



SEPTEMBER 2018

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**A report of the  
CSIS International  
Security Program and  
Congressional and  
Government Affairs**

# Beyond the Water's Edge

**Measuring the  
Internationalism  
of Congress**

CSIS

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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ISBN: 978-1-4422-8087-8 (pb);  
978-1-4422-8088-5 (e-book)

Center for Strategic and International Studies  
1616 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036  
202-887-0200 | [www.csis.org](http://www.csis.org)

## Acknowledgments.

This report is a product of a year of research by a CSIS International Security Program and Congressional and Government Affairs study team. For contributing vital research throughout the project, the authors thank Anthony Bell, Jess Mahoney, Andrew Linder, and Zachary Marshall. Greg Sanders and Samantha Cohen provided critical support in analyzing and displaying the data collected from member ratings and constructing archetypes.

The authors are indebted to the support of the project's advisory board, which assisted in case study and member selection for the project, provided valuable insights throughout the course of the study, and offered feedback on the report's findings. Advisory board members included Michael Allen, Brian Diffell, Talia Dubovi, James W. Dyer, Mieke Eoyang, Tressa Guenov, Lester Munson, Tommy Ross, Nilmini Rubin, Stephanie Sanok Kostro, Mariah Sixkiller, Dr. Charles Stevenson, and Kim Wincup. Excluded from this list are advisory board members who prefer to keep their participation anonymous.

The study team also thanks the numerous congressional staff that provided critical insights via interviews and CSIS experts Kimberly Flowers, Scott Miller, William Reinsch, Dan Runde for their input.

Rebecka Shirazi and the CSIS Dracopoulos iDeas Lab provided valuable assistance in the publication and layout of this report.

Finally, the study team thanks the Smith Richardson Foundation (SRF), which sponsored this work. The content and recommendations presented remain solely those of the authors.

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# Executive Summary.

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**The populist politics that emerged in the 2016 presidential election raised new questions at home and abroad about the durability of the U.S. commitment to global leadership and support for the liberal world order. The election popularized the narrative of rising public isolationism, culminating with the election of a president who was willing to challenge the conventional wisdom of U.S. foreign policy. As the political institution with the most direct line of communication to the people of the United States, how does Congress reflect this national discourse?**

Scholarship and punditry abound on the formation and nature of contemporary public and presidential foreign policy views. Yet there is remarkably little new research on the foreign policy views and motivations of the U.S. Congress. On the surface, the rise of vocal deficit hawks seeking to curtail foreign policy and defense spending or the seeming broad aversion to new trade agreements support the view of a Congress turning away from internationalism. Yet members of Congress inhabit an unprecedentedly globalized world, in which classical notions of isolationism seem implausible. The terms traditionally used to describe congressional views on foreign policy—internationalist or isolationist; hawk or dove—can fail to capture the complexity of members' perspectives on the U.S. role in the world.

This report aims to help close the gap in our understanding of Congress's foreign policy views. The CSIS study team reviewed the existing literature, assessed major recent foreign policy debates, and measured the views of a carefully selected group of 50 members in the 115th Congress. The resulting analysis provides insights on the core motivations of contemporary members of Congress and proposes archetypes to help characterize major streams of observed foreign policy views within the institution. The study team also recommends opportunities for strengthening bipartisan cooperation and congressional foreign policy leadership.

# Congressional Perspectives and Foreign Policy Archetypes.

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The study team assessed congressional views on a range of foreign policy issues to highlight areas of bipartisanship and develop a better understanding of the worldviews present in the current Congress. Many of the areas studied, including threat perceptions of adversaries, support for alliances and multilateralism, and support for foreign aid, evinced strong degrees of bipartisan support. Partisan gaps were most noticeable on questions of trade policy and approaches to North Korea and Iran. The 50 members studied by the CSIS team fell into the following archetypes that may be suggestive of more enduring patterns:

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## Order-Driven

Defending and leading the liberal international order is the core foreign policy preference driver for the first and largest grouping of members identified by this analysis. Viewing the set of alliances and international institutions developed after World War II as pillars of U.S. national interest, adherents to this viewpoint tend to be the most supportive among the archetypes of employing military force in defense of the international order. These members tend to view Russia (especially) and China as threats and seek to confront their policies on the global stage. Strengthening alliances was also a driving motivation for these members.

*Emblematic members of this archetype include Senator John McCain (R-AZ) and Representative Steny Hoyer (D-MD).*

## Values-Driven

Promoting U.S. values abroad was the core motivation of the second major grouping identified. Members in this group do not necessarily share the same values. For example, human rights took center stage for some; others were motivated by democracy promotion. Religious views appeared formative for some but not for all. What they share, however, is the grounding of calls for U.S. international engagement in statements of guiding values and principles. These members tended to be foremost advocates for U.S. foreign aid programs, including humanitarian, development and global health assistance, and working through multilateral institutions. In addition, while these members tended to be skeptical of the use of U.S. military force, some supported military operations in service of humanitarian goals.

*Emblematic members of this archetype include Senator Chris Murphy (D-CT) and Representative Ann Wagner (R-MO).*

## Limits-Driven

The final grouping of members was defined by a relatively circumscribed assessment of national interests and a desire to minimize the risks and costs associated with U.S. international engagement. Although members in this grouping may support elements of the post-World War II international order and may desire to spread U.S. values in some contexts, their core foreign policy motivation is to limit potential costs and entanglements abroad. Therefore, they tend to oppose the use of military force and foreign assistance and can be particularly critical of alliances and multilateral institutions.

*Emblematic members of this archetype include Senator Joe Manchin (D-WV) and Representative Mo Brooks (R-AL).*

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All three archetypes include both Republicans and Democrats. Of note, many members appear to view trade issues as distinct from foreign policy. As a result, each archetype contains some members expressing pro-free trade views and some more skeptical about trade.

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## Areas of Bipartisan Cooperation and Institutional Strengthening.

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The finding that members' viewpoints cluster into bipartisan archetypes provides promising avenues for policymaking. The prospects for congressional cooperation and leadership on foreign policy are generally improved when member motivations cut across party lines. The following policy areas present particularly good opportunities for future bipartisan collaboration in foreign policy:

**Foreign Aid Support and Reform:** Strong bipartisan support across a range of foreign assistance types (security, development, and humanitarian) is one of the most striking findings in our research. Congress passed a series of landmark aid bills in the 114th Congress, including the Electrify Africa Act, the Global Food Security Act, and the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act. This experience in turn helped educate members on the value of foreign assistance more generally. Bipartisan resistance to the dramatic foreign aid cuts in the Trump administration's FY2018 budget request is the latest evidence of opportunity in this space. Areas for future collaboration include reforming food aid, expanding global internet access, and updating archaic provisions of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act.

**Countering Emerging Threats:** Congress often finds common ground when emerging challenges create a sense of urgency. The new focus on competition from China and Russia is one such area. Ongoing efforts to reform the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS) and export control policy seek to protect the foundations of U.S. technology security. Multiple congressional committees are focused on the challenge of cybersecurity. Other committees are taking a fresh look at the organization of our space enterprise. A promising area for future collaboration is improving the defense of critical infrastructure from cyber threats.

**Oversight of the Use of Force:** Today's Congress is unlikely to pass a replacement to the 2001 or 2002 authorizations for the use of military force (AUMF), but many members in both parties continue to be vocal on war powers. Finding ways to conduct effective oversight of ongoing operations is a critical mandate of Congress. Bipartisan opportunities could include commissioning independent bodies to assess and provide recommendations, as appropriate, to improve U.S. counterterrorism strategy as well as implementing reporting requirements on any deployments of U.S. military forces abroad beyond those established by the War Powers Resolution. Party leadership should also take on the responsibility of educating members on U.S. military operations abroad by encouraging briefings and trips to operational theaters for rank-and-file members not serving on the national security committees.

**Trade:** Despite fractious debates over complex multilateral deals, trade policy remains an area of potential bipartisan agreement. Support remains for work on bilateral trade agreements as well as multilateral agreements, such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, that promote high labor and environmental standards. Improving trade enforcement policy and seeking compromise on trade negotiation process issues are policy areas that could break through the difficult political environment.

**Leading New Diplomatic Initiatives:** Political gridlock may prevent Congress from ratifying treaties, but members can still play a critical role in U.S. diplomacy. Whether visiting hot spots and forgotten spots, engaging foreign governments in support of administration policies, or establishing independent channels of communication, entrepreneurial members can affect policy beyond U.S. shores. Areas ripe for congressional diplomatic initiative include development in Africa, multilateralism in the Arctic, and support for democracy promotion programs.



**Countering the Rise in Global Authoritarianism:** A number of members are expressing concern about the decline of democratic norms around the world. For instance, bipartisan coalitions have spoken out on Russian meddling in foreign elections and rising antidemocratic forces in Turkey and Venezuela.<sup>1</sup> Building on recent legislation, such as the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) of 2017, Congress can continue to counter global antidemocratic forces and human rights abusers through targeted sanctions efforts. The House Democracy Partnership (HDP) has been a galvanizing force on democracy promotion issues, and its members have shared their expertise with fellow legislators. Expanding on efforts to date, the HDP could recruit more members and increase the number of focus nations; the Senate could develop a similar caucus approach to lead its bipartisan efforts on strengthening democracies.

During research and interviews, a crosscutting bipartisan desire to improve congressional oversight of the executive branch and to strengthen the Article I institution's influence on foreign policy as a coequal branch of government emerged as a central theme. To increase its leverage in foreign policymaking and bolster its influence in international affairs, members of Congress should strengthen the institution in the following ways:

**Regular State Department Authorization Bills:** Just as the House and Senate Armed Services committees and the intelligence committees annually pass authorization bills, the foreign affairs and foreign relations committees should strive to pass a regular State Department authorization bill. The bill itself could be an effective vehicle for oversight and reform, but the process of routinely crafting it would build bipartisan trust on the committees of jurisdiction. A regular State Department authorization process would also increase congressional leverage with the executive branch on a range of foreign policy issues. Perceiving more regular congressional scrutiny and credible avenues for congressionally mandated reforms, executive branch officials would have a far greater incentive to seek congressional consultation. Adding a regular State authorization to the defense and intelligence authorization processes, accompanied by an effective appropriations process, would create the most powerful, comprehensive, and effective regime for congressional foreign policy influence. Even absent an annual authorization bill similar to the NDAA, Congress could more routinely advance targeted legislation relating to State Department and U.S. Agency for International Development activities.

**Bipartisan Travel:** Members of Congress travel regularly and bipartisan travel opportunities for members and staff came up frequently as an effective tool for creating areas for bipartisan collaboration. In addition to developing a deeper understanding of global challenges, travel creates important opportunities for members to develop networks in foreign capitals and creates time and space for congressional colleagues to build bipartisan working relationships, approaching issues from an institutional perspective and coming to shared assessments of national security challenges. Unfortunately, public perspectives of congressional travel are often negative despite efforts by congressional staff to ensure that trips are substantive and rigorous. Changing public perception of congressional travel through education and encouraging and funding more member and staff travel will significantly strengthen institutional foreign policymaking.

**Bipartisan Committee Reports:** Committee policy reports are an underused tool of the legislative branch. These research efforts provide a unified platform from which the committees can present concrete policy recommendations, put pressure on the executive branch, and inspire future hearings and legislative efforts. These tools are especially effective when developed as an antecedent to legislative cooperation. The process can help build staff relationships, tackle emerging challenges, and probe new areas for policy innovation, all across party lines. One of the challenges to a robust research and report-drafting process is the limited staff time given to regular oversight responsibilities. Congress will never be able to match executive branch manpower, but bolstering committee staff numbers dedicated to policy research would significantly assist its oversight capabilities.

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**Bipartisan and Intraparty National Security Commissions and Working Groups:** Congress should look to replicate previous successes with member and staff working groups for building consensus and maintaining reservoirs of policy expertise in international affairs. At the member level, the Senate Arms Control Observer Group, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission) provide important convening, oversight, and policy-development functions on a range of foreign policy issues. Members and staff should look for new topical and organizational constructs for working on critical foreign policy issues, with a special emphasis on bipartisan approaches.

**Senior Staff-Level Coordination within Party Caucuses:** While bipartisan cooperation on policy issues is preferable, much of the work in Congress occurs within party caucuses. Regular senior staff foreign policy “sync” meetings within party caucuses inclusive of the range of relevant committees and leadership offices, and between both houses, could help gauge support for policy initiatives and ultimately build consensus.

“Foreign affairs are not foreign anymore,” was a common refrain throughout discussions with congressional staff interviewed for this project. Rather than operating as an insular, parochial institution defined solely by local interests, members of Congress often hold nuanced views on the U.S. role in the world and have a wide variety of motivations that push them to lead and engage in foreign policy. Although notable areas of disagreement endure, members of Congress tend to support robust U.S. international engagement with the world, including the maintenance of the liberal international order, using foreign aid to advance U.S. national interests, and countering major competitors. This bipartisan support provides a basis on which to strengthen Congress’s role in foreign policy, which in turn can improve the coherence and effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy itself.

# Introduction.

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The populist politics that emerged in the 2016 presidential election raised new questions at home and abroad about the durability of the U.S. commitment to global leadership and support for the liberal world order. The election popularized the narrative of rising public isolationism, culminating with the election of a president who was willing to challenge the conventional wisdom of U.S. foreign policy. Scholarship and punditry abound on the formation and nature of contemporary public and presidential foreign policy views. Yet there is remarkably little contemporary research on the foreign policy views and motivations of Congress. On the surface, vocal deficit hawks and recent congressional aversion to new trade deals support the view of growing anti-internationalist tendencies in Congress. But members inhabit an unprecedentedly globalized world, in which classical notions of isolationism seem implausible. A holistic examination of the interests driving Congress's views on the U.S. role in the world could provide enormous insight into how the United States might best shape its foreign policy in the coming years.

Over a 12-month period spanning 2017 and 2018, a CSIS study team undertook research to assess congressional foreign policy views. It found new evidence not only that members of Congress continue to support the post-World War II order, but also that legislators have used their powers to shape U.S. foreign policy accordingly. From vocally opposing proposed cuts to State Department and foreign aid budgets to passing a sanctions bill over the administration’s opposition and defending the value of U.S. alliances, Congress is serving as a restraint on attempts to diverge from traditional U.S. foreign policy tenets.<sup>2</sup> Politics may not “stop at the water’s edge,” but the CSIS study team finds that Congress is more often unified when looking abroad. Although notable areas of disagreement endure, members of Congress tend to support robust U.S. international engagement with the world, including the maintenance of the liberal international order, utilizing foreign aid to advance U.S. national interests, and countering major strategic competitors. Rather than operating as an insular, parochial institution defined solely by

constituent interests, members of Congress hold a nuanced set of a views on the U.S. role in the world and have a wide variety of motivations for becoming engaged in foreign policy decisionmaking.

## Methodology.

To assess the internationalism of the 115th Congress, research was conducted to answer two primary questions: what foreign policy belief structures best describe the diversity of viewpoints in the current Congress and what motivations drive members’ opinions on foreign policy issues? With input from an advisory board consisting of former senior congressional staff (see Appendix E for a list of advisory board members) and informed by an analysis of existing literature on the study of Congress and foreign policy (Chapter 2), the study team sought to address the research questions through two analytic components. First, the CSIS study team process traced several cases of congressional engagement in major foreign policy issues

**FIGURE ONE**

Case Study  
Issue Areas


*Legislative Debates of...*

<b>U.S.-Russia Relations</b> <i>2008–2015</i>	<b>Trade Policy</b> <i>2007–2016</i>	<b>The Use of Force</b> <i>2011–2017</i>	<b>Foreign Aid</b> <i>2013–2016</i>
Russia’s invasion of Georgia in 2008	Peru FTA in 2007	U.S. intervention in Libya in 2011	U.S. aid policy toward Egypt after the 2013 coup
Passage of the New START Treaty in 2010	Colombia, Panama, and South Korea FTAs in 2011	2013 “redline” debate over U.S. response to the Syrian Government’s use of chemical weapons in 2013	Electrify Africa in 2016
Permanent Normal Trade Relations/Magnitsky Act in 2012	Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in 2015 and 2016	U.S. strikes on Syria in April 2017	Global Food Security Act in 2016
Russia’s annexation of Crimea and aggression in Ukraine in 2014			

**FIGURE TWO**

























Members of the 115th Congress Selected for Study

-  Democrat
-  Independent
-  Republican

 United States Senate, United States Congress

\*Senator John McCain passed away several months after the study team had concluded its analysis, just prior to publication of this report. The project directors have chosen to maintain its references to Sen. McCain in the present tense throughout this report. This decision best reflects the context in which the CSIS team conducted its work and reached its conclusions.

