cause, had returned home. Although 23 U.S. troops were killed, the operation was considered a complete success.[26]

Domestic Politics

President Bush was not influenced by domestic politics when considering the military intervention in Panama. The American public, and the rest of the world, were very aware of the brutality by which Noriega governed his nation. Debates of how the U.S. should deal with Noriega were very common. After the very public drug indictment of Noriega in Florida, Noriega was a huge embarrassment for the Reagan administration. The public demanded action. Three weeks after the indictments were announced, Reagan stated in a White House press conference that he wanted to see "a return to democracy and a civilian government in Panama." Reinforcing Reagan's message, Secretary of State George Shultz told reporters: " We are anxious to see General Noriega get out of there."[27] This never meant military action for the Reagan administration, however. Instead, Reagan imposed economic sanctions and used diplomatic negotiations to pressure Noriega to step down. The U.S. government cut off all aid to

Panama. Reagan offered to drop all drug charges against Noriega and return economic aid to the country if Noriega stepped down and restored a democratic, civilian government to Panama. Noriega declined the offer, and told reporters that he enjoyed being " a pain in the rear" to the U.S.[28]

Noriega's crimes continued to be published very publicly in world papers, and the Republican administration's formal relationship with the Panamanian dictator threatened Bush's presidential campaign. Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, Bush's rival for the Republican nomination, accused Bush of " playing footsie" with Noriega while Bush was CIA director, and later Reagan's VP.[29] The Democrats also enjoyed bringing up Noriega during the campaign. Democrats went as far to make bumper stickers, which read, " Bush-Noriega '88—You Know They Can Work Together."[30] After repeated pleading from the Bush campaign, the Reagan administration agreed to keep the Noriega situation hushed during the months leading up to the election. Bush brushed aside any questions about Noriega, and he was able to pull out a victory in the November election.[31]

With Bush as president, it continued to be obvious that there was no U.S. plan to forcefully remove Noriega. His brutality as dictator remained public knowledge, but there was minimal domestic pressure for Bush to do anything about it. Senator John McCain and Congressman John Murtha did criticize Bush for not taking a decisive stance on Noriega. After returning from the 1989 Panama elections, the two policymakers pressured Bush to replace United States Southern Command General Frederick Woerner with a stronger and more effective general. Bush did cater to this request by appointing General Maxwell Thurman to the post in September of 1989, but there was no talk about any military moves on Noriega, nor any further congressional requests to act on the dictator.

As Noriega became old news after the 1988 campaign, the American public lost interest in the subject. Despite the publicized murders and violent crimes by the P.D.F against Americans in the Canal Zone, public support for U.S. military intervention in Panama continued to decrease. According to a Gallup poll on May 11 and 12, 1989, fifty-eight percent of Americans were in favor of using military means to force Noriega out of office. Later that year, on October 5 and 6, the same question was asked, and twenty-six percent of Americans were in favor of military intervention.[32]

Military Power

Although the Panama Defense Force had significant numbers, considering Panama's size, it was no match for the American military. The P.D.F. had 19,600 troops at the time of the intervention, with only 6,000 active troops. It consisted of two infantry battalions, ten separate infantry companies, a cavalry squadron, with armored cars and 60mm mortars, thirty-eight fixed-wing aircraft, seventeen helicopters, numerous air defense guns, rumors of SA-7s, a few patrol boats, and the Dignity Battalions. The forces were poorly trained and poorly equipped.[33]

The U.S. already had 12,000 troops in Panama before the intervention began. Upon receiving orders to intervene, 14,000 U.S. troops were airlifted into Panama.[34] U.S. Army Rangers, paratroopers, light infantry, Navy SEALs, and marines all took part in the intervention. Helicopter gun ships, attack aircraft, and light armored vehicles supported ground troops.[35]

The President's Interactions

Bush made the decision to use military force to remove Noriega while at a brunch with his Vice President, Dan Quayle, on December 17, 1989. Once he made the decision, he never once changed his mind, asked for congressional approval, nor asked for support from the international community. The Democrats controlled both the House and the Senate. That afternoon, he asked his advisors for the best military plan to remove Noriega. Powell advised using overwhelming unilateral strength, and the plan was written.[36] Bush's consultation with Congress consisted of notifying congressional leaders between 6 and 6:30pm on December 19th of the planned invasion that was to take place the next day.[37] Bush later told the American people that he made the decision to remove Noriega for three reasons: to save American lives, bring Noriega to trial, and to restore democracy to Panama.

