CONGRESS, NATIONAL SECURITY, AND PUBLIC OPINION

Today it's the Congress' role in making defense policy that we discuss. Also will include media, interest groups, and public opinion to limited extent. Congress is one of many masters: OSD, JCS, President/NSC, but potentially most powerful---appropriations, legislation, investigation/oversight

INSTITUTIONAL CONFLICTS built into system; unavoidable/intentional

- Congress vs. President
- House vs. Senate
- Legislative vs. Appropriations Committees
- Republican vs. Democrat
- Staff vs. Elected

I. Congress vs. President

Not just partisan; institutional -----Intelligence, Pork (districts vs nation)

Constitutional Powers----War, resources, approval, treaties
What is balance---President's resources, experience,
Crises--responsibility; tactics that by-pass

Has relationship changed over time? Early Cold War, Vietnam, Post-Cold War
Structural changes inside congress. Goldwater-Nichols

Historic investigations----Truman Committee, McCarthy, Church, Watergate
Too much oversight--Inquiries, Reports, Staffs, SDI –when Dem
Too little oversight—when Rep control; what rewards? benefits?
obstacles----USS Bates, USS Rivers; ASW; service
II. House vs. Senate

How do they differ? Powers and Personalities
Internally
What drives Congressmen? Job, rank, expertise----real?
What drives a Senator? Tower, Nunn, Cohen, Dole, Gore, Kerry, Clinton, Biden, Allen, Fingold, Lieberman, McCain, Frist
Change of party ruins party

III. Legislative vs. Appropriations

Alaska and Hawaii, earmarking
Russell
hobby horses—dual use technology

IV. Republican vs. Democrat

Cold War
Vietnam
Gulf War I Vote
Gulf War II Vote

Better policy if more veterans? Declining, all recent Republican; Iraq--Dems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WWII</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. Staff vs. Elected

James Losher Victory on Potomac
Winslow Wheeler, Wastrels of Defense

Everyone is running for office and knows too little
How did policy get made?

- Somalia and CNN Effect
  Emotion of TV, loss of control by policy makers vs. how journalism works
  Bureaucracy/ House Committee; Andrew Natsios and Big Dig
  Senator Kassebaum
  Presidential election

- Bosnia and Deals
  No appropriations
  Dole
  Readiness Accounts and Supplemental

- McCain and the Tankers
  Lease vs buy---lease an aircraft, kill a taxpayer
  Corruption---is revolving door corruption?
  Grand Standing---Golden Fleece Award
  Pork all bad?
  Maybe Boeing should put something in Arizona?

Political context hard to accept

"You can't handle the Truth"

  > Gulf War I---Good War made less good. Where is Saddam? Humanitarian Crisis

  > Somalia----Where is Addid? Worst place in world, Blame Aspin, UN

  > Rwanda---What Genocide? Must prevent Genocide

  > Bosnia/Kosovo----It is the Holocaust, It is the fate of NATO, There will be a dominos effect. No more Nation Building
> Iraq War---WMD and War on Terror; *Halliburton, more terrorism*, spread Democracy, do more Nation Building

**Where is the Peace Movement?**

States at Risk; International institutions—protecting states or protecting democracy? Some switch colors. Some cling to old ideas.

***************************************************

**CONSTITUTIONAL---** has independent authority, need consent

**CONCEDED ---** guard their prerogatives, institutionally aware

**Cowardly ---** can't take responsibility so cave to president in foreign affairs, military confrontations.

**Comfortable ---** mostly care about getting reelected

**Corrupt---** use government money to keep themselves in office

**And competitive---** and after a while some, especially Senators start to see themselves as president. Showboat.