## Senators (24)

-  Sen. Michael Bennet (D-CO)
-  Sen. John Boozman (R-AR)
-  Sen. Ben Cardin (D-MD)
-  Sen. Bob Corker (R-TN)
-  Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX)
-  Sen. Dick Durbin (D-IL)
-  Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)
-  Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY)
-  Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT)
-  Sen. Tim Kaine (D-VA)
-  Sen. Angus King (I-ME)
-  Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT)
-  Sen. Joe Manchin (D-WV)
-  Sen. John McCain (R-AZ)\*
-  Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)
-  Sen. Chris Murphy (D-CT)
-  Sen. Patty Murray (D-WA)
-  Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY)
-  Sen. Rob Portman (R-OH)
-  Sen. Marco Rubio (R-FL)
-  Sen. Richard Shelby (R-AL)
-  Sen. Pat Toomey (R-PA)
-  Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)
-  Sen. Ron Wyden (D-OR)

## Representatives (26)

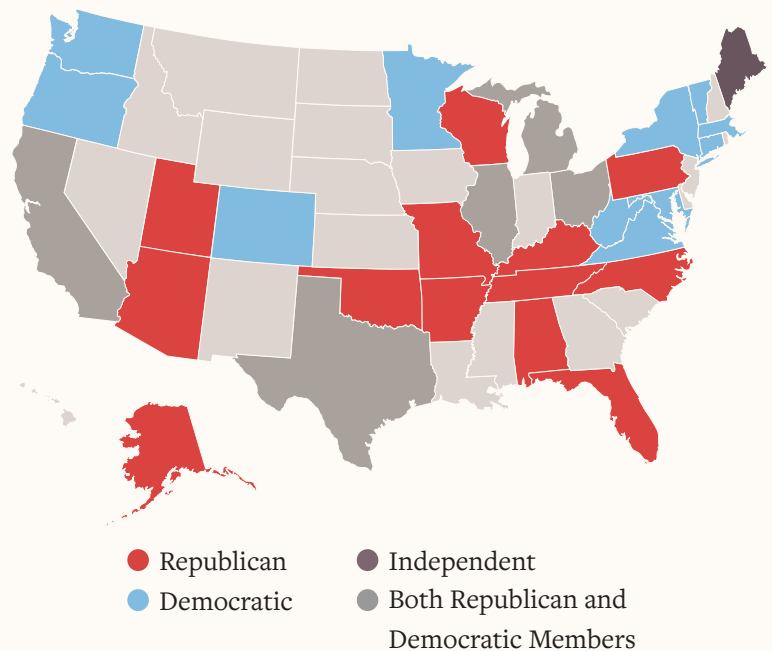
-  Rep. Justin Amash (R-MI)
-  Rep. Mo Brooks (R-AL)
-  Rep. Joaquin Castro (D-TX)
-  Rep. Tom Cole (R-OK)
-  Rep. Joe Crowley (D-NY)
-  Rep. Elijah Cummings (D-MD)
-  Rep. John Duncan (R-TN)
-  Rep. Keith Ellison (D-MN)
-  Rep. Kay Granger (R-TX)
-  Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD)
-  Rep. Adam Kinzinger (R-IL)
-  Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA)
-  Rep. Sandy Levin (D-MI)
-  Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)
-  Rep. Michael McCaul (R-TX)
-  Rep. Mark Meadows (R-NC)
-  Rep. Seth Moulton (D-MA)
-  Rep. Jared Polis (D-CO)
-  Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA)
-  Rep. Tim Ryan (D-OH)
-  Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA)
-  Rep. Jim Sensenbrenner (R-WI)
-  Rep. Mac Thornberry (R-TX)
-  Rep. Pat Tiberi (R-OH)
-  Rep. Ann Wagner (R-MO)
-  Rep. Ted Yoho (R-FL)

looking for key themes or evolutions in viewpoint. These cases included the use of military force, trade policy, foreign aid, and U.S.-Russia relations. See Figure 1 for a list of the specific debates and events each of the case studies tracked. The case studies were used to illuminate the institutional role of Congress in major contemporary foreign policy and national security debates, the continuity and change in congressional opinion over time, and the factors that drove members' positions. Chapter 3 presents a summary of the findings from the case study analysis; the full case studies can be found in Appendices A–D.

Second, the study team developed in-depth foreign policy profiles for a select group of 50 members of the 115th Congress. The profiles provided the study team with a more detailed snapshot of selected members' foreign policy motivations, opinions, and activity on foreign policy issues. Seeking to choose a reasonably representative group, the research team balanced member selection across chambers, parties, seniority, committee membership, expressed foreign policy views, and geographic representation. Figure 2 displays the full list of members studied, including 24 senators and 26 representatives. The group includes 26 Republicans, 23 Democrats, and 1 independent, with members of leadership from both major parties in both chambers. Figure 3 presents the geographic diversity of the constituencies of the members included in the study. Of note, the sample group did not include any members elected to office after the 2014 congressional elections, as available data points on the foreign policy views of recently elected members were assessed to be too limited.

Member profiles drew on press releases, op-eds, votes, floor speeches, interviews with staff, and other inputs to develop greater insight into each member's worldview. Researchers surveyed member opinions and motivations across a number of foreign policy issue areas, including views on the use of military force, threat perceptions of major state adversaries, alliances, multilateral institutions, trade, and foreign aid. In the context of members' stated views on international affairs, the study team also assessed the role of biographical and other factors identified in the literature review (Chapter

**FIGURE THREE** Geographic Diversity of Study Sample Group of Members



2) that may have influenced their perspectives, such as professional experience, familial connections, religion, travel history, and district characteristics.

Once the member profiles were completed, the study team employed a coding system to rate each member's views. Using factor analysis, the CSIS team assessed the member group for any generalizable conclusions on motivations within Congress on foreign policy. The resulting analysis suggested the presence of three broad foreign policy archetypes within the member group, each characterized by a unique combination of driving factors. The study team conducted a refined round of factor analysis to gauge each member's best archetype fit, which was determined by the member's relative factor preferences. The study team sought to characterize these foreign policy worldviews and compared congressional views to preexisting public opinion research (Chapter 4). Finally, the case studies and member profile research contributed to the development of the bipartisan areas of opportunity in foreign policy outlined in Chapter 5.

# Congress, Foreign Policy, and the Public.

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Substantial literature is devoted to describing congressional decisionmaking, outlining Congress's role in U.S. foreign policy, and documenting various strands of thought regarding the proper approach for U.S. engagement with the world. However, little research addresses the intersection of these three areas. There is a body of political science literature on member motivations, but it primarily focuses on domestic policy issues. Existing scholarship on Congress and foreign policy tends to reside at the institutional level. Public opinion research, in turn, has helped analysts categorize the foreign policy worldviews of the U.S. public. This research is at times used as an imperfect proxy for congressional perspectives on the same subjects.

**RIGHT**

US President Donald Trump speaks during the State of the Union Address before a Joint Session of Congress at the US Capitol in Washington, DC, January 30, 2018.



This chapter provides a summary of existing literature relevant to the nature of congressional views on foreign policy and associated member preference formation. The first section reviews Congress's constitutional and manifested roles in foreign policy. The second section describes research on public opinion views of foreign policy. The chapter concludes with an examination of prior efforts to develop “archetypes” to describe the different strategic lenses through which policymakers approach foreign policy.

## Congress and Foreign Policy.

Congress's role in foreign policy formulation often receives short shrift. The study of congressional activism in international affairs has perhaps been limited by the dominance of the executive branch in foreign policy. Executive branch advocates cite former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court George

Sutherland's “sole organ” doctrine that the president retains exclusive, plenary powers in the field of international relations.<sup>3</sup> Under this constitutional formulation, members of Congress operate only in a reactionary manner on foreign policy and have limited ability to drive shifts in policy. This assessment underestimates the control Congress frequently exerts and ignores entrepreneurial congressional activism in foreign policy. Presidents certainly have significant control in steering the broad direction of the foreign policy agenda, serving as commander-in-chief and possessing constitutional authority for treaty-making and diplomacy. However, legislators are not innocent bystanders. As Edward Corwin put it, “The Constitution . . . is an invitation to struggle for the privilege of directing American foreign policy.”<sup>4</sup>

Congress has numerous levers of power over the direction of foreign policy. These include the appropriations and authorization processes, the confirmation of executive branch nominees (Senate), convening public



and classified hearings, ratifying treaties (Senate), and passing other international agreements.<sup>5</sup> If overseas military operations are going poorly, Congress can use its power of the purse to withhold funding and force a president to adjust course. Members can shift the public spotlight onto preferred issues through independent diplomatic initiatives, visits to armed forces in the field, or other high-profile endeavors. Members have not shied away from using these and other tools to engage on key issues in recent years. Senator Tom Cotton's (R-AR) letter to Iran during the nuclear negotiations set the table for major debate on the terms of a P5+1 deal and may have pushed the Obama administration toward a tougher stance.<sup>6</sup> Representative Tulsi Gabbard's (D-HI) 2017 meeting with Bashar Al-Assad in Syria at a time when the White House had publicly called for Assad's removal from power demonstrated members' ability to serve as "free agents" in foreign policy.<sup>7</sup> Better understanding the factors that drive the international perspectives of members, and how they seek to express their views, is essential for appreciating trends in U.S. international affairs and finding avenues of consensus for a sustainable foreign policy in the twenty-first century.

---

**“The influence of a legislator’s private preferences is magnified whenever the other influences playing upon him are weak. . . . [O]n many issues of foreign policy they are not mobilized, or they cancel one another. On vital foreign policies, therefore, the Congressman is sometimes virtually a free agent.”<sup>8</sup>**

**ROBERT DAHL**

*Congress and Foreign Policy, 1950*

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Explanations of congressional opinion and engagement on foreign policy remain limited. In his seminal work on the motivations of members of Congress, David Mayhew

argued that reelection is the foremost incentive for members of Congress.<sup>9</sup> Members engage in advertising, credit claiming, and position taking on foreign policy issues chiefly for reelection. According to Mayhew's thesis, representatives should generally exhibit interest in foreign policy when their constituents are actively engaged, since those instances present opportunities for credit claiming that serve the overriding goal of reelection. Another prominent scholar, Robert Dahl, noted that members often have greater latitude to pursue their own independent interests in the foreign policy sphere, given the relative lack of public scrutiny on many international affairs. Several scholars have identified more altruistic member motivations on foreign policy. Through conducting interviews with new representatives in the 1970s, Richard Fenno notably found that many seeking placement on foreign affairs committees simply desired to pursue good public policy with few citing constituency-related goals or the desire to gain greater influence in the House.<sup>10</sup> James Lindsay postulated that members are drawn to act on foreign policy matters that impact constituents, assist in their career progression, or provide an opportunity to pursue good public policy.<sup>11</sup> Scholars have highlighted core values, personal experience, and family experience as contributors to how members form opinions on what constitutes "good public policy."<sup>12</sup>

Eileen Burgin examined the impact of various pressures and motivations on member participation in foreign policy issues and debates—specifically in the House of Representatives.<sup>13</sup> Using data collected through interviews with 70 members or staffers of the 98th Congress, she discovered that a number of variables "exert statistically significant pressures on participation."<sup>14</sup> She posited that members face critical decisions on foreign policy engagement: whether to be involved and to what extent to be participate. When choosing whether to participate, Burgin found, "the influence of supportive constituents is critical. When choosing how extensively to participate, the legislator is most swayed by personal policy interests, committee and leadership assignment, and the desire for influence."<sup>15</sup>

In addition to previous research on the incentive structure of members, some scholars have attempted to explain the timing and frequency of member engagement on foreign policy. Through the lens of international relations theory, Marie Henehan contended that patterns of members' activism on foreign policy track evolutions in the international security environment.<sup>16</sup> James Meernik and Elizabeth Oldmixon assessed the "internationalism" of legislators' policy preferences by considering roll call votes on foreign aid, international organizations, and military operations.<sup>17</sup> The study found that legislators tend to turn inward in times of economic downturn, as resources spent on foreign policy endeavors may be viewed as a zero-sum tradeoff with domestic spending. In a study of foreign policy entrepreneurship, Ralph Carter and James Scott examined a multiplicity of variables including votes, speeches, press releases, and op-eds to assess why some members of Congress "seek to initiate action on the foreign policy issues about which they care rather than to await action from the administration."<sup>18</sup> Among other findings, Carter and Scott's work affirmed the common perception that representatives are more likely to buck a president's foreign policy when they are affiliated with the opposing party.

Existing scholarship also has illuminated some of the electoral incentives for foreign policy activism, much of which is now accepted wisdom. For instance, representatives with a large Jewish constituency tend to take more pro-Israel policy stances than those without.<sup>19</sup> During times of war, casualties in a member's district increases the likelihood the member will criticize the conflict.<sup>20</sup> Wealthier districts, with higher rates of capital to labor in economic terms, tend to be more supportive of foreign aid.<sup>21</sup> This body of work nevertheless has tended to focus on single issues rather than assess the existence or nature of overall member dispositions on foreign policy. Meernik and Oldmixon noted that "there has been little systematic research into the propensity of the Congress to support internationalism or isolationism."<sup>22</sup> The work of the CSIS study team seeks to help fill this scholarly gap.

## **The Push and Pull of Public Opinion.**

The role of public opinion's influence on congressional foreign policy decisionmaking remains underserved. Whether public opinion drives executive and legislative policy decisions or vice versa remains unresolved. Some literature has maintained that policymakers, or "elites," can shape and direct trends in public opinion.<sup>23</sup> Others have demonstrated the constraining effect public opinion has on the government.<sup>24</sup> Scholars have also argued that legislators' beliefs and public opinion are at a disconnect, with the former not being a reliable indicator of the latter.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the depth of research on public opinion and foreign policy is significant and may provide insights into how legislators' views are formed and what motivates them to act.

The scholarship on domestic public opinion during the Vietnam War is a useful starting point for understanding how shifts in the public's views of the U.S. role in the world may affect views in Congress. Some have argued that broad internationalist sentiment retreated in the 1970s due to discontent over the war.<sup>26</sup> However, a majority of U.S. citizens continued to endorse an active U.S. foreign policy at the end of the conflict.<sup>27</sup> Thus, Eugene Wittkopf and Michael Maggiotto contended that a cleavage between "cooperative" and "militant" approaches to internationalism—"doves" and "hawks," respectively—emerged.<sup>28</sup> Although anti-Communism remained a constant through the war, these diverging strains of internationalism inspired a politicization of policies in the U.S. public. As policymakers were acutely aware of developments in public sentiment, "opinion influenced policy and policy influenced opinion."<sup>29</sup> President Johnson, swayed by diminished public support after the Tet Offensive in 1968, concluded he could no longer escalate the war and was forced to pursue a path of negotiations and de-escalation.<sup>30</sup> Yet, these negotiations were also hobbled by public opinion and battlefield failures.<sup>31</sup> Later, President Nixon also concluded that he had been constrained by the will of the public.<sup>32</sup>

**RIGHT**

View of demonstrators, many with signs, banners, or flags, on Pennsylvania Avenue during the Moratorium March On Washington to protest the war in Vietnam, Washington DC, November 15, 1969.



Humanitarian intervention is another area where existing research seems to support a relationship between public opinion and policymaking. Should the United States be responsible for protecting the citizens of other states in the international system? If so, what type of response is appropriate? Operation Restore Hope in Somalia exemplified the competing pressures for humanitarian intervention and restraint. The Bush administration at first anticipated minimal risk when planning an intervention. National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft remembered: "We thought the political costs [in Somalia] were low. . . . I think we thought generally it would be a political plus. And since the military costs would be low, and the chances of something going wrong which would turn it into a PR or a political problem were almost non-existent, the net was clearly a plus."<sup>33</sup> After the Battle of Mogadishu and the Blackhawk Down incident in October 1993, public support for military involvement in

Somalia plummeted. The image of U.S. soldiers dragged through Somali streets proved to have a lasting impact. The Clinton administration was slow to intervene during the Rwanda genocide one year later, before eventually initiating a limited intervention.<sup>34</sup> In the cases of Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo, only 4 in 10 U.S. citizens supported deploying ground forces in combat roles, restraining the administration's latitude for pursuing military options.<sup>35</sup>

International economic policy has also grown particularly polarizing among the public. Completed in 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is a perennial source of public backlash and has been cited in efforts to oppose subsequent trade deals over the last two decades. Vocal public opposition, magnified by the populist tones of the 2016 electoral cycle, contributed to the failure of the Obama administration's push for the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Although many

congressional analysts highlighted free trade policy as a low-hanging fruit for bipartisan legislative action, policymakers underestimated the impact negative public opinion would have on the direction of the debate.<sup>36</sup> Opponents were mobilized by fears of global trade driving U.S. jobs offshore and perceptions of dubious secret negotiations influenced by large corporations with minimal concern for the environment or labor standards. Growing political pressures from the left and right to oppose TPP animated the 2016 presidential campaign and dashed hopes of sealing the deal.<sup>37</sup>

A fourth area in which public opinion constraints and polarization in Congress have impacted foreign policy is international diplomacy. Negotiations over the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) nuclear deal with Iran illustrate the contemporary challenges for diplomats operating under severe public and congressional political constraints. A 2015 Chicago Council poll found that average U.S. citizens were far more likely to perceive the Iranian nuclear program as a critical threat to a vital interest of the United States than Democratic and independent policy elites.<sup>38</sup> Polling responses on the negotiations were highly dependent on how questions were framed, sending inconsistent cues to policymakers.<sup>39</sup> In July 2015, when the negotiating parties reached an agreement, support for the JCPOA was highly polarized.<sup>40</sup> This fact was instrumental in President Obama's decision to rely on the president's power to enter into executive agreements instead of submitting the deal to the Senate for treaty ratification. In testifying to Congress, Secretary of State John Kerry, former Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, candidly admitted that the deal was never intended to be a treaty because congressional polarization has created an environment where "you can't pass a treaty anymore."<sup>41</sup>

Whether politics ever stopped "at the water's edge" for the public and Congress is widely contested. Nonetheless, the benefits of a unified public and congressional stance on foreign policy have long been postulated. In his important work on domestic politics and diplomacy, Robert Putnam argued that international politics is a two-level game in which domestic political factors play an important role

in shaping international negotiations.<sup>42</sup> Strong public and congressional support behind a president provides leverage in bargaining and credibility in commitments. A fractured public and polarized Congress may constrain the executive branch from conducting the foreign policy necessary to effectively defuse crises, displayed by the haphazard withdrawals from Vietnam and Somalia.<sup>43</sup> For these reasons, Ole Holsti argued there is "more to fear from processes and policies that blatantly disregard public sentiments than from those that make a serious effort to engage the public in discussions."<sup>44</sup> Extrapolating from the theoretical and empirical research on public opinion and foreign policy, the value of identifying concrete areas in which legislators can build or reflect domestic consensus is clear. Unity at home can strengthen the power and legitimacy of U.S. policy abroad. Regardless of whether legislators' views lead or trail public opinion, Congress has an important role to play in demonstrating that unity or undermining it.