Theoretical Assessment

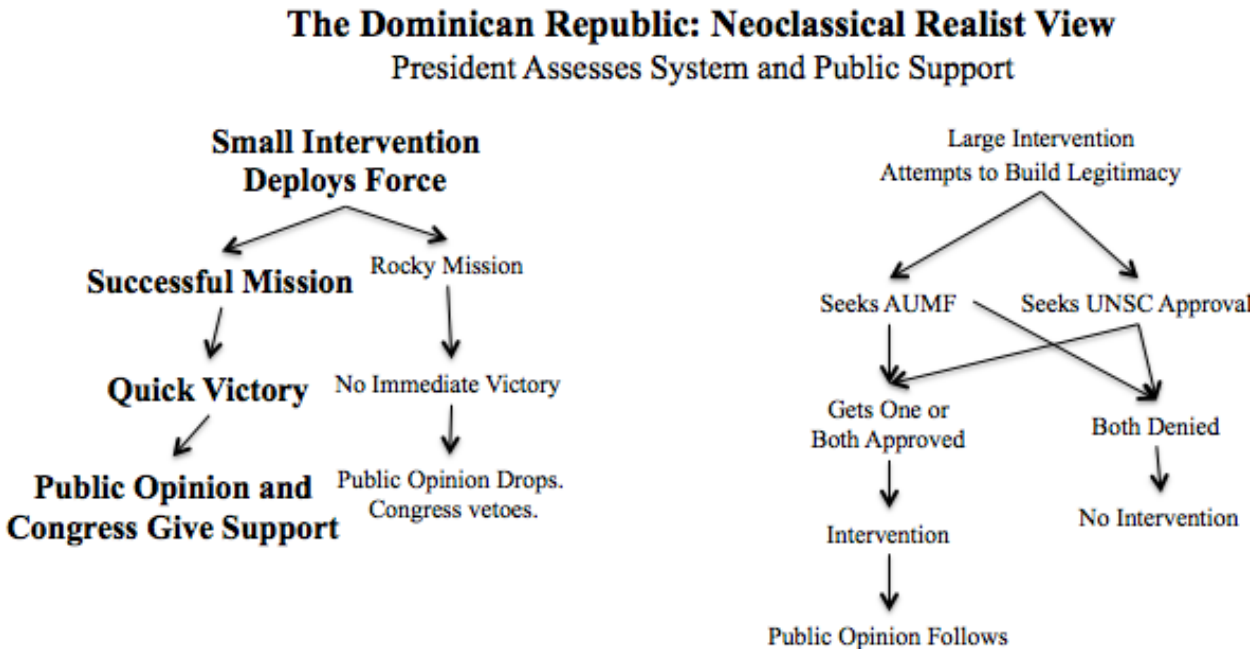
Dominican Republic

After thoroughly examining the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, can the U.S. decision to intervene be explained by an Analytical Liberal view? Like the previous cases, the answer is no. The Domestic Politics section determined that the American people cared little about the events occurring on the island nation prior to the intervention. U.S. focus was on domestic issues and the Great Society reform programs. No domestic groups within the U.S. lobbied Congress or the president to intervene in the Dominican Republic. No groups within Congress pressed for the intervention, either. Due to a lack of interest and/or knowledge by the

majority of the American people leading up to the intervention, an Analytical Liberal view does not explain why the U.S. intervened in the Dominican Republic.

Does the intervention fit into the Neoclassical Realist model? As a Neoclassical Realist would expect, Johnson reacted to an international situation–a potential Communist takeover of the Dominican Republic–and decided that the U.S. must do something about it. His embassy on the island encouraged an intervention. He knew the American people were paying no attention to the rebellion. He knew the rebel troops had limited forces. A Neoclassical Realists expects, in cases of small-scale interventions, that a president will send troops without first trying to convince the American people, gain congressional authorization, or secure U.N. approval. Johnson did just this, ordering an overwhelming force of U.S. troops to the Dominican Republic. The mission was a success, leading to a quick victory. Public approval and congressional support followed. Johnson's process of intervening in the Dominican Republic follows the Neoclassical Realist model perfectly.

Figure 8.



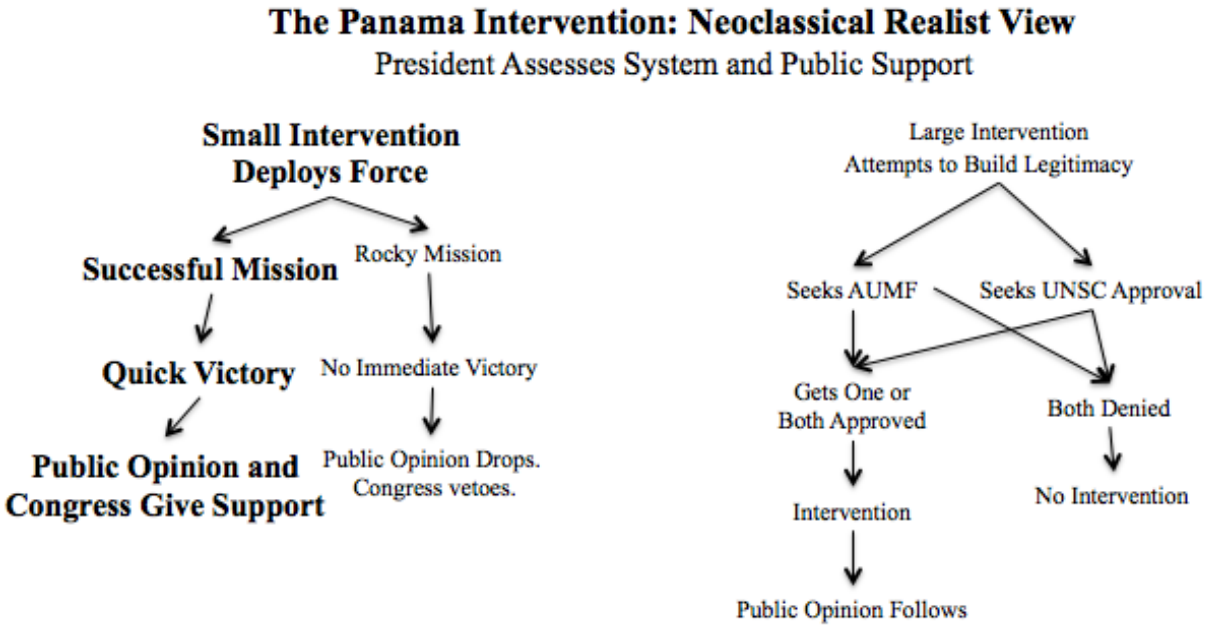
Panama

Like the previous cases examined in this paper, an Analytical Liberal perspective cannot explain the U.S. intervention in Panama. If the intervention took place a few years earlier under

Reagan, the theoretical perspective would shine a different light on the situation. As the Domestic Politics section examined, popularity for a U.S. intervention was at its highest under Reagan, but no intervention occurred. It was not until Bush was in office, and popularity for the intervention was at its lowest, that the U.S. finally intervened. At the time Bush made the decision to intervene, public support for intervention was twenty-six percent. Analytical Liberalism does not work to explain this intervention.