## Foreign Policy Archetypes.

Typologies of U.S. public views on foreign policy abound in scholarly literature. Beyond traditional metrics such as internationalism and isolationism, realism and idealism, or hawks and doves, several academics have developed archetypes for classifying U.S. foreign policy opinions. However, literature assigning these characterizations to the perspectives of members in the U.S. Congress is sparse.

In differentiating among the "general public," "attentive public," "policy and opinion elites," and "legal or official policy leadership," Gabriel Almond developed a "typology of foreign policy deviations" from the postwar consensus, including groups proposing differing "ends" and "means" for U.S. foreign policy.<sup>45</sup> Those who diverged from the postwar consensus on the "ends" of U.S. foreign policy were labeled radical appeasers or reactionaries. Radical appeasers favored concessions to communist powers for the sake of welfare and reducing the security dilemma, whereas reactionaries ardently opposed Communism and even minor infringements on liberty. Differing with the

conventional “means” by which U.S. foreign policy was being conducted, pacifists opposed the use of force and encouraged diplomacy; nationalists promoted unilateral foreign policy; and internationalists sought multilateral solutions to international problems.

In 1979, Ole Holsti identified what he called a “three-headed eagle” in U.S. foreign policy, categorized as Cold War internationalism, post-Cold War internationalism, and semi-isolationism. First, Cold War internationalists understood the world as full of various conflicts stemming from the East-West divide and struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>46</sup> Post-Cold War internationalists differ from Cold War internationalists in that they did not see global issues as the result of a bipolar structure, but instead resulting from a complex and interdependent international system.<sup>47</sup> Believing that future conflicts will result from poverty, inequitable distribution of resources, regional antagonisms, and population pressures, among others, they advocated for an active and obligatory U.S. role in the global community.<sup>48</sup> Finally, semi-isolationists believed that the United States must focus on looking inward first, dealing with domestic issues before international ones since allowing inflation, unemployment, urban decay, and illiteracy to fester within the United States is a “far greater threat to the quality of American institutions and lives” than any foreign adversary.<sup>49</sup> Eugene Wittkopf took a different approach, building on his previous work on “cooperative” and “militant” internationalism, he identified four foreign policy archetypes in his 1990 book: internationalists (those who support both cooperative and militant internationalism), accommodationists (those who only support cooperative internationalism), hardliners (those who only support militant internationalism), and isolationists (those who support neither).<sup>50</sup>

In 1989, William O. Chittick and Keith R. Billingsley studied the effectiveness of (and differentiation between) past attempts to classify foreign policy belief structures—including Wittkopf, Holsti, and Rosenau—and how belief systems are structured along at least three different dimensions.<sup>51</sup> The first dimension—ranging from isolationism to universalism—measures the priority

that should be given to foreign and domestic affairs. The second dimension—ranging from unilateralism to multilateralism—answers the question of the ultimate purpose of foreign policy, to promote the autonomy of the state or to strive for global community. The third dimension—ranging from nonmilitarism to militarism—is determined by what tools are used to accomplish foreign policy goals in the international system.<sup>52</sup> In 1995, Chittick, Billingsley, and Travis updated the model, noting the dimensions correspond to three basic foreign policy goals: (1) identity, (2) security, and (3) prosperity.<sup>53</sup>

Building on the work of Holsti, Rosenau, and Wittkopf, Jerel Rosati and John Creed also examined the various foreign policy belief sets presented during the 1980s and 1990s. Rosati and Creed outlined six schools of thought: global crusaders, global containers, selective containers, global reformers, global transformers, and selective engagers.<sup>54</sup> Global containers understood the world in bipolar, zero-sum terms during the Cold War and focused on the ideological and strategic struggles between the U.S.S.R. and the United States.<sup>55</sup> Global crusaders held the even stronger belief that the Cold War epitomized the struggle between the “forces of communist totalitarianism and forces of democratic freedom.”<sup>56</sup> Global crusaders intended for the United States to aggressively combat the spread of Communism in every way—ideologically, economically, and militarily—even acting unilaterally, if necessary.<sup>57</sup> Rosati and Creed describe selective containers as operating within a “realpolitik” tradition and viewing Cold War conflicts from the premise that both the United States and the Soviet Union would act based on what they believed to be in their best interests, not necessarily on ideological grounds.<sup>58</sup> Selective containers believed the United States should pursue a policy of containment only in carefully selected regions of vital importance, preferring the use of tools, such as diplomacy, covert operations, economic resources and trade, and cultural and propaganda programs.<sup>59</sup> For Rosati and Creed, the global reformers school resembled Wittkopf’s “accommodationists,” believing that the United States must begin taking other regions, such as Western Europe, Japan, and the developing world, into account when formulating foreign policy goals. They emphasized that justice, stability,

and order should be the primary goals of U.S. foreign policy, as well as the promotion of economic growth and development both at home and abroad. Global transformers shared many of the views of the global reformers but differed in that they still viewed the United States as the “most preeminent and expansionist power throughout the Cold War period.”<sup>60</sup> Global transformers argued for structural changes to promote cooperation, peace, and economic democracy, but were pessimistic that this change would occur. Rosati and Creed’s final school of thought is the selective engagers. Adherents believed that the United States should focus its foreign policy on fewer, more significant issues directly impacting the country’s well-being.<sup>61</sup> Selective engagers doubted that the United States should promote and spread its values abroad and advocated for a stricter criterion to be met before engaging in any international action, especially military operations.

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**“We embrace contradictory principles with equal fervor and cling to them with equal tenacity. Should our foreign policy be based on power or morality? Realism or idealism? Pragmatism or principle? Should its goal be the protection of interests or the promotion of values? Should we be nationalists or internationalists? Liberals or conservatives? We blithely answer, ‘All of the above.’”<sup>62</sup>**

**EUGENE V. ROSTOW**

*A Breakfast for Bonaparte, 1993*

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In 1997, Walter A. McDougall questioned the use of dichotomies to describe foreign policy belief systems altogether. In criticizing the usage of commonplace labels such as “nationalist-isolationist,” “realist-idealist,” or analogs to historical figures like Jefferson or Wilson, he presented eight foreign policy traditions in U.S. culture to

describe the different lenses through which U.S. citizens view the world. He divided these lenses between American “Old Testament” and “New Testament” traditions. McDougall’s “Old Testament” comprises liberty (or exceptionalism), unilateralism (or isolationism), the American system (or Monroe Doctrine), and expansionism (or Manifest Destiny). The “New Testament” comprises progressive imperialism, Wilsonianism (or liberal internationalism), containment, and global meliorism.<sup>63</sup> Rather than identifying and grouping segments of the public into each school of thought, McDougall sought to highlight the major worldviews that shape perspectives on U.S. foreign policy today and demonstrate how systems have changed over time.

Walter Russell Mead presented an alternative perspective in 2002, categorizing foreign policy worldviews around former U.S. leaders: Hamiltonians, Wilsonians, Jeffersonians, and Jacksonians.<sup>64</sup> Hamiltonians place expanding commerce and economic growth at the forefront of international politics and most closely equate to traditional realists. Wilsonians are idealists, supporting the spread of democracy, human rights, and international governance. As their namesake commonly evokes, Jeffersonians are isolationist libertarians. Finally, Jacksonians emphasize the physical and economic security of the U.S. public in international affairs with populist distrust of other nations.

In his 2008 work, Chris J. Dolan offered an alternative classification of foreign policy beliefs, identifying nine foreign policy orientations: missionaries, hegemonists, globalizers, global capitalists, narrow realists, progressive internationalists, anti-imperialists, neighbors, and disengagers.<sup>65</sup> Dolan describes missionaries as conservative advocates for a “largely cultural view of foreign policy, history, and policy making.”<sup>66</sup> Hegemonists call for directing U.S. power toward eliminating enemies and protecting allies who have embraced U.S.-style democracy, and they believe in the promotion of primacy, unilateralism, military power, and U.S. preeminence to attain global order, legitimacy, and stability.<sup>67</sup> Globalizers emphasize the necessity of multilateral cooperation, seek the promotion of U.S. power abroad, and are willing to support the use of military force.<sup>68</sup> Global capitalists are influenced by the economic

domino theory, calling for the United States to pursue free-market principles and open trade barriers, which will result in the emergence of new free-market societies and greater economic prosperity.<sup>69</sup> Narrow realists discriminate “between values and interests” and reject the idea that peace can only come from a preponderance of U.S. military power; narrow realists argue that if the United States holds too much power, then other states will work to contain and stifle U.S. influence abroad.<sup>70</sup> Progressive internationalists emphasize the application of global power and influence through persuasion instead of coercion and by supporting international institutions and alliances abroad. Progressive internationalists believe that the United States has a set of global responsibilities and must act correspondingly, including using military force to protect human rights and injustices against civilians, with U.S. morals and values in mind.<sup>71</sup> Anti-imperialists emphasize that U.S. foreign policy is “antidemocratic abroad and potentially dangerous at home,” advocating for dramatically reducing U.S. military deployments and the defense budget in favor of spending on foreign aid.<sup>72</sup> Neighbors advocate for nonintervention, calling upon leaders to instead focus on establishing programs to fight against racial and gender discrimination and address shared global problems.<sup>73</sup> Finally, disengagers call for the radical withdrawal of U.S. military forces abroad and for leaders to absolve the United States of all international agreements and trade pacts.<sup>74</sup>

## **Conclusion.**

For all the research that has examined archetypes of foreign policy worldviews, the motivating factors behind congressional action, and the impact of public opinion on foreign policy, little research has synthesized these interconnected threads. In fact, the limited work that has attempted to do so suffers from a lack of contemporary relevance. In 1992, James Lindsay and Randall Ripley wrote, “The relatively modest amount of recent systematic political science scholarship on Congress and foreign and defense policy means that many of the best systematic studies are now at least a quarter of a century old.”<sup>75</sup> The

problem that Lindsay and Ripley identified is even starker today, with little relevant and comprehensive research conducted on Congress and foreign policy since September 11, 2001. A reevaluation of this body of knowledge is needed to ensure scholarship reflects the current realities of today’s political climate, foreign policy environment, and impact of legislators on foreign policy formulation and execution.

As some prior scholarship rightly highlights, descriptors used for classifying members of Congress based on their foreign policy positions—hawk, dove, isolationist, internationalist, globalist, and others—are often reductionist, misleading, and partisan. Simplified terminology fails to attend sufficiently to the variety of dimensions of current foreign policy belief structures.<sup>76</sup> Isolationism and internationalism are treated as poles of a spectrum, dividing members based on their international outlook, but providing little fidelity on viewpoints between the poles. Determining where most members fit on such a simple binary spectrum is nearly impossible. Does supporting global counterterrorism operations while simultaneously backing protectionist trade policies signify an internationalist worldview? Conversely, can a member who supports free trade but opposes most military interventions fairly be called an isolationist? Lacking in sophistication, the current vocabulary used to describe the foreign policy worldview of members fails to highlight salient nuances that better capture key drivers of congressional opinion and thus fail to make the most of opportunities for collaboration across political parties, chambers, and even archetypes. This project’s goal of proposing new foreign policy archetypes specific to members of Congress seeks to fill this gap in modern scholarship, advance the scholarly debate, and elucidate potential opportunities for bipartisan cooperation.

# Case Studies of Congressional Foreign Policy Debates.

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Appreciating the nuance of congressional national security opinions today requires understanding the context of major recent foreign policy debates. To do so, the research team conducted in-depth case studies on four critical areas of U.S. foreign policy over the last decade: the use of force, U.S.-Russia relations, trade policy, and foreign aid, including security, humanitarian, and development assistance. The case studies provide unique insights into Congress's role and behavior in foreign policy formulation across several sessions, each with its own unique political and international context. This chapter will first briefly summarize the findings of each of the four case studies, highlighting the complex political environment for legislators, Congress's enduring role in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy, and takeaways for congressional behavior on foreign policy. Full case studies are included in Appendices A–D.



**RIGHT**

The guided-missile destroyer USS Porter (DDG 78) conducts strike operations while in the Mediterranean Sea, April 7, 2017.



## The Use of Force.

The use of military force in the absence of a declaration of war by Congress has become a central and controversial feature of U.S. foreign policy in recent years. Since the end of the Second World War, the United States has intervened in nearly every region of the world. Several generations of U.S. political leadership have grappled over questions surrounding the use of force, including whether to intervene, how to craft a successful intervention, and the extent to which the nation is willing to sacrifice blood and treasure for national security goals. Deliberations in Congress over the use of force have reflected these difficult choices.

The use of force case study examined three recent policy debates when the United States employed or contemplated the use of military force, including the following: (1) the Libya intervention in 2011; (2) the response to Syria's use of chemical weapons in 2013; and (3) the limited U.S. airstrikes on the Syrian military in April 2017. This case study, and its sub-case studies, did not seek to examine the legal questions surrounding presidential decisions to use force outside the political calculus of members of Congress. Rather, this analysis attempted to understand how members determined and advanced their policy positions on the use of force during these periods. Stark divisions emerged over the use of force both

within and between the parties for the debate over Libya. However, particularly with the Syrian interventions, the party associations of members of Congress and the president largely dictated support for, or opposition to, the use of force.

Across the three use of force debates studied, several themes emerged. First, the debate over the objectives of using force often takes a back seat to deliberations over the means to do so. Congress seems to have focused intensely on the expected duration and scope of U.S. involvement, the use of ground forces (perhaps a proxy for the risk of casualties), and the financial cost. In each case, opponents may have taken issue with the cause, legal justification, and strategic ends of the conflict, but proponents never felt compelled to spend much time arguing the case for any of these. Outside of infrequent questioning of the strategic rationale for the use of force, opponents spent more effort debating the merits of the means of employing military force in a given context.

The cases reveal members' views were frequently motivated by a sense of war weariness, a preference for multilateral operations, and, above all, partisanship. First, the long shadow cast by the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has shaped how members of Congress framed the nature of U.S. military interventions since 2010. Policymakers from both parties have deep-seated concerns that even a limited use of force will draw the United States into a lengthier and costlier commitment. The volume of these concerns is strongest among the flanks of each party, with a substantial number on the left and right expressing cynicism over the effectiveness of military force and advocating for a more limited interpretation of U.S. national interests.

Second, members often calibrate their positions on the wisdom of using force based in part upon allied and partner nation support for military operations. The forward-leaning role NATO allies took in 2011 against Qaddafi in Libya legitimized U.S. operations for some in Congress, whereas the British Parliament's vote against striking Syria in 2013 seemed to stymie U.S. political efforts for authorizing force. One explanation for this new dynamic may be that growing war weariness increasingly

necessitates multilateral support for military operations to ameliorate potential criticisms of the United States "going it alone" while allies "free ride" under the U.S. security blanket. Although multilateralism may increase domestic political support for the use of force due to shared costs and risks, allied involvement can also exacerbate burden-sharing debates and reveal weaknesses and disparities in capabilities as occurred in Libya.

Finally, most members' responses to the use of force strongly correlated with their party affiliation. Rank-and-file members were far more likely to support military operations initiated by a president of their own party. Several notable exceptions to this rule appeared. First, strong anti-interventionists' positions remained consistent across presidential administrations, even if the tone may have shifted to reflect party loyalty. Second, congressional leadership tended to support the president's decision to use force regardless of party alignment. Third, serving on the foreign affairs, armed services, or intelligence committees seems to have created competing incentives in support of and opposition to the use of military force. Members with a more expansive view of the role of the United States in the world may be more likely to serve on these committees and support the use of force. However, those members who had opposed the use of force and served on committees of jurisdiction were more vocal in their questioning of interventions than their non-committee peers. Further complicating a strictly partisan explanation for behavior, experienced members serving on committees of jurisdiction were more likely to hold higher expectations for an administration's strategy and ability to communicate U.S. national interests at stake in a given conflict even when they supported the use of force in principle. For instance, Senator Lugar's opposition to the Libya intervention was rooted in criticisms of the Obama administration's perceived lack of a strategy.

Across the cases studied, Congress seems more interested in debating the parameters of U.S. involvement rather than the need to authorize it. There were members from across the political spectrum who routinely decried

the lack of congressional debate and authorization for military operations seemingly beyond the scope of the 2001 AUMF. However, these legislators represented a minority within Congress. There seemed to be no clearly defined “norm” for when administrations ought to seek congressional authorization or when congress should insist upon it. Throughout the period examined, the institution of Congress remained largely reluctant to use its power of the purse and power to make war to influence the executive branch’s employment of the use of force.

## U.S.-Russia Relations.

The case study on U.S. policy toward Russia sought to highlight how recent congresses have approached this important relationship, with an eye toward understanding more generally how and why Congress intercedes in fraught diplomatic relationships. It focused on four periods, from 2008 to 2014, of heightened congressional debate: (1) the 2008 Russo-Georgian War; (2) the passage of the New START Treaty in 2010; (3) the passage of Permanent Normalization of Trade Relations (PNTR) and the Magnitsky Act in 2012; and (4) the Russian intervention in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea in 2014. Over the period studied, U.S. policymakers’ perspectives on Russia generally hardened. Some initially viewed the nation as a potential strategic partner, if it could be integrated into the international order, while others consistently saw Russia as a strategic competitor, warranting cautious engagement. By 2014, most member perspectives had converged. Despite these changes over time, members of Congress tend to reconcile optimism with reality in calibrating Russia policy to seek cooperation where feasible and punitive measures where necessary.

Although variations in the subjects of the debates covered by this case study existed, two consistent themes emerged. First, the case study illustrates that many members of Congress began to view Russia as a strategic competitor between 2008 and 2014. The end of the Cold War and Vladimir Putin’s apparent olive branch in the

aftermath of 9/11 arguably created a sense of security and optimism among substantial portions of the U.S. government and public. The Russian intervention into Georgia in 2008 marked the beginning of a new era in the U.S.-Russia relationship. The veneer of Putin leading a Western-facing, liberalizing democracy in Russia dissipated, with each passing crisis. Although some members remained interested throughout this period in building stronger diplomatic and economic relations with Russia, congressional debates typically centered on the best response options, not on disparate beliefs over Russian intentions. Many members were critical of President Obama’s Russia policy, including his decisions to press forward with New START and PNTR, as well as his hesitation on the Magnitsky Act and refusal to provide lethal assistance to Ukraine. Congressional critics of President Bush and President Obama’s policies toward Russia equated the temperate responses to each president being “too soft” on Russia.

Second, human rights concerns were central to debates over the U.S.-Russia bilateral relationship throughout this period. Both in cases of advocacy and opposition, Republicans and Democrats invoked human rights to justify their positions regarding Russia. A coalition of vocal critics of Moscow on the right and left cited human rights concerns as the basis for greater U.S. involvement in Ukraine and Georgia, as well as to criticize inaction by the Obama administration on accepting the Magnitsky Act.

Members with different motivations were usually able to forge united approaches through compromise (such as on PNTR and Magnitsky) or by realizing that their priorities could both be met with one policy (such as in the case of Georgia). The result was a series of bipartisan efforts within Congress on U.S.-Russia policy, even at times in opposition to the executive branch. Despite the current political divide over Russian influence in U.S. elections, there is evidence that this common ground remains. In 2017, Congress imposed sanctions on Russia by a vote of 419 to 3 in the House and 98 to 2 in the Senate, sending a clear, universal bipartisan message to both Putin and other adversaries who might consider interfering with U.S. democratic institutions.<sup>77</sup>

**RIGHT**

Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov (2nd R) greets US Senator Richard Shelby (2nd L) during his meeting with US congressional delegation in Moscow, Russia, July 3, 2018.



## Trade Policy.

U.S. international economic engagement—particularly through trade—has been a perennially politically charged topic. Relative to other international affairs issues such as foreign aid or diplomacy, trade agreements are more salient to the average U.S. citizen's economic livelihood. From the cost of milk at the grocery store to the number of jobs supported by the local steel mill, the effects of policymakers' decisions on trade policy loom large in modern politics. Since the 1993 passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the politics of U.S. free trade have grown increasingly polarized

even as bipartisan compromises have enabled greater trade liberalization. Although public opinion remains in favor of liberalized free trade, the significance of trade debates during the 2016 presidential campaign cycle and failure to pass the Trans-Pacific Partnership demonstrate the worth of examining trade's recent legislative history.<sup>78</sup>

The case study focused on three periods of congressional activity on trade: (1) the May 10 Agreement and Peru Free Trade Agreement (FTA passage in 2007); (2) the South Korea, Colombia, and Panama Free Trade Agreements passed in 2011; and (3) the Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) and Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) debates of 2013–2016. Across these time periods, political dynamics varied

tremendously. Each of the legislative debates arose during periods of mixed party control in Congress and the White House, though with varying political alignments. At some points during this period, trade legislation was subject to intense public scrutiny; at other points, legislative action occurred in relative obscurity.

Examining shifts in U.S. trade politics from 2007 to 2016 reveals areas of both change and continuity.<sup>79</sup> Both the Bush and Obama administrations had to rely on bipartisan cooperation among large Republican voting blocks and smaller groupings of moderate Democrats to support their trade agendas. The reliability of both the Republican block and Democratic moderates, however, oscillated over the period examined. Republican support for trade has waned somewhat since 2006 with the rise of the right flank of the Republican Party, often willing to challenge traditional conservative orthodoxy on the benefits of free trade, and especially unwilling to cooperate with a Democratic president, let alone delegate additional authority to negotiate trade deals to President Obama. While Freedom Caucus member opposition to TPA was likely more of a referendum on delegating authority to President Obama than a proxy for support of free trade, cracks in the congressional Republican Party's support for trade emerged over the period of this case study.

Democratic support was also important for building free trade coalitions in Congress. Although the balance between pro-trade and protectionist Democrats has vacillated across election cycles, the portion of the party willing to support free trade deals has not changed markedly since the 1990s. The recent election and current administration's shift on trade policy loom large in the contemporary context, but the Democratic Party has consistently been divided on trade issues since the end of the Cold War. There has been a marked decline in the number of New Democrat-style moderate Democrats that support trade over the past two decades, but a significant number of Democrats remain open to compromise on trade. Yet the expectations for robust labor, environmental, and other protections included in trade deals have continued to escalate among progressive

Democrats, narrowing the window for compromise with free market-minded Republicans.

The recent past examined in the trade case studies highlights not only the divisiveness of trade between parties, but within them. Protectionist democrats not only clashed with Republicans over the substance of free trade agreements, but also with moderate Democrats. Congress also clashed with the presidency over these issues, with Democrats opposing Bush-era proposals and some Republicans and Democrats opposing Obama-era TPA and TPP. Yet, the timeframe covered in these case studies also demonstrates that compromise was possible, especially when negotiations focused on process rather than substance. When viewed as tools for demonstrating support to both strategically important allies and nations with symbolic importance but minimal economic impact, trade deals also carried the potential to succeed. Lastly, perspectives on U.S. trade policy often hinged on questions of authority, oversight, and the balance of power among the executive and legislative branches. Like the constitutional balance of war powers, many in Congress perceive an unhealthy growth in executive prerogative in trade policy without sufficient or genuine congressional consultation.

## **Foreign Aid.**

The public chronically overestimates the amount of the federal budget devoted to foreign aid, leading many to the default perception that the United States spends too much.<sup>80</sup> Relative to other foreign policy levers available to legislators, demonstrating that tangible wealth transfers from U.S. citizens to developing nations to support oft-nebulous U.S. national interests is a uniquely challenging proposition for foreign aid advocates.<sup>81</sup> Congressional critics frequently question the value of foreign assistance and argue that funding would be better spent addressing domestic challenges or cut to reduce the burden on U.S. taxpayers. Despite these factors, foreign aid remains an area of strong bipartisan support in Congress, perhaps in part because it is not

accompanied by the kinds of major budget increases that could legitimize some of these misconceptions. This case study attempted to cover a range of foreign aid types and tracked debates over the following foreign assistance issues: (1) security assistance to Egypt after the 2013 coup; (2) the Electrify Africa Act passed in 2016; and (3) the Global Food Security Act of 2016.

Although the research found bipartisan support for foreign aid across the periods studied, the political dynamics surrounding the debate over U.S. aid to Egypt differed significantly from the other two cases given the unique strategic situation. After the takeover of the Egyptian government by the nation's armed forces in 2013, U.S. congressional reaction did not neatly follow partisan lines: many Democrats vociferously criticized the Obama administration's response, while some Republicans defended the administration's approach to the crisis. Virtually all members supported a post-coup democratic transition in Egypt, but legislators disagreed over the appropriate policy course of action to encourage it. Some members prioritized the maintenance of the long-standing U.S.-Egyptian strategic relationship over human rights concerns. Others argued for the principle enforcing of existing law and that aid should be immediately cut off. Initially, most members were hesitant to come out forcefully against the military-led government, given displeasure over the prior government's policies and Muslim Brotherhood makeup and a desire to maintain the bilateral U.S.-Egyptian security relationship. In the face of escalating human rights abuses, however, members of Congress increasingly placed pressure on the administration to condition U.S. aid to Egypt to signal U.S. concerns and commitment to democratic values. Although humanitarian concerns drove much of the congressional reaction in 2013, it is notable that in the face of the national security threat posed by ISIS the security argument eventually won out and aid to Egypt was restored to traditional levels.

The Electrify Africa Act and Global Food Security Act (GFSA) were each passed with broad bipartisan support. These two cases demonstrate that successful legislative

approaches to aid can be found by avoiding politicization and crafting arguments specifically tailored to diverse member groups. Since few members see great political benefit in advocating for foreign aid, support for these pieces of legislation relied instead on appealing to a coalition of members motivated by national security, economic, and humanitarian concerns. Moreover, proponents harnessed the advocacy efforts of nonprofits, religious institutions, and the private sector, which played critical roles in building the legislative coalitions but also minimizing the taxpayer-borne costs for Electrify Africa and the GFSA.

Both the Power Africa and Feed the Future federal programs had also developed accomplished track records that fostered a constituency for the programs on Capitol Hill. In both instances, the executive branch incurred risk by establishing the initiatives without legislative mandate, gambling (correctly) that it could demonstrate program viability. Close congressional consultation ensured the programs' appropriations were sustainable and attuned to views of key aid advocates in Congress, whom often had championed the issues before the administration acted. When legislation was later crafted, it could build upon the existing programs, codifying them, improving congressional oversight, and thereby establishing shared executive-legislative ownership. In the absence of a regular Department of State reauthorization bill, Congress lacks the impetus for regularly addressing foreign aid authorities. Given Congress' limited bandwidth to tackle foreign aid issues, this approach—building upon select existing executive-initiated programs—may be an enduring model for eliciting congressional action in this space. For the executive branch, this approach suggests crafting a legislative strategy around first persuading appropriators to support key aid programs before expanding the tent to regular foreign aid advocates and the foreign affairs and relations committees.

There are relatively few members that oppose aid in general, and while there are also few members that devote substantial legislative bandwidth to foreign assistance, the vast majority of members can often be persuaded

to back foreign aid in support of well-defined goals. A diverse group of champions in the House and Senate have successfully used a mix of altruistic, economic, and geopolitical justifications to garner broad support for foreign aid bills in recent congresses. The strong bipartisan opposition to the Trump administration's effort to dramatically reduce foreign aid in the FY2018 budget evinces the legislative power that supporters can still muster.<sup>82</sup>

## **Conclusion.**

These case studies highlighted the fluid, complex, and often-fraught foreign policy environment in which members of Congress operate. By examining congressional debates and viewpoints through the course of the four case studies, the CSIS research team sought to examine how members and Congress as a whole have engaged on foreign policy and trade issues, the interests, concerns, and motivations they manifest, and where Congress might cooperate in the future. Members of Congress sometimes saw their foreign policy positions shift as much as the environment itself. The cases reveal a variety of factors influencing member positions, including budget concerns, geopolitics, the domestic political climate, perceptions of previous policy successes and failures, party affiliations, committee memberships, congressional leadership, and administration changes.

Three insights are particularly prominent. First, across the cases, Congress placed import on the defense of human rights as a core value of the United States. Whether the defense of human rights served as a motivation to oppose particular legislation or as a reason to rally around a specific position, both Democrats and Republicans alike found themselves invoking this as a motivating factor for their foreign policy goals. Second, members favored economic levers for achieving a variety of goals, whether sanctions against countries that violated international sovereignty or human rights, trade agreements as demonstrations of support for

allies or regional stability, or approving aid packages framed as economically beneficial for the United States. Finally, particularly in the Russia, trade, and foreign aid case studies, domestic political considerations were important to members' decisionmaking. Whether the arguments were made for or against free trade agreements, or regarding other legislation that affected trade or related industries within the United States (for example, how PNTR would affect U.S. jobs or humanitarian and development aid to Africa would affect U.S. farmers), the average U.S. worker and congressional constituents constantly factored into members' calculus about their foreign policy positions. The next chapter more fully addresses member motivations, including domestic considerations, in congressional foreign and trade policymaking.

The case studies also demonstrate the roles members assume in order to influence the direction of U.S. foreign policy. Members at times pushed for specific policy directions or initiatives, such as in opposition to a president. The prescribed mechanisms of congressional action—authorizing legislation, appropriating funds, and other oversight tools—were all important to their efforts. Members also advanced their foreign policy agendas by engaging directly with the public. Coalition building was critical to many members' legislative strategies, consciously or coincidentally exercising their influence on peers based on shared interests and motivations. Across the case studies, Congress, as an institution, played an integral role in shaping the direction of U.S. foreign policy.

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# Congressional Perspectives, Archetypes, and Motivations.

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Even with the insights of the case studies, a significant research gap remains in assessing the foreign policy views and underlying motivations of members themselves. The study team therefore sought to analyze a select group of the 115th Congress for their foreign policy viewpoints (Figure 2). Where the case studies focused on tracing the process of congressional foreign policy action and interactions, the member profiles provided the basis of assessing whether generalizable foreign policy worldviews are at work in today's Congress and what those perspectives are. The case studies and member profiles together contribute to an understanding of underlying member motivations on foreign policy and where areas of bipartisan consensus might be possible.



As outlined in Chapter 1, the research team developed its 50-member data set using a variety of selection criteria to choose a reasonably representative group of the 115th Congress. It balanced the set across chambers, parties, seniority, committee assignments, expressed foreign policy views, and geographic representation. These efforts to balance viewpoints do not necessarily suggest the study team developed a perfectly representative sample. For instance, the dataset over-represented the Senate (24 of 50 members in our dataset) and did not include any members newly elected in 2016, since data on these members' foreign policy views would be too limited. Notwithstanding these caveats, the substantial research conducted on each of the 50 members selected offered the study team a window into the prominent foreign policy worldviews and motivations for members of 115th Congress on foreign policy and offers a model for classifying the Congress as a whole.

To assess the selected members' foreign policy approaches in depth, the CSIS team collected substantial data from throughout their tenures in Congress. Member profiles drew on press releases, op-eds, votes, floor speeches, interviews with staff, and other inputs to develop greater insight into each member's worldview. The study team also assessed the role of biographical and other factors identified in the literature review (Chapter 2) that may have served as drivers for their perspectives, such as professional experience, familial connections, religion, travel history, and district characteristics.

In scoping the areas of focus for assessing member worldviews and with the intention of facilitating comparisons across the study group, research focused on assessing and rating member views on 12 core foreign policy questions. Using the data approach described above, members were assessed across the following 12 propositions:

### Foreign Policy Tools

1. Support for the use of force
2. Support for existing alliances
3. Support for multilateral institutions
4. Support for free trade
5. Support for security assistance
6. Support for humanitarian, development, and global health assistance

### Threat Perceptions and Responses to Adversaries

7. Perception of opportunities or threats in the U.S. relationship with Russia
8. Perception of opportunities or threats in the U.S. relationship with China
9. Perception of opportunities or threats in the U.S. relationship with North Korea
10. Support for engagement or coercion with North Korea
11. Perception of opportunities or threats in the U.S. relationship with Iran
12. Support for engagement or coercion with Iran

The first six questions track member views on the core tools available to policymakers for advancing U.S. national interests. Questions 7–12 assess the threat perceptions held by members of major state adversaries. On perceptions of Russia and China, researchers concluded that a single question evaluating a member's perception of the nation on a scale from “primarily perceiving opportunities for cooperation in the relationship” to “primarily perceiving threats in the relationship” encapsulated the critical elements of a member's position in relation to both states. On North Korea and Iran, researchers assessed a qualitative and meaningful difference between the threat perception a member held on the state and views on the appropriate U.S. foreign policy approach in response. For instance,

a member could believe Iran poses a grave national security threat to the United States and be motivated to pursue either diplomacy or military action. Given the complexity of current congressional views on North Korea and Iran, an additional question for each was added to evaluate members' preferred policy approach to both nations.

For each of the 12 core foreign policy propositions, member views were assigned a numeric value on a scale 1 to 7 based on the research team's assessment of the data collected. To generate a rating of a member's willingness to support the use of military force, for instance, researchers assessed a member's positions on major use of force debates during the member's tenure in Congress, such as on the 2001 AUMF, the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars, the military intervention in Libya in 2011, the Obama administration's proposed strikes on Syria in 2013, and the Trump administrations spring 2017 Syria strikes. All data collection for ratings primarily focused on member issue positions over the last decade and concluded at the end of 2017.