Does a Neoclassical Realist perspective work to explain Bush's decision-making process leading up to the intervention in Panama? Similar to the Dominican Republic case, and concurrent with the Neoclassical Realist model, Bush made his decision to intervene based on an external threat. Noriega had declared war on the U.S. and abused U.S. citizens in Panama. Noriega's P.D.F. had 6,000 active troops, all poorly trained and equipped. The U.S. at the time had 12,000 troops stationed in Panama, and Bush knew that by sending in another 14,000 troops, the U.S. would have no problem disposing of the threat. The public, at this point, paid little attention to the troubles in Panama. Congress was completely controlled by Democrats. Bush decided to intervene without seeking congressional approval. The mission was a huge success. U.S. troops withdrew shortly after the victory. As a Neoclassical Realist would expect, public and congressional support for the intervention followed suit.

Figure 9.



Resolution

Did the Resolution make a difference in Johnson's decision to invade the Dominican Republic or Bush's decision to invade Panama? As hypothesized, the answer is no. In both cases examined, the presidents decided to intervene, and then did so without seeking congressional or international approval. Domestic pressures did not influence either case; international threats, however, did. The intervention in Panama fell under the scope of the Resolution, but did not differ from the Dominican intervention because of the Resolution. Despite Congress holding the power to invoke the Resolution to stop the Panama intervention while under the control of the opposition party, this was not done. Bush did not follow the provisions of the Resolution. Congress did not attempt to call him on this. The intervention was a huge success and public approval for Bush increased significantly following the quick victory. Congress did not want to risk losing popularity by criticizing a successful U.S. mission. Both the Panama intervention and the Dominican intervention follow a top-down Neoclassical Realist model that was not altered by the passing of the 1973 Resolution.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the U.S. government's decision-making processes leading up to the small-scale interventions of the Dominican Republic and Panama. Both cases focused on domestic politics and its influence on the decision to intervene, the military power of the U.S. military and enemy forces at the time of the intervention, and the president's interactions and decision-making leading up to the intervention. By focusing on the domestic politics at the time of each study, I was able to conclude that these cases could not be explained by a bottom-up, Analytical Liberal view. By applying the individual cases to the Neoclassical Realist model, through the examination of military force and government interactions, I was able to determine that both cases correspond with a Neoclassical Realist explanation. In both cases, the presidential administrations created the policies, determined, in coordination with the military, that a quick victory could be achieved because of the small amount of enemy forces, and ordered the intervention without seeking congressional or U.N. approval. The presidents acted in this top-down manner altogether indifferent to public opinion. This chapter also determined that, despite the intervention in Panama falling under the umbrella of the Resolution, there was little difference in the decision-making process from interventions that occurred before the 1973 Resolution. The third set of cases examined, the Dominican Republic and Panama interventions, support my hypothesis that the Resolution has been an ineffective piece of legislation.

Notes

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6
1958 Lebanon vs. 1982 Lebanon
A Comparison of Small-Scale Military Interventions

The final cases I will examine are the 1958 and 1982 Lebanon interventions. Both cases are examples of small-scale, non-congressionally approved interventions. Neither intervention went to the U.N. for approval, though the latter case included multinational force. If these cases follow the Analytical Liberal model, they should show that the president and Congress create intervention policies based on domestic pressures. However, as we will learn, consistent with the previous chapters, this ended up not being the case. In both instances, the president reacted to a crisis in Lebanon and decided that it was in the U.S.'s interest to intervene. The presidents were indifferent to domestic politics at the time of their decisions. This chapter will also demonstrate that the Resolution was useless in curbing the War Powers of the president in the 1982 intervention. Despite Congress being openly against the intervention, and attempting to invoke the Resolution, President Reagan was able to circumvent the legislation, as if it did not exist. At the end of this chapter, one will acknowledge that a Neoclassical Realist model best explains the actions leading up to both of the Lebanon interventions.

1958 Lebanon

Summary

Consistent with other post-WWII, pre-Resolution cases this paper examines, the 1958 Lebanon intervention was an attempt to halt the spread of Communism. In the early 1950's, and in the wake of the Egyptian revolution and Nasser's alliance with Czechoslovakia, U.S. decision-makers were concerned about a potential shift towards Soviet-inspired Communism throughout the Middle East. On January 5, 1957, President Eisenhower, a Republican, recommended that the Democrat-controlled Congress pass the Middle East Resolution. The resolution allowed the U.S. to intervene and give economic and military aid to Middle Eastern countries attacked by Communist forces. The resolution was quickly passed and became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine.[1]

The only Middle Eastern leader to endorse the doctrine was President Camille Chamoun of Lebanon. The other Middle Eastern leaders criticized Chamoun for his endorsement. Egyptian President Nasser labeled him a "traitor" and "imperialist lackey."[2] Chamoun was tremendously unpopular within his own borders. By gaining U.S. support, he hoped to use his new ally to maintain control of his nation. Chamoun desired to alter Lebanon's constitution allowing him to remain in power longer than the law allowed. His opponents, both Muslims and Christians, organized a resistance called the United National Front (U.N.F.), in order to ultimately oust the corrupt president.

Events in the Middle East continued to disturb U.S. officials. In February 1958, Egypt and Syria joined together to form the United Arab Republic. In the following months, the U.N.F. organized an armed revolt in Lebanon and a Pan-Arab coup toppled a Western-aligned Iraqi monarchy. Panicking, Chamoun and U.S. officials saw the potential for the entire Middle East to fall to the Soviet Bloc. Chamoun issued a plea to Eisenhower to help him end the "externally-driven" revolt.[3] Eisenhower ordered the deployment of Marines to the beaches near Beirut on the morning of July 15. Despite coming close to horrific combat with both U.N.F. and Lebanese government forces, U.S. forces were able to secure their targets with limited casualties.[4] After stabilizing the country, Chamoun agreed to give up his office. Elections were held in late July. The last U.S. forces departed Lebanon in October of 1958.