The values of 1 and 7 represented the poles of the scale and were applied to the most vocal and influential members that led and shaped the legislative conversation on that particular issue set. For instance, in assessing views on free trade, Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) received a "1" rating due to her vocal leadership among progressives in opposing TPA and TPP in recent years. On humanitarian, development, and global health assistance, Representative Ed Royce (R-CA) was assigned a "7" rating given his advocacy in favor of the Electrify Africa Act and other foreign aid programs. Members who were frequently vocal in their opposition or support (such as through press releases, op-eds, floor speeches, and tweets) for certain propositions but were less impactful or followed other more active members on issues were given a rating of either "2" or "6," respectively. For members with somewhat mixed records but a clear policy preference, a lack of active advocacy on an issue beyond a roll call vote, or instances of tempered viewpoints, a rating of "3" or "5" was given. Notably, most members in the CSIS sample set received a "3" or a "5" rating on most issues, and members with less of a foreign policy focus tended to receive more

"3" or "5" ratings. Finally, a rating of "4" denoted either a mixed set of views on an issue or insufficient data collected to assess the member's views. For example, some members have not consistently supported or opposed all major recent military interventions.

Although data was readily available on most issues through open source research or interviews with congressional staff, difficulties in data collection necessarily constrained findings. First among these limitations, the number of available data points, including votes, press releases, and speeches, varied substantially across the members studied. This was an inherent constraint in seeking to study a diverse, representative group of members of Congress. Not every member has served for decades on the foreign affairs/relations or armed services committees and built up a prodigious record of foreign policy positions and views. Thus, for many of the members that were either more junior or more domestically oriented in their policy focus or committee assignment, less data was available. Second, on some questions, available data centered on an articulation of a member's view in relation to a subset or certain aspect of an issue rather than the breadth of the proposition the study team was seeking to evaluate. For instance, some members' only discernable views on the United Nations reflected their displeasure with UN General Assembly resolutions criticizing Israel, rather than a broader assessment of the value of multilateral institutions. Areas in which these factors played a major role in developing member ratings are highlighted in the following section. This chapter proceeds by detailing findings on member views in the 12 issue areas filtered by caucus affiliation, comparing member views with recent public opinion surveys, highlighting the major foreign policy archetypes the study team believes define the foreign and trade policy views of today's Congress, and describing the notable foreign policy motivations observed.

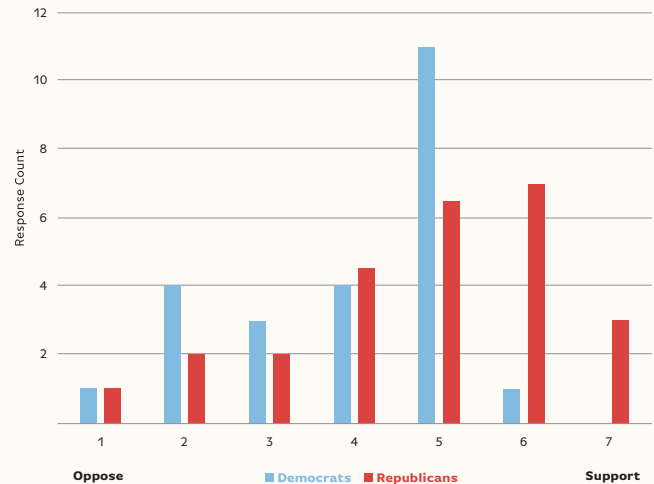
## Congressional Views and Public Opinion on Key Foreign Policy Issues by Party<sup>83</sup>

Several of the 12 foreign policy issue areas examined garnered bipartisan support, including threat perceptions of Russia and China, support for alliances and multilateralism, and support for foreign aid. Partisan gaps were widest on policy responses to the threats posed by Iran and North Korea and on trade policy. These findings largely mirror public polling data on levels of support and partisan divisions within the U.S. public, though with some notable divergences.

### 1. Support for the use of force

In assessing congressional support for the use of force in U.S. foreign policy decisionmaking, researchers examined votes and member's statements on major use of force debates since 2001. Ratings were assessed based on a member's evidenced perception of the effectiveness and appropriateness of the use of force in a given context. Of note, most members have not voted on an authorization for the use of force since 2002. The study team did not incorporate views of the legality of military operations, including whether congressional authorization was necessary to approve a president's choice to engage in military operations. Rating results among members caucusing with the Democratic and Republican parties are displayed in Figure 4. Supporters' opinions were frequently characterized by perceptions of a U.S. obligation to act in the face of atrocities, the utility of military power, and the signaling value of military force for U.S. credibility. Opponents highlighted the cost of military interventions in lives and financial risk, frequently expressing pessimistic assessments of recent U.S. military engagements in the Greater Middle East. Some questioned the strategic value of using force in situations such as Syria, where a desired U.S. political end state remains vague. Republican members tended to be more likely to support the use of

FIGURE FOUR Use of Force Ratings by Party



military force than their Democratic counterparts, though members from both parties populated either end of the scale. The lack of substantial polarization among parties confirms a finding from case study research: members' positions on military force tend to be flexible and often strongly correlated to party loyalty.

Although public opinion research indicates increasing war weariness among the public, as in the CSIS study team's use of force case study and 115th Congress data analysis, there is an overall willingness to consider military force under appropriate conditions. According to a November 2017 Pew survey, researchers found that the public is less likely to justify the use of preemptive force than in previous years.<sup>84</sup> However, two separate Chicago Council reports found that there is support for use of force as a means to respond to acutely perceived threats. In a September 2017 report, a majority (68 percent) of the U.S. public supported the use of force to fight against violent Islamic extremism in Iraq and Syria.<sup>85</sup> Later in a May 2018 report, the U.S. public was found to support military strikes in response to the Syrian regime's use of chemical weapons and would support additional strikes if Syria deployed chemical weapons again (71 percent overall, 90 percent of Republicans, 65 percent of independents, and 62 percent of Democrats).<sup>86</sup>

## 2. Support for existing alliances

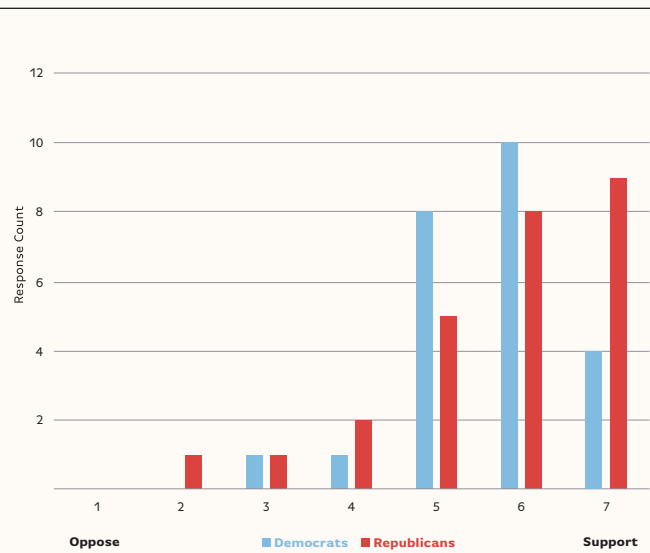
Researchers focused the evaluation of member views on alliances solely on views of U.S. treaty allies (for example, NATO, South Korea, and Japan); U.S. security partners with whom the United States does not have a treaty commitment were excluded. For the multilateralism rating, our assessments centered on member views of international organizations, primarily the United Nations and World Trade Organization. Nearly all members included in the study were assessed to be supportive of existing U.S. alliances, as seen in Figure 5. Strong supporters of existing alliances touted the strategic benefits provided by the networks of U.S. alliances around the world and the importance alliances play in upholding the post-World War II liberal international order. Among the few members selected who were critical of existing alliances, most criticized other NATO members for free-riding on U.S. security guarantees and spending insufficiently for their own defense. Opponents also frequently targeted unfair Japanese economic practices, such as currency manipulation. Rarely did critiques question the value of U.S. security ties with Israel.

These legislator views mirror positive public attitudes toward alliances. In a recent Chicago Council survey, respondents were found to hold favorable views of the U.S. relationship with Japan; 46 percent were in favor of no changes to the alliance and 43 percent wanted to strengthen the alliance, while 10 percent wanted to downplay the alliance.<sup>87</sup> Separately, the Chicago Council found strong public support for NATO with 69 percent of the U.S. public believing NATO is essential to U.S. security compared to 27 percent believing it is no longer essential.<sup>88</sup> In assessing congressional and public views, maintaining U.S. commitments to treaty allies remains an area of strong bipartisan consensus.

## 3. Support for multilateral institutions

A bipartisan majority of both parties were supportive of multilateralism, including a substantial majority of Democrats and a narrow majority of Republicans. Critics of multilateral institutions often cited fears of ceding U.S. sovereignty to international organizations

**FIGURE FIVE** Alliance Ratings by Party



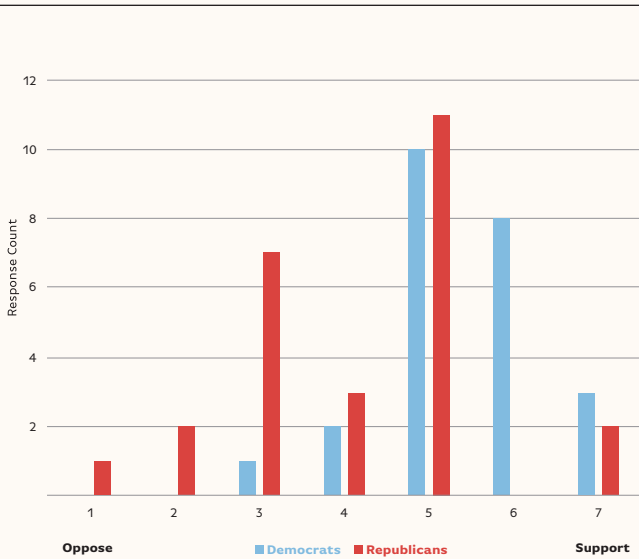
and displeasure with United Nations General Assembly votes critical of Israel. Reflecting the political impulse to oppose multilateralism, one senior Republican staff member referenced support for UN treaties or international organizations as “one more arrow in the quiver” of potential hardline conservative Republican primary challengers.

Public opinion research seemed to parallel congressional support for multilateralism. In a 2016 Pew survey, 64 percent of respondents viewed the United Nations favorably compared to 29 percent who viewed the United Nations unfavorably.<sup>89</sup> The Pew survey also found that while there is support in both parties for the UN, Democratic support is far stronger. Pew found that 80 percent of Democrats maintained a favorable view of the UN, whereas only 43 percent of Republicans held a positive view of the organization.<sup>90</sup>

## 4. Support for free trade

The research team found a significant partisan divide in views for free trade among its sample of members. Most Republicans tended to support trade liberalization, whereas Democrats were split. Free trade proponents tended to hail the economic benefits of trade and the

**FIGURE SIX** Multilateralism Ratings by Party



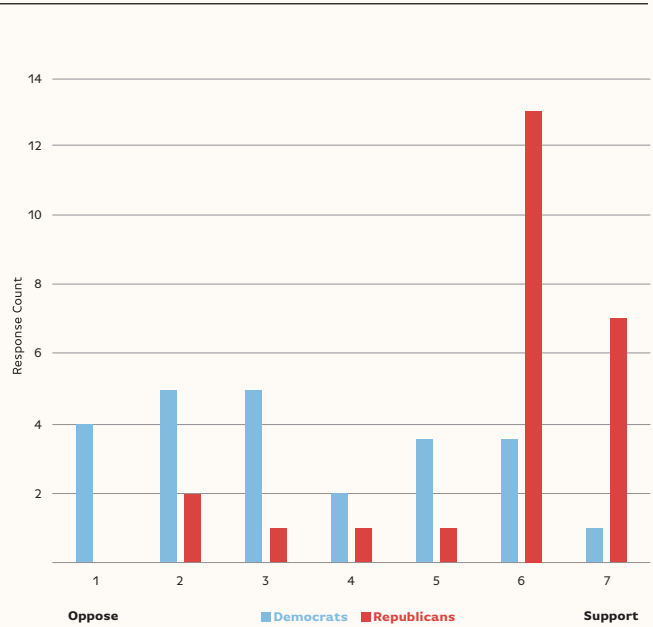
strategic value of trade deals in advancing U.S. national interests by developing strong bilateral relationships and spreading U.S. economic influence. Although not necessarily opposing free trade in the abstract, free trade skeptics railed against the economic costs of trade, especially highlighting the risks of displacing U.S. workers and industries and called for additional restrictions on trade. Critics also expressed concern about some U.S. trading partners' weak labor and environmental standards.

Although our findings indicated a partisan divide in Congress on trade, a 2017 Chicago Council survey found that the majority of the U.S. public is in favor of international trade despite partisan division over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).<sup>91</sup> The survey concluded that 72 percent of respondents say trade is good for the U.S. economy and 78 percent believe trade is good for U.S. consumers. The survey assessed the benefits of international trade on the U.S. economy, consumers, and job creation in the United States. The survey did show slight partisan divisions but in the opposite direction of our sample. When asked if trade is good for the U.S. economy, consumers, and job

creation, Republicans responded 68 percent, 77 percent, and 48 percent, respectively, whereas Democrats responded more favorably, at 80 percent, 83 percent, and 69 percent, respectively.

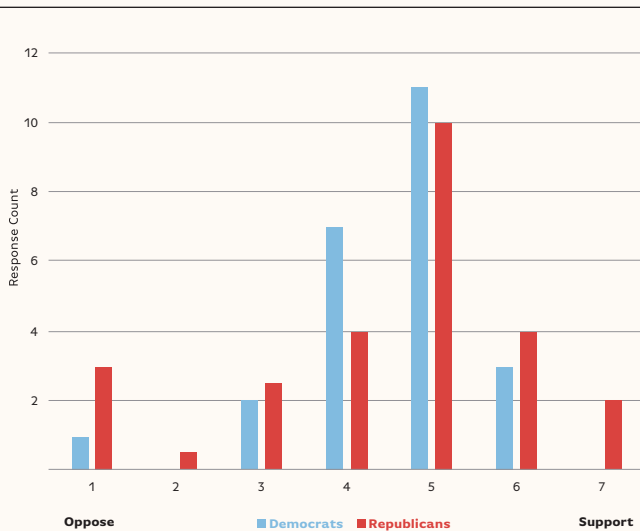
### 5-6. Support for security assistance and humanitarian, development, and global health assistance

**FIGURE SEVEN** Free Trade Ratings by Party

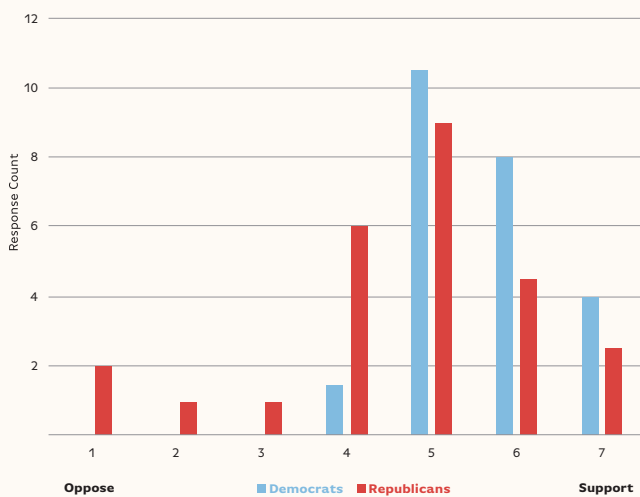


Bipartisan support for security assistance is displayed in Figure 8. Since few members were vocal on security assistance in general, most ratings were garnered by assessing the member's views of security assistance provided to major aid recipients, such as Israel, Egypt, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan. Supporters of security assistance hailed the tool as valuable both for cultivating and sustaining strong political ties with nations and for building defense partnerships that could reduce the strain on the U.S. military. Opponents questioned the utility of

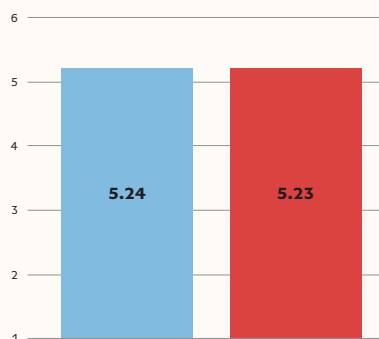
**FIGURE EIGHT** Security Assistance Ratings by Party



**FIGURE NINE** Humanitarian, Development, and Global Health Assistance Ratings by Party



**FIGURE TEN**  
Average Foreign Aid Ratings by Party



security assistance in shaping the behavior and actions of other nations and thus expressed substantial skepticism about the durability of gains to U.S. security.

Support of other foreign aid programs was broadly bipartisan. Most members from both parties supported current levels or expanding foreign aid funding for humanitarian, development, and global health missions. Since relatively few votes have been taken in recent years solely on the question of foreign aid appropriations, it was difficult to ascertain the strength of congressional convictions in support for foreign aid. Ratings were primarily developed by assessing member support for discrete foreign aid programs, votes in support of foreign aid authorizing legislation in recent congresses, and public statements on recent presidential budget proposals, such as the Trump administration’s FY2018 proposal that directed substantial cuts in the foreign aid budget.

Reflecting bipartisanship on foreign aid, Figure 10 displays the average of Republican and Democratic member views on security assistance and humanitarian, development, and global health assistance.

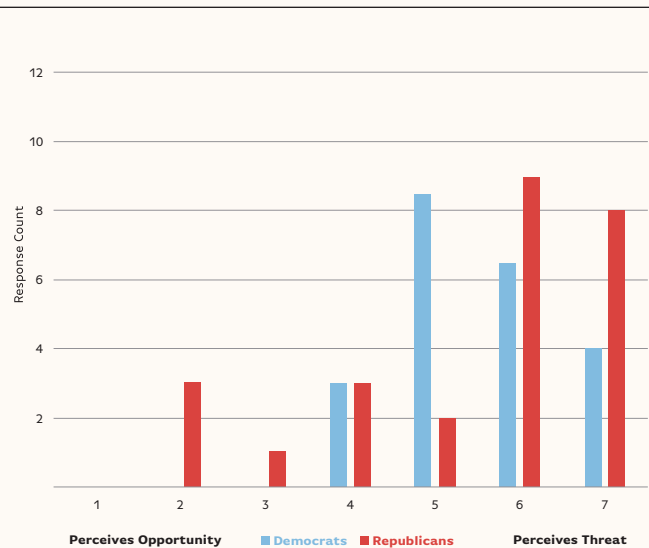
The U.S. public consistently overestimates the percentage of the federal budget allocated to foreign aid. In a 2016 Kaiser survey, only 3 percent of the U.S. public correctly identified that foreign aid spending amounts to 1 percent or less of the overall federal budget.<sup>92</sup> In spite of this false perception, the Chicago Council found that the majority of the public typically supports foreign aid, believing it helps (64 percent) rather than hurts (8 percent) U.S. relations with other countries, and helps (41 percent) rather than hurts (16 percent) U.S. national security.<sup>93</sup> This support was not unbounded. The same survey shows mixed feelings in the public about the impact of foreign aid and a general preference prioritizing domestic spending. Public opinion research is thus largely consistent with the study team’s findings about the 115th Congress.

## 7. Perception of opportunities or threats in the U.S. relationship with Russia

Significant majorities of both parties tended to view Russia primarily as a threat, rather than an opportunity for cooperation, as displayed in Figure 11. Members who view Russia in a negative light highlighted the threats it poses to the liberal international order, U.S. and European democracies, human rights, and regional stability in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Opportunities for cooperation in countering international terrorism and deescalating the conflict in Syria were cited by members with less critical views of Russia. The CSIS study team concluded its research at the end of 2017; it is possible that congressional views on how best to proceed on U.S.-Russia relations have further politicized.

The U.S. public shares the bipartisan congressional perception that Russia poses a threat to the United States. As of 2017, 42 percent of the U.S. public identified Russia as a critical threat, a figure that had risen from 23 percent in 2002. The shift in U.S. public perception of Russia has been quick. In 2016, 39 percent supported the United States working to limit Russia's power while 58 percent supported cooperation and engagement with Russia. One year later, only 43 percent of respondents supported cooperation and engagement while 53 percent supported working to limit Russia's power. The U.S. public is also more willing to take a tougher stand against Russia than in years past. In 2017, the majority of U.S. respondents, 52 percent, favored the use of U.S. troops if Russia invades a NATO state, compared to 45 percent in 2015 and 44 percent in 2014. In addition, 41 percent of the public favors maintaining sanctions on Russia while 38 percent believe the United States should increase sanctions.<sup>94</sup> The shift in U.S. public opinion on Russia follows a decade of rapidly shifting U.S. policy toward Russia. The controversies surrounding the 2016 presidential election and the Russian role in the election have kept Russia at the forefront of the U.S. public's mind and the shift in opinion against Russia could be explained by the dominance of Russia in U.S. political discourse over the past few years.

**FIGURE ELEVEN** Russia Threat Perception Ratings by Party

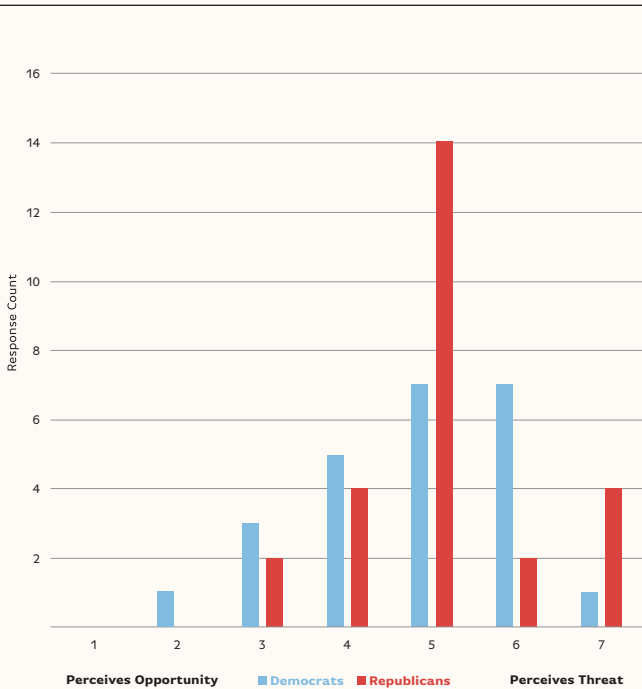


## 8. Perception of opportunities or threats in the U.S. relationship with China

For China, bipartisan threat perceptions were also observed, though congressional concerns were less pronounced than on Russia. Results are displayed in Figure 12. Most negative views of China centered around Chinese military operations in the South China Sea, economic and technological competition with the United States, and China's poor record on human rights. Members who held more positive views of China emphasized the role it could play in advancing diplomacy on the Korean Peninsula.

The U.S. public has more mixed views on the U.S.-China relationship compared to other potential adversaries included in this study. A sizable majority of the U.S. public, 62 percent, see China as a rising military power but only 39 percent see Chinese military power as a threat and only 31 percent consider China's economic power a threat. To the public, the top national security threat in the Asia-Pacific region is North Korea, which 78 percent of those surveyed identified as a threat.<sup>95</sup> Heightened concerns about Russia, Iran, and North Korea compared to China may in part reflect the attention paid to the first three in U.S. media and a view that some sectors benefit from trade with China.

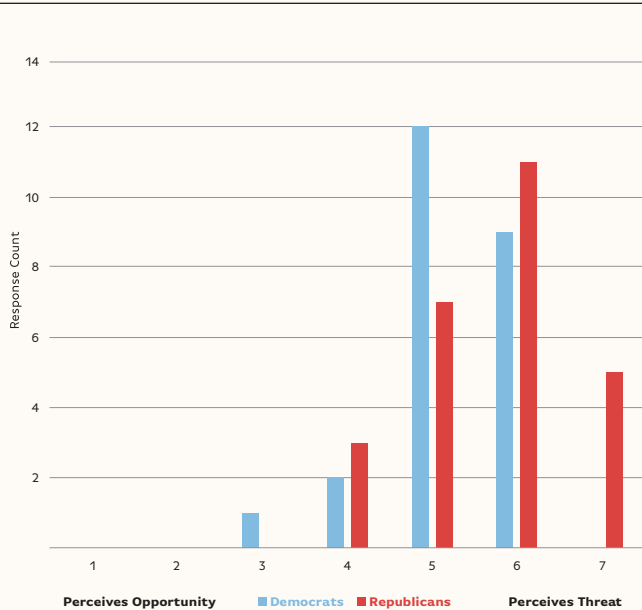
**FIGURE TWELVE** China Threat Perception Ratings by Party



### 9–10. Threat perceptions and policy preferences on North Korea

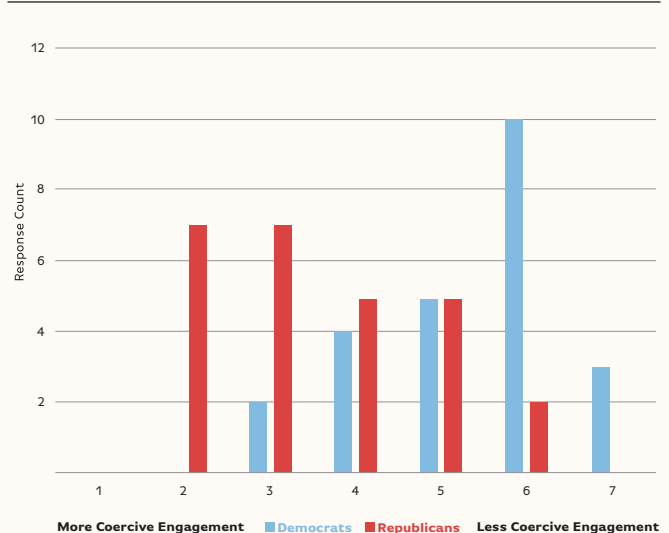
Threat perceptions of North Korea were largely bipartisan. However, those members most vocally concerned with the national security threats posed by North Korea were Republicans. In terms of preferred policy response, Republicans tended to support more coercive approaches with North Korea, including harsher sanctions, more robust military exercises with regional allies, and less openness to diplomatic overtures. U.S. policy toward North Korea is highly fluid at present. The study team acknowledges that partisan influences, and member opinion, may have significantly shifted since the research cutoff in 2017, a year that was marked by rising tensions on the Korean Peninsula and diplomatic initiatives.<sup>96</sup> The study team found no correlation between threat perception and preferred policy approaches on North Korea. Members most concerned about the North Korean threat split on whether the United States should pursue more coercive measures or be open to diplomacy.

**FIGURE THIRTEEN** North Korea Threat Perception Ratings by Party



The U.S. public largely views North Korea as a threat to the United States while also favoring diplomacy. The percentage who see North Korea as a major threat is at the highest level since 2005 and surpassed the number who see cyberattacks

**FIGURE FOURTEEN** North Korea Policy Response Ratings by Party





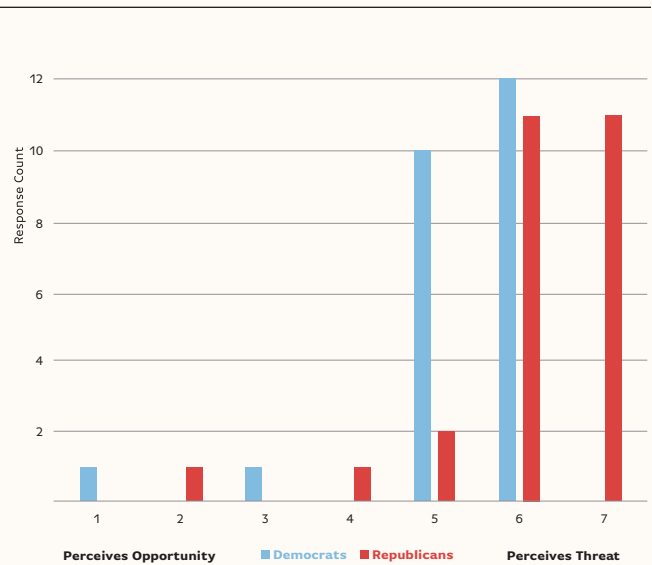
and ISIS as major threats.<sup>97</sup> Rapid developments in North Korean nuclear and ballistic technology that could allow North Korean nuclear-tipped missiles to reach the U.S. mainland is a likely cause of the elevated threat perception. As of late 2017, 75 percent of the public saw North Korea's nuclear program as a major threat to the United States.<sup>98</sup> Despite the heightened public concern about North Korea, polling shows that support for preemptive military action against North Korea is low. Consistent public majorities do support military action if North Korea attacks the United States or its allies.<sup>99</sup> While they may not support preemptive strikes against North Korea, some polling found that 58 percent of the U.S. public would also support military action against North Korea if diplomacy failed.<sup>100</sup>

### 11–12. Threat perceptions and policy preferences on Iran

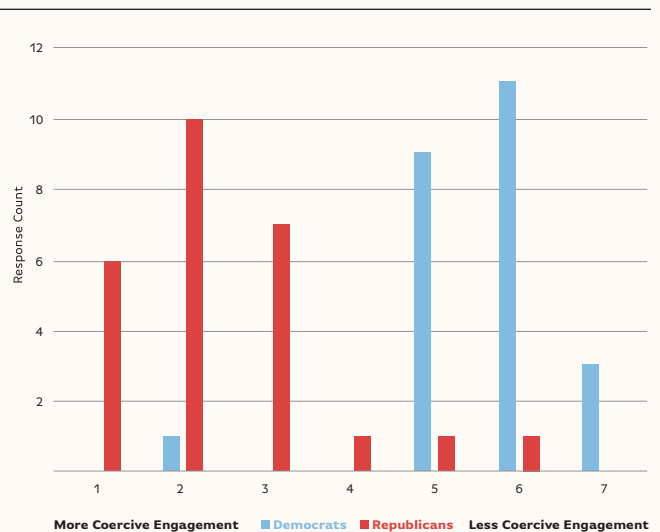
Republicans and Democrats largely agree in threat perceptions of Iran, as displayed in Figure 15. However, the largest partisan gap observed in our analysis came over preferred policy responses to Iran. Republicans and Democrats diverged significantly on the value of more coercive approaches with Iran, as displayed in Figure 16. For Democrats, support for diplomacy centered on defending the Obama administration-negotiated Joint Comprehensive Plan of Act (JCPOA) agreement between Iran and the P5+1 powers. Critical of the deal's ability to hem in potential future Iranian nuclear proliferation and desiring to counter other elements of malign Iranian influence in the Middle East, Republicans tended to prefer a tougher Iran policy.

The majority of the U.S. public view Iran as a threat but support diplomatic approaches to counter the threat. In 2015, 57 percent identified Iran's nuclear program as a threat to the United States. Despite this threat perception, 60 percent in 2017 supported the JCPOA, which traded sanctions relief for limits on Iranian nuclear programs. Public opinion mirrored the partisan divide seen among members of Congress. When asked about the Iran deal, 73 percent of Democrats, 58 percent of independents, and 48 percent of Republicans supported U.S. participation.<sup>101</sup> The majority support for diplomacy could reflect a hesitancy among the public to pursue military options against Iran after over a decade of

**FIGURE FIFTEEN** Iran Threat Perception Ratings by Party



**FIGURE SIXTEEN** Iran Policy Response Ratings by Party



continuous warfare in the Middle East. Public support for the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, a war launched under the auspices of countering a nuclear armed regime, has fallen to 43 percent in 2018 from 71 percent support in 2003 with 53 percent of U.S. public saying in 2018 that the United States failed to achieve its goals in Iraq.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, the Iran deal was struck by President Obama, which may partially explain higher support for the agreement among Democrats and lower support among Republicans.<sup>103</sup>

## Foreign Policy Archetypes for the U.S. Congress.

Upon rating the 50 members across the 12 foreign policy preference dimensions, the study team iteratively employed factor analysis, informed by existing literature, to identify clustered viewpoints and construct associated archetypes of foreign policy worldviews. In reviewing the data, three major foreign policy archetypes emerged, each organized around a core frame that members of Congress prioritize in foreign policy. The three archetypes are order-driven, values-driven, and limits-driven. Figure 17 displays the breakdown of positions that define each archetype. The study team developed indices to gauge each member’s best archetype fit, which it determined by the member’s relative factor preferences. The resulting archetype groups dispel some of the conventional wisdom around Congress today. Members of both major political parties and both chambers are present in every group. Each archetype includes members from across the country and with disparate seniority levels and varied committee memberships. Not all members

of an archetype are assessed to hold the same intensity of adherence to the worldview or its constituent pieces, but all members examined do fit within one of the three general patterns of clustered foreign policy perspectives.

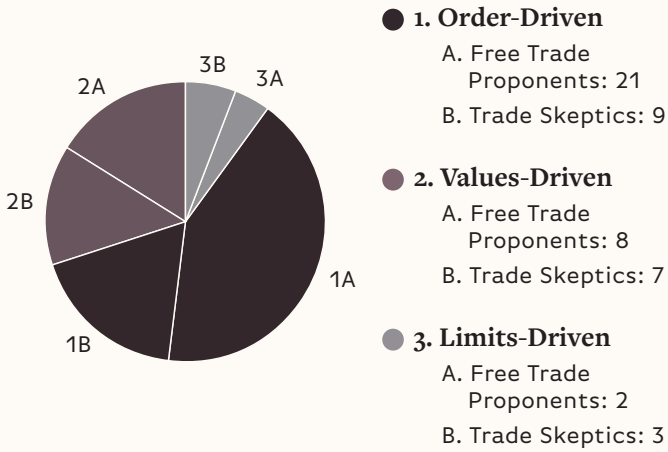
Member views on Iran, North Korea, and trade policy did not play a role in defining a member’s selection for any of the three groupings. Although the factor analysis identified discrete clusters around high-threat perceptions of Iran and North Korea (and, interestingly, stark partisan divides over the appropriate policy response to each), these findings yielded no correlation with member views on other policy areas or threat perceptions. They therefore failed to describe a broader set of foreign policy beliefs. The assessment also failed to yield a correlation between trade views and other foreign policy perspectives. This finding accorded with case study research, member profile development, and interviews with staff, which suggests that members often view trade through the prism of domestic economics, even if it does have international and geopolitical consequences. Figure 18 displays the archetype groupings divided among pro-free trade and trade skeptical members.