Domestic Politics

Eisenhower knew that it would be difficult to convince the public and Congress to support an intervention in Lebanon. Democrats controlled Congress, and were hesitant to be involved in the internal affairs of other nations. Eisenhower's administration viewed Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser as a villain and puppet of the Soviet Union.[5] Eisenhower proposed the Middle East Resolution, which ultimately became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine, to counter the growing Soviet influence in the region. Liberals who were against Communism but wary of Eisenhower's intentions were fearful to give the president "another military blank check."[6] Several Senators, including Wayne Morse, Adlai E. Stevenson, and James W. Fulbright, all initially protested the doctrine. They eventually approved it knowing the public desired a stronger stance against the Soviets.[7] The doctrine, which stated that the U.S. would use force to assist any state that "requested assistance against armed aggression from any

country controlled by international communism," would be Eisenhower's grounds for deploying troops to Lebanon over a year later.[8]

Very few Americans, at the time, paid attention to events occurring in the Middle East. Those who did focused primarily on the Arab-Israeli conflict.[9] With less than 3,000 Americans in Lebanon, the U.S. public ignored the revolts against Chamoun.[10] Aware of this, Eisenhower chose to make certain alliances with members of Congress and the media to help facilitate the selective leaking of events to the American people. They controlled all the information and painted a one-sided picture to capture the public's attention. Eisenhower presented the revolt against Chamoun as a simple battle between good and evil. U.S. public support for Chamoun started to grow. By the time of the intervention, U.S. public support of U.S. military action in Lebanon had a slight majority.[11]

Military Power

U.S. military officials were very wary of an intervention in the Middle East. They worried that they would face a "hostile civilian population."[12] Army officials told the New York Times, just a month before the intervention, that Lebanon would be the "worst possible place" for an American intervention.[13] Despite the warnings, 1,800 Marines were deployed to the beaches of Lebanon on July 15. The troop total eventually topped 14,000 men by mid-summer. The entire 6th fleet, consisting of 75 ships, was sent to the Lebanese coast in the Mediterranean.[14]

Lebanon's army, which consisted of 9,000 men, was severely split at the time of the Marines' arrival. President Chamoun had approximately 2,500 loyal troops. The remainder of the troops was loyal to General Chebab. Though the factions within the government's military were not openly fighting one another, they were not united. The rebel military had between 7,000 and 15,000 men. Most of the troops were Lebanese and were heavily supplied by the United Arab Republic.[15]

The President's Interactions

Eisenhower's decision to overtly intervene in Lebanon was the first time he exercised that power in his five years as president.[16] Though Eisenhower clearly worked to build a consensus for a Middle East intervention as discussed in the Domestic Politics section, nothing was guaranteed from Eisenhower's perspective. As late as June 14, in an emergency White House meeting concerning Lebanon, Eisenhower told his advisors he had "little, if any, enthusiasm for…intervening at this time."[17] In early July, it appeared that the Lebanon crisis

would resolve without U.S. interference.[18] However, on July 14, the situation changed when the pro-Western Iraqi monarchy was ousted by a U.A.R.-supported coup d'état. Chamoun feared a similar fate, and requested assistance from the French, the British, and the Americans. Eisenhower feared that the Iraqi coup would "result in a complete elimination of Western influence in the Middle East."[19] Though the coup took the U.S. by surprise, officials were aware of plans for a similar U.A.R.-supported coup against King Hussein of Jordan on July 17.[20] The potential for three coups, in a matter of days, was enough for Eisenhower to seriously evaluate his options.

Now considering intervention, Eisenhower met with his cabinet. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles warned that if they were to "refuse a direct request from Chamoun, not only would the United States lose Lebanon, but others would see the failure of American resolve, and the United States would likely suffer losses elsewhere as a result."[21] Eisenhower made his final decision to intervene during this meeting. Post-meeting, at 2:30 p.m. Washington time, on July 14, Eisenhower met with a group of key congressional members to explain the situation.[22] Following the meeting, Eisenhower told Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Nathan Twining to "send them in."[23] On the evening of July 15, 1958, Eisenhower addressed the nation via radio and television to announce Marines' landings on the beaches of Lebanon.[24]

1982 Lebanon

Summary

After recovering from its civil war in 1958, the situation worsened for Lebanon eleven years later. In 1969, Lebanon agreed to endorse the Palestinian Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) in their fight against Israel. After the 1970 "Black September," in which King Hussein of Jordan evicted Palestinians from his borders, the P.L.O. moved their headquarters to Lebanon where they created 'a State within the State.' The P.L.O.'s increased presence in Lebanon led to regular clashes between the Palestinians and the locals. By 1975, the P.L.O. and various Lebanese groups were in all-out war with one another. Despite both sides calling in neighboring countries to help end the fighting, the war between the P.L.O. and the Lebanese groups would continue until 1990.[25]

The situation was perhaps most dire in June of 1982. P.L.O. forces attempted to assassinate the Israeli ambassador to the United Kingdom. Israeli forces retaliated with an

invasion of southern Lebanon. The attack was intended to push the P.L.O. forces away from the Israeli border far enough to stop their rocket fire from reaching Israel. However, by June 12, Israeli forces had pushed as far back as Beirut. The Israelis held Beirut under siege and made it clear that they would not leave until the P.L.O. was gone. The U.S. and other U.N. Security Council members demanded a cease-fire. After months of negotiation, an agreement was reached. Troops from the U.S., France, and Italy formed a Multinational Force (M.N.F.) "to provide appropriate assistance to the Lebanese Armed Forces as they carry out" responsibilities for the safe evacuation of the departing P.L.O., to ensure the safety "of the persons in the area," and to "further the restoration of the sovereignty and authority of the Government of Lebanon over the Beirut area."[26]

On August 25, the Marines landed in Beirut, four days after the French troops arrived. The evacuation of the P.L.O. was completed without incident. The Marines redeployed back to their ships on September 10. On September 14, the situation drastically changed. Newly elected president Bashir Gemayel was assassinated in East Beirut. Israeli forces moved back to their positions in West Beirut, and 700-800 Palestinian civilians were massacred in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut. The world was horrified. Both the U.S. and the U.N demanded an Israeli withdrawal from Beirut.[27] The formation of a new M.N.F. was announced on September 20. On September 29, 1,200 Marines landed on the beaches of Lebanon. The M.N.F. was not dissolved until March of 1984. Regular fighting occurred between M.N.F. forces and local guerrilla groups. Terrorist attacks, most notably the October 1983 Beirut barracks bombing, plagued the U.S. and M.N.F. forces.[28]

Domestic Politics

President Reagan, a Republican, faced a Democrat-controlled House and a Republican-controlled Senate. He was determined to take a more aggressive stance on foreign policy than his predecessor, Jimmy Carter, and he did not want to let a divided Congress stand in his way. Congress, especially the Democrats, was hesitant to get involved with the affairs of the Middle East. Congress did not pressure Reagan to deploy troops to the region.

Although against the Israeli invasion, the American public was not interested in sending troops to Lebanon.[29] On June 22, while the Reagan administration considered creating a M.N.F., fifty-four percent of Americans opposed the idea of sending troops to Lebanon.[30] After sending in the Marines, contrary to the usual 'rally around the flag' effect, fifty-nine percent of

Americans were against the intervention.[31] Reagan did not send troops to Lebanon because of domestic pressures.

Military Power

U.S. involvement in Lebanon was designed to be small. As part of the initial M.N.F., the U.S. was to commit 800 troops. These troops were not expected to encounter significant hostilities. The French contributed an additional 800 troops, while the Italians contributed 400.

The second deployment of Marines to Beirut, in late September, consisted of more U.S. troops. Twelve hundred Marines began to arrive in Beirut on September 29. They would ultimately reach as many as 1,800 troops.[32]

The other forces faced by the M.N.F. in Lebanon were far different from the other cases this paper has examined so far. While there were Israeli, Lebanese, P.L.O., and Syrian troops on the ground, there were also dozens of smaller factions fighting each other. Terrorist attacks, carried out by just a few combatants at a time, were the largest threat to American and M.N.F. forces stationed in Lebanon.

The President's Interactions

On June 6, 1982, President Reagan was in France at a G-7 Economic Summit when he learned of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. He immediately authorized U.S. support to a U.N. Security Council Resolution calling for the Israeli withdrawal of "all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon."[33] The Israelis did not conform. Public talk of U.S. military intervention was contemplated on June 9, and Reagan and his officials were partially considering this as an option.[34] After a month of negotiations with the French and the Italians, Reagan agreed to send 800 U.S. troops to Lebanon as part of the M.N.F. Reagan notified Congress of his decision to send troops, but at no time were they included in the decision-making process. The president did not cite any section of the Resolution because he claimed he was not sending U.S. troops into hostilities.

Reagan's second decision to intervene occurred on September 20, 1982, ten days after the Marines left Lebanon to return to their ships. Reagan was horrified by the killing of hundreds of Palestinian civilians in the refugee camps that occurred from September 16-18. The president announced that the M.N.F. would return to Lebanon "not to act as a police force, but to make it possible for the lawful authorities of Lebanon to do so themselves."[35] On September 29, 1982, the first of 1,200 Marines landed in Lebanon to join the peacekeeping force. That same day,

President Reagan notified Congress that he was sending troops to Beirut. He did not request their approval, nor did he give a time limit for the Marines' stay. Because Reagan assured Congress that "there is no intention or expectation that U.S. armed forces will become involved in hostilities," the intervention did not fall into the congressional oversight provisions of the Resolution.[36] A few members of Congress objected; however, because the Marines had engaged in minimal fighting, with limited casualties, the debate dissipated.

The Marines were able to stay in Lebanon, flying under Congress's radar for almost a year. In August 1983, violence erupted in Beirut. The Marines began to experience their first heavy casualties of the intervention. Following the rules of the Resolution, Reagan notified Congress of the Marine casualties. He did not cite the section of the Resolution that gave Congress the power to stop the intervention. Reagan instead characterized the situation as a "generalized pattern of violence."[37] His tactics to circumvent the Resolution outraged Congress. After failing to enact the time limit provision to harness Reagan's powers, Congress agreed to allow Reagan to keep the Marines in Lebanon for another eighteen months. Many members of Congress felt that this time period was too long, but the Reagan administration refused to accept less. In the end, Reagan kept the Marines in Lebanon for as long as he pleased.