**FIGURE SEVENTEEN** Congressional Foreign Policy Archetypes

● Denotes positive correlation    ● Denotes negative correlation    Blank space denotes no correlation

	Willingness to Use Force	Perceives Russia as Threat	Perceives China as Threat	Support for Alliances	Support for Multilateralism	Support for Security Assistance	Support for Humanitarian Assistance
<b>Order-Driven</b>	●	●	●	●		●	
<b>Value-Driven</b>	●				●		●
<b>Limits-Driven</b>	●			●	●	●	●

**FIGURE EIGHTEEN** Archetypes and Views on Trade Policy



## Worldview 1: Order

Defending the liberal international order is the core principle of the first and largest grouping of members identified by this analysis. Viewing the set of alliances and international institutions developed after World War II as pillars of U.S. national security, adherents to this viewpoint tend to be the most supportive among the archetypes of employing military force in defense of the international order. These members tend to view Russia (especially) and China as threats to the U.S.-led liberal international order and seek to more aggressively confront their policies on the global stage. Strengthening alliances was also a driving motivation for these members. Among the levers available to U.S. policymakers for advancing U.S. national security goals, members of this grouping demonstrated a greater risk tolerance for and perceived higher utility in using military force to advance U.S. interests. These members similarly tended to emphasize using security assistance to build reliable security partners around the world. Among the 50 members included in the study, 30 members' foreign policy viewpoints were best described by this worldview.

Interviews with congressional staff provide accounts of how some members within this archetype view their foreign policy philosophy. Calling his member's perspective the "consensus traditionalist view," a senior

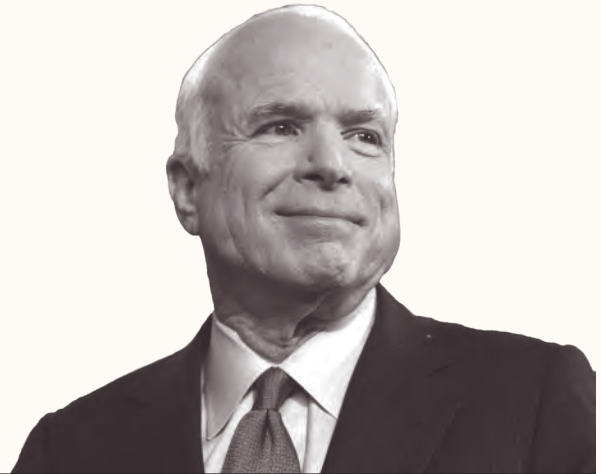
Republican staffer described his boss's view of the U.S. role in the world by noting, "I think he starts with that the United States plays a special role in the world that is much different from any other country in the world, maintaining the international order that came out of the Second World War and the responsibility that falls on the U.S. military and certainly the U.S. State Department in protecting that international order and working with our friends and allies." In sum, he stated that "The importance of engagement coupled with hard, credible power is how [the member] views generally what should be the appropriate national security posture by the United States." In differentiating his member from the rest of the Democratic caucus, one staffer noted, "It is particularly stark now given the increasing shift toward more progressive foreign policy . . . [that] goes hand in hand with greater skepticism over a more muscular use of foreign policy tools to push other countries around . . . [the member] still feels extraordinary regret and frustration with the Obama foreign policy. . . . For him, he saw it as weak kneed, indecisive, and going in circles, and that manifested itself in cases like Syria . . . he still has endless frustration and his own regret that he was not more aggressive in pushing the administration and saying, 'You need to do something, you need to bomb, you need to set up a no-fly zone' . . . you can't sit on your hands because you think the problem is too hard."

The data analysis did not indicate a strong emphasis for supporting multilateralism or development aid and humanitarian assistance within this archetype, potentially reflecting limitations in the study team's data points in those areas. Regardless, it should not be confused with the opposition to multilateral institutions or foreign aid. Members simply may not prioritize multilateralism and foreign aid in their approach to U.S. foreign policy. A senior Democratic national security staffer, whose member fell into this grouping, addressed this dynamic, stating about their boss, "[I]t's not that he does not like foreign assistance. He's all for every tool in the toolkit . . . but he definitely feels a lot more comfortable reaching for aggressive sanctions, deploying military force, going to the U.N. and badmouthing a country."

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ORDER-DRIVEN ARCHETYPAL SENATOR

## John McCain (R-AZ)



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**“For seven decades, America has played a unique role in the world. We have led a global effort to maintain an international order and a balance of power that have expanded security, prosperity, and freedom. This has required all elements of our national influence—diplomacy, alliances, trade, values, and most importantly, a strong U.S. military that can project power globally to deter war and, when necessary, defeat America’s adversaries. We have done this for a simple reason: It benefits America most of all. It is in our national interest.”<sup>104</sup>**

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Senator John McCain is a steadfast defender of the post-World War II alliance system and the continued participation of the United States in that global order. With mounting criticism of NATO and debate over whether the United States would stand by its collective defense obligations to NATO member states, Senator McCain has served as an unofficial ambassador to NATO and U.S. allies globally, regularly traveling internationally to assure foreign nations of enduring U.S. commitments abroad.<sup>105</sup> To Senator McCain, the U.S. alliance system is critical to countering revisionist powers like Russia and China. Senator McCain identifies Russia as the most serious national security threat facing the United States and advocates for meeting Russian aggression in Ukraine and Syria through a robust military and political posture.<sup>106</sup>

Likewise, Senator McCain views China as a “bully” that seeks hegemony in the Western Pacific. Senator McCain’s enduring support for the U.S.-led liberal international order has put him at the center of every use of military force debate in Congress over the past decade. Not only did Senator McCain support the actual or proposed uses of military force in Libya and Syria and continued military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan, he often advocated for a muscular U.S. response in each conflict as noted in the use of force case study (Appendix A).<sup>107</sup> Senator McCain often supports the use of security assistance as a tool to improve partner capacity to advance their own and U.S. national security interests and, in some instances, encourage democratic reforms.<sup>108</sup>



ORDER-DRIVEN ARCHETYPAL REPRESENTATIVE

## Steny Hoyer (D-MD)

**"NATO is more than an alliance—it is a commitment among democracies to stand together against our common adversaries and promote freedom in the world."<sup>109</sup>**

Representative Steny Hoyer typifies support for the U.S. alliance system and the continued active role of the United States in promoting the liberal international order globally. Through his prior work with the Helsinki Commission and his continued support for NATO, Representative Hoyer is a staunch defender of the U.S. alliance system and its role in promoting peace, security, and U.S. national interests abroad.<sup>110</sup> Representative Hoyer has traveled extensively to NATO and non-NATO partner states to assure their governments that the United States remains committed to its alliances. Amid the rising tide of anti-NATO sentiment, Representative Hoyer has remained a strong proponent of U.S. alliances and commitments. While traveling in Europe, Representative Hoyer said, "As Russia continues its nefarious activities and as we've seen terrorist attacks across the continent, I believe it is critical to reassure our European allies that we stand with them."<sup>111</sup> In response to rising threats, Representative Hoyer supports a robust U.S. response, particularly against states challenging the U.S. alliance system like Russia. He strongly condemned the Russian annexation of the Crimean Peninsula and has similarly condemned Russian actions in Syria in support

of the Syrian regime. In both instances, Representative Hoyer appealed to international law, arguing that in both interventions Russia was in direct violation of international law and the norms of the world order. The Russian support for separatism in Ukraine and active participation in war crimes in Syria are an affront to international law and basic human rights according to Representative Hoyer.<sup>112</sup> Representative Hoyer has also supported the use of force and security assistance to advance U.S. national security interests. In response to the repeated use of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime against the Syrian population, Representative Hoyer supported the proposal to use military force in 2013 and felt that the strikes launched in 2017 were not a sufficient answer to the Syrian regime's war crimes.<sup>113</sup> However, Representative Hoyer believes that the best use of U.S. military force is in concert with international partners. He supported United Nations authorization for any military action in Libya and noted that the Arab League should lead the efforts in support of the Libyan people.<sup>114</sup> In 2015, Representative Hoyer called for the United States to provide military aid to Ukraine to aid in the conflict with Russian-backed separatists.<sup>115</sup>

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## Worldview 2: Values

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Promoting humanitarian and democratic values in the international system and in bilateral relationships were the core motivations of the second major group identified. Although these members uniformly called for grounding U.S. foreign policy in guiding values, they did not necessarily prioritize the same core principles as one another. Some focused on extending human rights, others expanding democracy and free markets, and still others on serving urgent humanitarian needs. Some approached policy issues from a religious background while others were secular in their approach. What bound them together was a motivation to ensure U.S. international engagement and foreign policy goals were grounded in guiding values. While acknowledging her boss's positions on national security and trade as being that of a traditional Reagan Republican, one staffer of a values-driven legislator explicitly identified human rights as their member's "overriding interest in foreign policy." One Democratic foreign policy staffer, whose boss had preferences corresponding to this archetype, summarized the member's view: "we need to project the values that we would like to see around the world. I don't think he would say we need to spread democracy. I think he would say that we need to be a beacon of democracy such that we inspire it." Another Democratic staffer whose member associated with this worldview noted, "[the member] believes human rights must to be at the forefront of foreign policy decisions and that, among other things, U.S. foreign policy should seek to make the world safe for tolerance and pluralism." These members tended to be foremost advocates for U.S. foreign aid programs, including humanitarian, development, and global health assistance, and working through multilateral institutions to address global problems. The values-driven worldview did not correlate with strong views on threat perceptions of nation state adversaries, support for treaty allies, or security assistance; none of these issues appear to serve as core unifying motivators for their perspectives on foreign policy. This grouping was the second largest identified within the sample set of 50 members, best describing the views of 15 such members.

Members in this grouping tended to have a higher threshold for supporting the use of military force than order-driven members. However, some values-driven members are motivated to support military operations for humanitarian goals; protecting civilians from their governments or punishing states that diverge from international humanitarian standards with military force tend to be more persuasive rationales for action than, for instance, threatening the use of force over sovereignty claims in the South China Sea. Contrasting his boss's perspective with a more realpolitik view, one Democratic staffer noted his boss's support for "get[ting] involved in cases where horrific war crimes, genocide are being committed. Now that doesn't mean that you're going to call the 101st Airborne every time; it means that you have to look at all your options to try and figure out how to hold perpetrators accountable." Another Democratic staffer, emphasizing her boss's caution when it comes to using force, described the member's view as "not the sort of Hilary Clinton, Samantha Power interventionist model. It is not that my boss doesn't have great empathy for people who are suffering, it is just that I don't think my boss always believes that our intervention is going to improve the outcome."

VALUES-DRIVEN ARCHETYPAL SENATOR

## Chris Murphy (D-CT)



**“[T]he best foot forward for America is not a combat boot. Most countries, in fact, want to see a different face of the United States—the economic development officer, the anti-corruption specialist, the public health professional. The values that draw the world to the United States are, in fact, not military-based. People look up to the United States because of the power of our economy, the impact of our culture, our spirit of entrepreneurship, our colleges and universities, and our lack of tolerance for corruption in government, among other things.”<sup>116</sup>**

Senator Chris Murphy’s approach to U.S. foreign policy epitomizes the archetype of a values-driven member. When first elected to the House of Representatives, Murphy rode the 2006 anti-Iraq War Democratic wave, and regularly provides the invasion of Iraq as cautionary tale against U.S. military intervention abroad, saying, “In proposing an intervention, you make damn sure that it’s going to make the carnage better, rather than worse.”<sup>117</sup> Over his career, Senator Murphy has become one of the Senate’s most vocal defenders of diplomacy and foreign aid as means to further U.S. national security interests. In explaining the importance of increasing the U.S. foreign affairs budget, Senator Murphy says, “The threats posed to the United States have changed. The global challenges the United States faces have transformed. Our adversaries have adapted,” requiring the U.S. to rethink the foreign policy toolkit.<sup>118</sup> In 2013, he signed a letter with 38 other lawmakers calling on President Obama to double the number of people treated through the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) program.<sup>119</sup> In 2013, after the Assad regime’s chemical weapons assault on Ghouta, he opposed a U.S. military response but advocated for increasing humanitarian aid to the Syrian people.<sup>120</sup> In March 2016, Senator Murphy, Senator Shaheen, and Senator Markey “called on the U.S. State Department to work with the Jordanian government to improve humanitarian agencies’ access to the berm (Jordan-

Syria border)” in order to improve security and accelerate screening and admittance processes for those seeking refuge in Jordan.<sup>121</sup> Senator Murphy also authored a resolution that was passed unanimously by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July 2016 that called on the warring parties to “facilitate delivery of humanitarian relief and protect civilians in Yemen, who have suffered casualties by Saudi coalition airstrikes as well as Houthi artillery attacks for over a year.”<sup>122</sup> Most notably, as the Trump White House sought to eliminate funding for diplomacy and development by over 30 percent, Murphy released a 65-page report, titled *Rethinking the Battlefield*, that called for nearly doubling the foreign affairs budget, providing more funding to multilateral organizations, and aiding refugees, among other things. In a speech he gave at the Wilson Center in 2015, he remarked that “a new Marshall Plan for at-risk regions, like the Middle East or portions of Russia or China’s periphery, can get us the kind of stability and win us the allies that were produced by a large nonmilitary investment in the ‘40s, ‘50s and ‘60s.”<sup>123</sup> Senator Murphy is also a strong advocate of multilateral engagement, pointing out that working through multilateral institutions strengthens the United States while reducing the “moral and practical burdens of unilateral action.”<sup>124</sup> He has cited the Iran nuclear deal as an example of successful multilateral diplomacy, which he believes is the most effective option for international engagement.<sup>125</sup>



VALUES-DRIVEN ARCHETYPAL REPRESENTATIVE

## Ann Wagner (R-MO)

**"We are haunted by repeated failures and missed opportunities to end these tragedies before they begin. And I know everyone in this room agrees that there is more the United States can—and must—do to help vulnerable communities and persecuted people around the world. The reality is that good intentions and platitudes like 'Never Again' have not prevented the deaths of hundreds of thousands of civilians at the hands of the Assad regime, nor the ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in Burma."<sup>126</sup>**

Representative Ann Wagner's foreign policy outlook is guided by her support of universal human rights, shaping her approach to legislation and policy. Representative Wagner is a leading figure in the fight against human trafficking, and after a multiyear effort, legislation introduced by Representative Wagner to strengthen local, state, and federal authorities to prosecute human traffickers and online entities that facilitate human trafficking passed in 2018. Representative Wagner cited her time as ambassador to Luxembourg as the catalyst for her interest in the topic as she received regular reports on human trafficking throughout Europe.<sup>127</sup> Representative Wagner's strong support for human rights led her to sponsor the *Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocities Prevention Act*. The legislation would make genocide and mass atrocity prevention a core national security interest and require the United States to improve efforts to prevent mass atrocities across the world. While acknowledging that the United States is a leader in response to mass atrocities, Representative Wagner has argued for

the United States to be a leader in prevention by training diplomats on recognition and response and preparing regular reports on countries at risk.<sup>128</sup> Rather than acting on strictly geopolitical or economic interests, Representative Wagner believes the United States has a moral obligation to stand up for human rights, democracy, and other core values across the world. In alignment with her values, Representative Wagner is outspoken on current humanitarian crises facing the world. She has repeatedly criticized the Syrian regime for carrying out atrocities against its population.<sup>129</sup> On Burma/Myanmar, Representative Wagner has been outspoken in her criticism of the state-sponsored campaign against the Rohingya Muslim ethnic minority. She has called upon the United Nations to work to protect vulnerable populations.<sup>130</sup> As a founding co-chair of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Caucus and a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Representative Wagner supports working closely with allies and partners in multilateral organizations.<sup>131</sup>



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## Worldview 3: Limits

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The final, and smallest, grouping of members was defined by its relatively circumscribed assessment of national interests and desire to minimize the risks and costs associated with U.S. international activity. Although members in this grouping may support elements of the post-World War II international order and desire to spread U.S. values to some extent, their core foreign policy motivation is to limit potential military and humanitarian entanglements abroad. Therefore, they tend to oppose the use of military force and foreign assistance, while criticizing alliances and multilateral institutions. No consistent set of foreign threat perceptions was observed among these members, although concern over terrorism was not assessed and is suspected to be of interest to this group. Describing a member primarily motivated by this limits-driven worldview, a Republican staffer reflected his boss's desire to adjust U.S. foreign policy to create a more "symbiotic rather than largely one-sided parasitic relationship with the rest of the world." Of the 50 members studied, only 5 were best described by this worldview.

On questions related to the use of force in U.S. foreign policy, it would be inaccurate to characterize limits-driven members as pacifists. Adherents to this viewpoint do not necessarily advocate for defense budget cuts or curtailing ongoing global counterterrorism operations outright. Here, again, limits on the availability of data for studying members' viewpoints may have partially skewed results, as the most prominent recent use of force debates have occurred over instances of calls for action based on responsibility to protect principles (e.g., Libya 2011) and upholding international legal standards (e.g., responding to Syrian chemical attacks). Evaluating views on use of force in response to terrorist threats to the homeland may yield a more refined assessment. The crucial unifying thread of these members' motivations is the limited scope of U.S. national interests and how that filter affects their perceptions of the utility of military force and foreign aid, rather than holding predisposed opinions of those tools in the abstract.

As noted previously, trade perspectives did not correlate to archetypes. Rather, each archetype contained a mix of trade skeptics and trade proponents. It is notable here that among the group of limits-driven members, only 3 were assessed to be skeptical of free trade. The CSIS study team views these 3 members' views as most closely approximating the common use of the term "isolationist" among the 50 it studied: possessing a high threshold for the use of military force, opposing foreign aid in most instances, expressing skepticism of alliances and multinational institutions, and being supportive of protectionist trade policies. However, since the study team did not assess myriad other factors that make up a member's foreign policy viewpoints, it cannot conclude that even this set of three represent true isolationism.