Theoretical Assessment

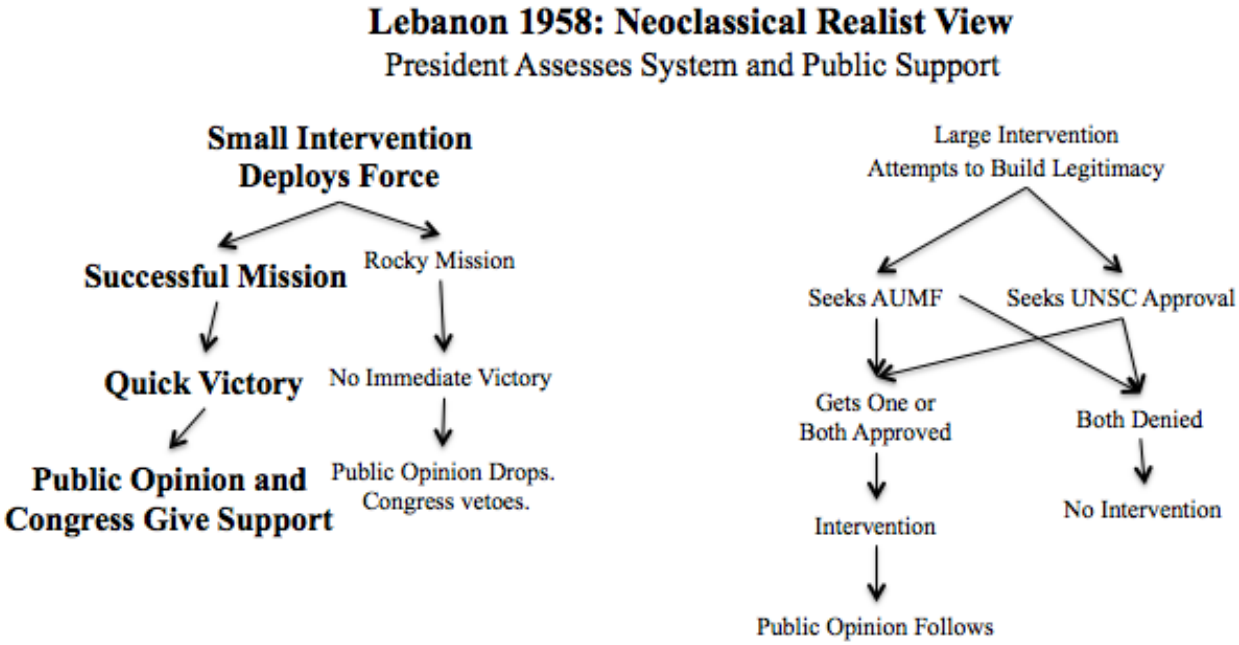
1958 Lebanon

After examining the 1958 Lebanon intervention, can the decision to intervene be explained by an Analytical Liberal view? The answer, once again, is no. The Domestic Politics section determined that President Eisenhower's decision to intervene in Lebanon was not influenced by domestic pressures. The Eisenhower administration acted without Congress to create the policy. Eisenhower knew that very few Americans were aware of the situation transpiring in Lebanon, thus he was able to influence public opinion by selectively leaking intelligence to the press. This carried public support for the idea of an intervention to a majority, but did not pressure Eisenhower to act differently.

Ruling out Analytical Liberalism, does a Neoclassical Realist model better explain Eisenhower's decision to get involved in Lebanon? A Neoclassical Realist would expect Eisenhower to react to an international threat, and then base his intervention policies based on that threat, indifferent to domestic pressures. Eisenhower observed the growing Soviet presence

in the Middle East, and fought for the Eisenhower Doctrine to give him legitimacy to act against a further Communist expansion. Having created this general policy, and gaining backing from Congress, the Eisenhower administration waited until they felt they absolutely needed to act. That happened in 1958 in Lebanon. As a small-scale intervention, and already having the Eisenhower Doctrine under his belt, Eisenhower felt no need to gain congressional or international approval before the intervention. The intervention was a huge success for the Americans. U.S. troops quickly departed after stabilizing the country. U.S. congressional and public opinion followed suit. Eisenhower's 1958 Lebanon intervention followed the top-down, Neoclassical Realist model thoroughly.

Figure 10.



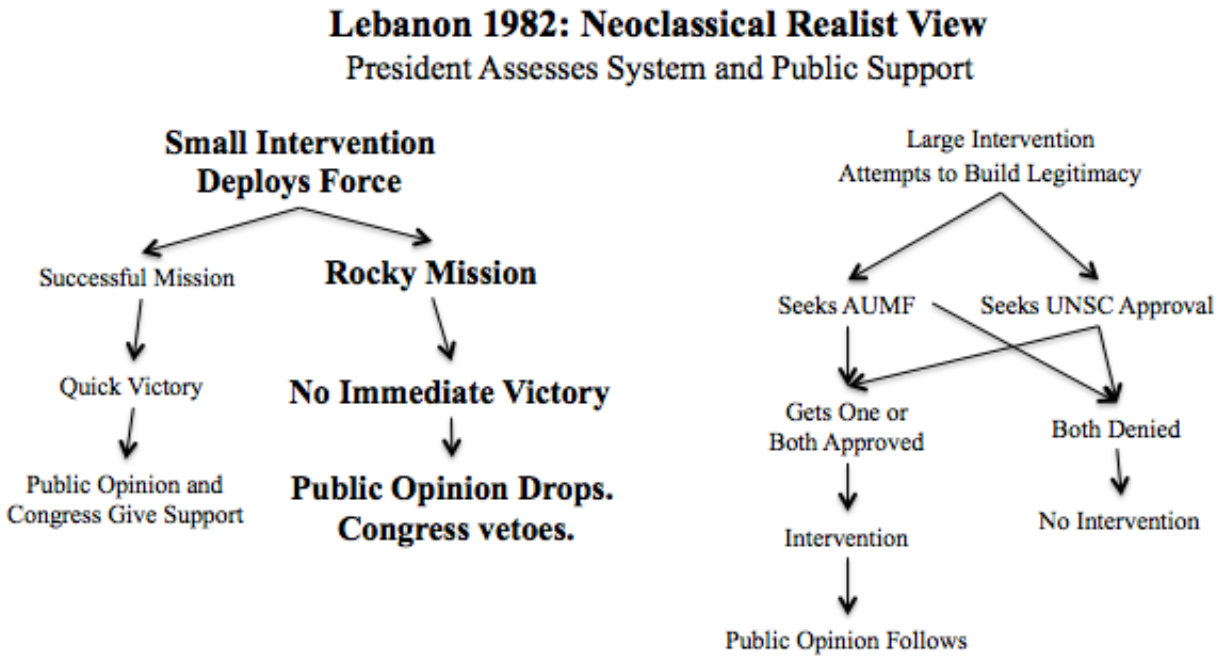
1982 Lebanon

Building an Analytical Liberal argument for why President Reagan deployed troops to Lebanon in 1982 is a difficult endeavor. As the Domestic Politics section outlined, Reagan faced a split Congress. Congress was extremely weary of getting involved in the internal affairs of a Middle Eastern nation. The American people were also against intervention. Prior to intervention, fifty-four percent of Americans were strongly opposed to sending troops to Lebanon. Post-intervention, this number went to fifty-nine percent. Reagan faced no domestic

pressure to intervene in Lebanon, so his behavior cannot be explained by an Analytical Liberal perspective.

On the other hand, Neoclassical Realism explains the 1982 intervention expertly. As a Neoclassical Realist would expect, and in sync with the previous cases this paper has examined, Reagan made his decision to send troops as part of the M.N.F., and assessed the system and public support. The president realized that the chances of encountering hostilities were limited, and 800 U.S. troops were needed, and decided to intervene without drudging through Congress, or trying to convince the American people. As the situation deteriorated, necessitating the deployment of more Marines on September 29, 1982, it became clear that no immediate victory would take place. The troops remained relatively quiet for a year. As increased numbers of terrorist attacks killed more American troops, public support dropped, and Congress attempted to veto the intervention. Reagan's indifference toward domestic pressures, the lack of an immediate victory by the Marines, and the lack of public favorability that followed, fits into the Neoclassical Realist model exceptionally well.

Figure 11.



Resolution

Akin to the other cases this thesis examined, the Resolution had seemingly no effect when contrasting the 1958 intervention to the one in 1982. Despite the 1982 Lebanon

intervention being the one case this paper examined in which Congress attempted to use the Resolution to veto the intervention, this effort proved fruitless. Both the American people and Congress were extremely against troops on the ground in Lebanon, but Reagan continued to pursue his policy. Though some may argue that Congress limited Reagan's intervention to eighteen months, this was still eighteen months longer than Congress wanted, and fifteen months longer than the Resolution allowed. The fact that the veto portion of the Resolution was enacted, but Reagan kept troops in Lebanon for as long as he desired, proves the Resolution was an ineffective piece of legislation in this instance.

Conclusion

This final case study chapter has examined the U.S. Government's decision-making process leading up to the 1958 and 1982 U.S. interventions in Lebanon. Both cases focused on the domestic politics and its influence on the decision to intervene, the military power of the U.S. military and enemy forces at the time of the intervention, and the president's interactions and decision-making leading up to the intervention. By focusing on the domestic politics at the time of each case, I was able to rule out explaining these cases by a bottom-up, Analytical Liberal view. Then, applying the individual cases to the Neoclassical Realist model, through the examination of military force and government interactions, I was able to determine that both cases agree with a Neoclassical Realist explanation. In both cases, the administrations created a policy, examined the situation, and decided to intervene without seeking congressional or international approval. Despite the 1958 case citing the Eisenhower Doctrine as its grounds for intervening, and the 1982 case forming an M.N.F., both cases were conceived with a top-down mentality that can only be explained by a Neoclassical Realist perspective. The Resolution, despite being enacted by Congress in the 1982 case, proved fruitless. Reagan kept the troops in Lebanon for as long as he desired. This supports my hypothesis that the Resolution has been an ineffective piece of legislation.

Notes

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7
Conclusion

The War Powers Resolution Has Not Made a Difference

Introduction

I began this thesis with the question: "has the 1973 War Powers Resolution made a difference?" Previous research often ignored the actual question, but rather circled back to the legality of who should control the U.S. military. To avoid repeating this oversight, I examined the Resolution from both theoretical and empirical standpoints. I used theoretical and empirical data, gathered from eight historical interventions, to argue that the Resolution has not proven to be a meaningful check on the unilateral authority of the president in practice. In this final chapter, I explain the implications of the theoretical and empirical findings. In particular, I focus on the remarkable similarities between the compared interventions before and after the Resolution, despite occurring decades apart. I then offer directions for future research, and finish with some concluding thoughts about why the Resolution has been, and continues to be, an ineffective piece of legislation.

Theoretical Model

Theoretically, this paper has focused on the Analytical Liberal versus Neoclassical Realist debate. As explained in Chapter 2, and as tested in Chapters 3 through 6, I found that presidents, consistent with the Neoclassical Realist perspective, have acted as the unilateral decision-maker with regard to foreign military intervention, both before and after the Resolution. Years of United States military involvement in Vietnam persuaded Americans that a presidents' war making power had to be limited. After three years of debate and compromise, Congress passed the War Powers Resolution in 1973. The Resolution's central purpose, as intended by its writers, was to "ensure that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President [would] apply to the introduction of the United States Armed Forces into hostilities."

If the Resolution did what its framers intended, the interventions after 1973 this paper examined would have fit into an Analytical Liberal model. Analytical Liberals model American foreign policy as a bottom-up process in which public opinion tells the president and Congress the policies to pursue. Analytical Liberals expect the Resolution to have had an impact on the

United States' armed interventions. The executive and the legislative branches are both servants of the public, but each represent different constituencies. Presidents take action when public opinion supports them. The Resolution gives Congress powers to ratify or veto the actions of the president when military force is used. Vetoes should occur when Congress and the president do not share preferences. One indicator of different preferences is political party. Vetoes should be more likely during periods of divided government, while authorization should be more likely when the President and Congress are from the same party.

Conversely, Neoclassical Realists model American foreign policy as a top-down process, with the President initiating foreign policy, and then having to convince Congress and the public to support the policy selected. Neoclassical Realists expect the Resolution to have been less impactful. This perspective expects armed interventions to be largely unaffected by the Resolution, because the legislature is designed to serve as a constraint after the decision to deploy force has been made. Neoclassical Realism expects the president, as the foreign policy executive, to take action based on security concerns. The choice to seek authorization to use force, both before and after military deployment, remains with the president. The president selects one process or another depending on his calculation of domestic support and the need to build support behind his preferred policy. The president chooses one path rather than the other with the intention of shaping public opinion, rather than following it. This paper examined eight of the sixteen U.S. military interventions post-World War II, concluding that all eight followed the Neoclassical Realist model.

Implications from the Case Studies

The case studies examined in this paper served to answer one fundamental question: has the 1973 War Powers Resolution proven itself, in practice, to be a meaningful check on the unilateral authority of the president? Keeping this question in mind while analyzing each historical case allowed me to determine the accuracy of both theoretical models. With each case, I focused on domestic politics and their influence on the decision to intervene, the military power of the U.S. and enemy forces at the time of the intervention, and the president's interactions and decision-making prior to the intervention. Each variable allowed me to determine which factors went into the presidents' decisions to intervene.

Korean War vs. Gulf War

President Truman's decision to involve the U.S. in the war in Korea was similar to President H.W. Bush's decision for involvement in the Gulf War. Both leaders reacted to the invasions of Korea and Kuwait, respectively, and assessed the situation to determine how they would proceed. Truman and Bush decided to involve U.S. troops and went to the U.N. Security Council to build legitimacy with the world and their constituents. Although Bush ultimately gained an AUMF from Congress, neither president thought they needed to pursue this step because of their international legitimacy. Despite the forty-three years that set these two disparate stages apart, there was remarkably little difference in the decision-making leading up to each intervention. The Resolution appeared to have no effect in changing President Bush's decision-making pattern from President Truman's. Both cases followed the same track of the Neoclassical Realist model.

Vietnam War vs. Iraq War

Military involvement in Vietnam and Iraq are arguably two of the most controversial interventions in U.S. history. Americans feared Communist expansion in the '70s. They were equally fearful of Middle Eastern terrorists in the years following 9/11. Both President Johnson and President George W. Bush used America's fears to their advantage. They pursued their own policies they had conceived years before. Johnson and Bush gained congressional support for their polices out of fear, and used their congressional authorizations as grounds for prolonged U.S. military involvement in Vietnam and Iraq. Both cases fit into the Neoclassical Realist model. Bush's Iraq War policies were not restricted by the Resolution because of Congress's impetuous passing of the AUMF.

Dominican vs. Panama Interventions

The Resolution had no effect on the decision-making of President George H.W. Bush prior to the intervention in Panama or President Johnson's decision to invade the Dominican Republic. Both presidents viewed their respective cases more as thorns in their sides. President Johnson was preoccupied with domestic reforms and the conflict in Vietnam, and Bush had been trying to ignore his former informant, Noriega, for years. When the presidents decided that they needed to intervene in the Latin American countries, they were not influenced by domestic

politics or public opinion. They intervened unilaterally, without seeking congressional approval. Despite Bush facing a public that was openly against an intervention in Panama, and a Congress controlled by Democrats, he was able to enact his policy unimpeded. Because the intervention in Panama was a tremendous success, Congress thought they should not bring up the Resolution for fear of looking bad. The strength of force used in the intervention, which Bush knew would bring him an easy victory, allowed the president to exercise the War Powers unchecked.

1958 vs. 1982 Lebanon Interventions

Despite being enacted by Congress, President Reagan managed to ignore the ninety-day provision of the Resolution and kept U.S. troops in Lebanon for over eighteen months. His unilateral decision-making, which did not differ greatly from Eisenhower's Lebanon intervention in 1958, was the first real test of the effectiveness of the Resolution. It failed. Despite Congress forcefully trying to use the Resolution to limit the intervention, the case demonstrated just how ineffective the Resolution is as a piece of legislation. Both Lebanon cases followed the Neoclassical Realist model, though the 1982 case was the only example in this paper to follow the "Rocky Road" track. Unlike the other cases this paper examined, the 1982 case was not an immediate success and was not greeted by congressional or public support. With this, Reagan still conducted his intervention in a top-down fashion that could not be altered by congressional effort.

In addition to the other results I have previously mentioned regarding the case studies, I must mention political parties and the significance (or lack thereof) that they seem to have had on the effect of the Resolution. One would expect, particularly one who followed the view of an Analytical Liberal, that political parties would play roles in the decision-making leading up to an intervention. If a Republican president, for example, was faced with a Republican Congress, then one might assume that their polices would align and face little contention. Conversely, one might assume that a Republican president, faced with a Congress controlled by Democrats, would face heated contention. From these case studies, this appears to not be the case. Contention versus acceptance seemed to be more accurately associated with the success and speed of troop withdrawal from the interventions. The longer U.S. troops were deployed, the more members of Congress heard complaints from their constituents, no matter the political party. In the case of the intervention in Panama, for example, the Republican Bush faced a Congress controlled by

Democrats, but heard no criticism from Congress because of the intervention's speedy success. On the other hand, Reagan, who also faced a Democrat-controlled Congress, faced huge criticism and attempted vetoes for his intervention because it was drawn-out and not an obvious victory for U.S. forces. This pattern is consistent with the other six cases this paper examined.

Direction for Future Research

This paper contributes to the work on Neoclassical Realist theory, the U.S. War Powers, and the 1973 War Powers Resolution, with its examination of eight historical U.S. interventions. The results highlight potential areas for future research.

In terms of generalizability, in order to further test the effectiveness of the Resolution, further research should examine the remaining eight U.S. interventions since WWII not covered by this paper. Additionally, it would be interesting to examine cases of less than 500 deployed troops to determine whether or not small, non-traditional forms of military intervention have been affected by the Resolution. Future research, on future crises, will also hold tremendous weight in determining the validity of this thesis's central question. There have only been several large-scale interventions since the passing of the Resolution, and all have technically gained congressional authorization. If this pattern continues in the future, then one may have to reexamine the Resolution's effectiveness on large-scale interventions. However, for the time being, this thesis has argued that the cases, which were granted AUMFs, did not differ significantly from their pre-Resolution counterparts.

Theoretically, research should be done applying the Neoclassical Realist and Analytical Liberal models to U.S. interventions from 1776 to WWII. Assuming that, at one point, an Analytical Liberal perspective explained U.S. interventions, it would be useful to learn when this stopped being the case. For a policymaker whose goal it is to entrust the War Powers with Congress or the American people, rather than solely the president, it would beneficial to better understand the aspects of the U.S. government that must be changed to fulfill this goal.

Conclusion

This paper concludes that, because the intervention decision-making within the U.S. government best fits into the Neoclassical Realist theoretical model, the 1973 War Powers Resolution has not made a difference. The Resolution was drafted as a well-intentioned piece of legislation that aimed to bring the War Powers within the U.S. government back into the hands of the people who have the most to lose from war. The 1973 piece of legislation is flawed. It has no real power to limit presidential power in deciding when and where the U.S. should intervene, and is only brought up by Congress when their constituents are unhappy with prolonged interventions. This paper did not attempt to argue the legality of the U.S. war powers, nor did it attempt to argue the morality of U.S. interventions. This paper only serves to support my hypothesis that the Resolution has not proven itself, in practice, to be an effective counterbalance to the unilateral authority of the president. After examining eight interventions, I conclude that my hypothesis was correct because a Neoclassical Realist theoretical perspective best explains U.S. intervention decision-making.

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