LIMITS-DRIVEN ARCHETYPAL SENATOR

## Joe Manchin (D-WV)



**“Charity begins at home. We can no longer afford to rebuild Afghanistan and America. We must choose. And I choose America.”<sup>132</sup>**

Known for his bipartisan willingness to work across the aisle on a range of issues, Senator Joe Manchin is frequently a voice for limiting foreign entanglements in U.S. foreign policy.<sup>133</sup> He has repeatedly expressed grave concern over the national deficit, stating back in 2011 that President Obama had failed to lead efforts to cut deficit spending, and that “we cannot ignore the fiscal Titanic of our national debt and deficit.”<sup>134</sup> His concerns with the debt have informed his opposition to extended foreign interventions and shaped his emphatic belief that the United States should focus primarily on domestic issues unless national security concerns necessitate U.S. involvement abroad. Senator Manchin has called for scaling back global U.S. counterterrorism operations and limiting U.S. nation building across the Middle East.<sup>135</sup> In 2015, Senator Manchin argued, “The bottom line is unless that part of the world—the peace loving Muslim world—wants to fight and defend themselves, we can’t do it for them. . . . We go in there and we can’t get out. We want to build them a church, we want to build them a school, we want to build them roads. Hell, you turn your back, they blow it up.”<sup>136</sup> Arguing that the United States should halt its development aid to China in August 2011, he said, “Now is the time to focus on rebuilding America, and to ensure that we invest in American infrastructure and innovation ahead of other countries.”<sup>137</sup> In April 2011, he introduced R. 146 in the U.S. Senate with Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) opposing U.S. intervention in Libya and calling on NATO and Arab League member states to dedicate necessary foreign assistance and ramp up their operations in Libya.<sup>138</sup> Upon the Assad regime’s large-scale chemical weapons attack on rebel-controlled areas of Ghouta, Syria, in August

2013, Senator Manchin rebuffed calls for U.S. retaliation, contending that “there needs to be compelling evidence that there is an imminent threat to the security of the American people or our allies before any military action is taken.”<sup>139</sup> In response to the attack on Ghouta, Senator Manchin and Senator Heidi Heitkamp (D-ND) introduced a diplomatic plan to disarm Syria of its chemical weapons in lieu of a military strike by allowing President Bashar al-Assad 45 days to sign on to the Chemical Weapons Convention.<sup>140</sup> They advocated for a diplomatic solution rather than a retaliatory strike because they believed that military intervention could draw the United States directly into the Syrian civil war, and ultimately sacrifice significant U.S. blood and treasure.<sup>141</sup> Days later, the Obama administration and the Russians agreed to a nearly identical deal in which Syria agreed to sign on to the Chemical Weapons Convention.<sup>142</sup> Finally, Senator Manchin was outspoken in his opposition to arming Syrian opposition forces in September 2014. In a speech he delivered on the Senate floor, he said, “In Iraq alone, we spent the better part of eight years training a military of 280,000 at a cost of \$20 billion to the American people. . . . They folded in the face of ISIS, abandoning their equipment and facilities to the enemy. So I ask my colleagues and the President, why do we think that training Syrian rebels would turn out any differently?” He also pointed out that while President Assad “is evil, he is not a threat to the United States.” While this point also brings up the question of effectiveness of U.S. intervention and assistance, it largely demonstrates the senator’s long-held belief in using U.S. resources for foreign intervention solely when U.S. national security is at stake.<sup>143</sup>



LIMITS-DRIVEN ARCHETYPAL REPRESENTATIVE

## Mo Brooks (R-AL)

**“Our highest-ranking military officials today again warned Congress that America’s exploding deficits and accumulated debt pose a grave national security threat to our country. Washington politicians must heed their warnings before it is too late. America’s future depends on it.”<sup>144</sup>**

Representative Mo Brooks is a vocal proponent of a limited U.S. role in the world. To Representative Brooks, a strong and robust military posture is the most important foundation of U.S. foreign policy. The primary threat to that posture, according to Representative Brooks, is the national debt and deficit. For Representative Brooks, the fiscal crisis facing the United States is “a greater national security threat than that posed by any of America’s geopolitical foes.”<sup>145</sup> In expressing his views on foreign policy, Representative Brooks asserts, “America cannot afford to be the world police. I stand firmly against armed intervention in foreign conflicts in which America has no interest.”<sup>146</sup> Representative Brooks’ outlook on U.S. foreign policy is that of a zero-sum game, where the United States either wins or loses. A deficit hawk, Representative Brooks has been most critical of U.S. foreign aid. Representative Brooks has tended to oppose foreign aid spending, framing decisions to provide foreign aid as a zero-sum tradeoff with U.S. government efforts to improve the well-being of U.S. citizens. In 2013, he proposed an amendment to H.R. 152, the Disaster Relief Appropriations Act, which would have diverted \$21 billion in foreign aid spending to Hurricane Sandy relief. In advocating for this amendment, Representative Brooks contended, “To me, it’s an easy choice between helping Americans who need aid and helping foreigners who desire aid. These are American tax dollars being spent, and I would submit that it’s best to spend those American tax dollars helping Americans that are in need.”<sup>147</sup>

Likewise, he came out against the Electrify Africa Act of 2016, arguing repeatedly that the United States does not have the means to finance infrastructure projects in other countries. In one statement regarding his opposition to Electrify Africa, Representative Brooks brought up that “American taxpayers spend more than \$40 billion per year on foreign aid,” and contended that “Given America’s out-of-control deficits and accumulated debt that threaten our economic future, I cannot justify American taxpayers building power plants and transmission lines in Africa with money we do not have, will have to borrow to get, and cannot afford to pay back.”<sup>148</sup> Although he is skeptical of foreign entanglements, Representative Brooks is not entirely opposed to U.S. international engagement. He is critical of many U.S. military alliances, such as those with South Korea and NATO states. In both cases, he argues that South Korea and NATO members are wealthy enough to provide for their own defense, and the United States should not bankroll responses to threats from North Korea and Russia, respectively. Instead, Representative Brooks prefers that U.S. allies share the burden of military interventions. In outlining his support for President Trump’s strike on Syria in April 2018, Representative Brooks was particularly pleased that British and French forces joined the United States in launching strikes. In response to the allied participation, Representative Brooks said, “It is one thing for America to fight solo. It is quite another for other major nations to share our burden in the fight for liberty and freedom.”<sup>149</sup>

## Member Foreign Policy Preference Formation.

Through the literature review, member profile research, case study development, and interviews with congressional staff, the study team arrived at several findings regarding motivations for congressional engagement in foreign policy. Some of these findings validated previous research while others ran counter to traditional conceptions of congressional motivations. Although inexhaustive, our research indicated that significant motivators for member foreign policy views included the following: previous professional experience; familial connections; diasporas; religious and ethnic groups in the constituency; religion; travel; and the district or state economy. The study team's focus was on personal background factors; it did not attempt to assess the effect of special interest groups and political action committees (PACs) on congressional decisionmaking, for which a rich literature already exists.

Fundamentally, the research confirmed that constituents rarely give direct cues to members on foreign policy issues, given the minimal saliency of most international affairs matters. Greater latitude on foreign policy decisionmaking amplifies the impact of members' personal policy interests and viewpoints, mediated by partisan loyalties. Among the foreign policy debates studied, constituent opinion had the greatest impact in debates over the use of force and trade.

Formative professional experiences, especially in public service, often correlate with strong opinions from members about the U.S. role in the world. In addition to public service, law, business, and education are the most frequently listed occupations for members of the 115th Congress.<sup>150</sup> Prior military service also significantly informs a member's views on the efficacy of military force, the need for oversight of the Department of Defense, and active engagement in geopolitics. In explaining a veteran member's interest in the region and perspectives on the potential and limitations of military force, a staffer noted, "the Middle East chose him . . . [Iraq] is the prism by which he sees U.S. power and military experience." While serving as the U.S. ambassador to Luxembourg, Representative

Ann Wagner was first alerted to the scale of the problem of international sex trafficking, later motivating her efforts to pass legislation to counteract sex trafficking.<sup>151</sup> Former U.S. Trade Representative and Senator Rob Portman's frequent involvement in U.S. trade policy debates should come as no surprise given his involvement in negotiating numerous free trade agreements during the George W. Bush administration. Outside of prior public service and government experience, professional experiences serve as strong indicators of the international affairs areas to which members will devote their time. Senator Elizabeth Warren frequently connects her advocacy for consumers and U.S. workers in the context of international trade to her experience serving as a bankruptcy lawyer and professor at Harvard.<sup>152</sup>

Familial experiences also tend to shape a member's outlook on U.S. foreign policy. Some of the members of Congress most active on AUMF issues and oversight of military operations, such as Senator Tim Kaine and Representative Barbara Lee, have had connections to close family members serving in the military.<sup>153</sup> As the grandson of a Mexican immigrant to the United States, Representative Joaquin Castro's close personal linkage, in addition to his district's proximity to the border, significantly influences how he views immigration reform debates.<sup>154</sup> Senators Ron Wyden and Michael Bennet—both sons of Holocaust survivors—acknowledged their families' experiences in deciding to support the JCPOA, which in their views offered the best means of preventing the Iranian development of a nuclear weapon and advancing the security interests of the United States and Israel.<sup>155</sup>

Organized diaspora or ethnic groups can also have a major impact in shaping members' foreign policy focus. Representative Sandy Levin's vocal advocacy for providing support to Ukraine amidst Russian encroachment in 2014 and his co-chairmanship of the Ukraine Caucus can be tied to his suburban Detroit district's large Ukrainian immigrant diaspora.<sup>156</sup> A staffer of another member reflected on their office's involvement in ongoing debates over U.S. assistance to Ukraine, noting, "we didn't get involved in Ukraine because of the Ukrainian community in [the state], but their encouragement and support has

buffeted our work on Ukraine.” Representative Adam Schiff, one of Congress’s most active advocates for recognizing the Armenian genocide, represents a large Armenian immigrant community in his Los Angeles district.<sup>157</sup> Likewise, Representative Ed Royce serves a sizable Taiwanese American community and is often recognized as one of Taiwan’s strongest champions in Congress.<sup>158</sup> Reflecting on the influence of active constituent groups, one coastal senator’s staffer noted, “[W]e don’t hear a lot from isolationists . . . we get the other pull—the ultra-engagement pull—where no matter what [the senator] does, it’s not even far enough.”

Religious influences also tend to play a large role in shaping views on U.S. national interests. As a Mormon senator whose constituency includes a large number of members of the Church of Latter-day Saints (LDS), Senator Orrin Hatch has been active in supporting immigration reform and reducing visa wait times for Mormon missionaries.<sup>159</sup> Senator Cardin has described his approach to governing as being driven by a duty to repair the world, or *tikkun olam*, a concept in Judaism.<sup>160</sup> Religious perspectives often drive members toward supporting U.S. efforts to advance human rights and global development. Constituent religious groups can also serve as a major driver for international engagement; one staffer noted being impressed with the “international acumen and cultural awareness” of his state’s religious community and support for advancing humanitarian causes around the world.

Perspectives on the U.S. role in the world are also frequently driven by impactful travel experiences for members in both official and unofficial capacities. Formative travel experience during a member’s youth, such as Senator Tim Kaine’s travel to Honduras as a Jesuit missionary, can shape views on the value of U.S. engagement abroad and what constitutes a national interest. While in office, members conduct international travel for a variety of reasons. Some members seek out “hotspots and forgotten spots” to better appreciate the scale of challenges facing U.S. foreign policy and to draw attention to issues out of the political mainstream. Recalling a recent trip to Central America, one staffer explained her boss’s desire to better

understand the factors driving a migrant’s decision to embark on perilous journey to the United States rather than stay in their home nation.

In addition to information gathering for Congress’s oversight role of executive branch-led foreign policy, members often also seek out travel opportunities to advance their preferences in U.S. diplomacy. Whether a member is seeking to cultivate a strong bilateral relationship with a nontraditional U.S. partner or signaling congressional commitment for existing alliances or security partnerships, members of Congress often play an ambassadorial role in their international travels. Bipartisan travel experiences are frequently critical in developing positive relationships among members and shared perspectives on foreign policy challenges and solutions. Representing the United States abroad with members of another political party is a critical way of building bipartisan trust and breaking through partisan gridlock in Congress.

The local economy of a member’s district or state also plays a critical role in shaping his or her foreign policy interests. Members that represent large military bases or defend industry installations, for instance, tend to serve on the armed services committees and advocate for healthy defense budgets. On trade policy, members are acutely aware of the local industries most likely to benefit or be harmed by greater trade liberalization, considerations they naturally take into account when evaluating trade deals. Parochialism is an intrinsic driver of representative government.

More novel findings from the research suggest dynamics at play in shaping the foreign policy motivations of the 115th Congress not previously explored in the literature. First, support for U.S. international engagement, although uneven, is often stronger than widely assumed. In interviews with congressional staff, the statement that “foreign policy is domestic policy for our constituents” was a common refrain. A Republican staffer noted that, compared to elements of isolationist support in the public, “there’s a lot more folks who are actively engaged with counterparts, whether it’s in Russia or Asia or

wherever the case may be, interacting and participating in international forums . . . so when they see a national figure or federal official engaging in international activity it is a very natural thing to do . . . because you do rely more on the international world for the state's economic health." In sum, our research found no dispositive evidence of congressional perceptions of a widespread inward turn among the U.S. public. In light of globalization, most would rather subscribe to the belief that, "foreign affairs is not foreign anymore."

Second, seniority does not seem to be a decisive driver of foreign policy activism. It is a traditional expectation that members, especially in the House, spend significant time on foreign policy only after several terms in office. Only after unlocking the benefits of incumbency, this view holds, should members feel free to spend time developing an expertise in foreign affairs.<sup>161</sup> Yet even as the 115th Congress set a modern record for highest average age of members, a number of junior members have staked out their interests in international affairs and begun to lead their caucuses on national security.<sup>162</sup> For example, veterans, such as Representative Adam Kinzinger and Representative Seth Moulton, have become vocal leaders on national security issues, often taking on outsized roles in shaping their caucus's positions.

Similarly, members in leadership face a unique set of considerations in expressing their foreign policy views, which is often underappreciated in existing literature. Congressional leadership can feel an obligation to champion underserved foreign policy interests for members of their caucus with less political latitude.<sup>163</sup> Alternatively, members in leadership can be inhibited in expressing their views by political constraints, such as the desire to avoid forcing vulnerable members to take stances on controversial foreign policy issues. This dynamic likely helps explain the lack of voting opportunities on issues relating to votes for the use of military force. Thus, as with many domestic policy issues, the personal foreign policy preferences of members in leadership may be communicated through public statements but relegated during legislative action.

Researchers expected to find a correlation between national security committee membership and support for robust U.S. international engagement. However, members sitting on the committees most directly legislating U.S. international affairs are not universally more prone to support "internationalist" foreign policy positions or more likely to oppose "isolationist" stances. Senator Rand Paul's service on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Representative Mo Brooks's membership on both the House foreign affairs and armed services committees illustrate the limits of this expectation. Additionally, national security committee members tend to place far more scrutiny on administrations in foreign policy debates than do other members, as evidenced by Senator Richard Lugar's vocal criticism of the Obama administration's intervention into Libya in 2011.

Notwithstanding these insights on congressional motivation, intensity of motivation is likely to vary significantly just as it did in the CSIS sample set. For some a deeply held set of beliefs about the unique U.S. role in the world not only shapes their foreign policy perspective in office but motivated them to public service. Others approach international affairs with fewer predispositions, more open to embracing pragmatism, party allegiances, or political expediencies. Across committees, differences in perspective are stark. National security authorizers and appropriators tended to differ substantially in the scope of foreign policy worldviews. While authorizers tend to struggle with strategic questions regarding U.S. international engagement and supporting a comprehensive foreign policy approach in response, appropriators are grounded in pragmatic fiscal decisions and more willing to accept seeming ideological inconsistencies when advancing their perceptions of U.S. interests. Whereas appropriators are inclined to leave strategy development to the executive branch and are keen to focus on evaluating budget requests, authorizers challenge strategic preconceptions. Thus, in addition to any number of personal motivations of import, the role a member plays in the institution of Congress is also critical in shaping how they conceive and approach the national security challenge set.

## Conclusion.

Member profile research and ratings provided an important window into the perspectives and motivations of members of Congress on foreign policy. Among the 50 members studied, three major worldviews were observed: prioritizing the defense of the U.S.-led international order; prioritizing the spread of U.S. values abroad; and prioritizing limit-setting to minimize the risks and costs of U.S. engagement with the world. This archetypal structure is similar to ones previously developed by Eugene Wittkopf (internationalists, accommodationists, hardliners, and isolationists) and Walter Russell Mead (Hamiltonians, Wilsonians, Jeffersonians, and Jacksonians). It differs, however, in several notable ways. First, while these prior works sought to classify foreign policy views among the public or in U.S. political thought, our research narrowed its aperture to members of Congress. Second, unlike Mead's consideration of international economic engagement in the formation of several of his archetypes, our research found no correlation between congressional views on trade policy and other foreign policy perspectives. For instance, order-driven members might share a preference for foreign policies that advance the U.S.-led international order but differ on the degree of appropriate restrictions on free trade. Third, our research did not find support for a grouping around a "hardline," or hawkish and unilateralist, viewpoint as in Wittkopf's work. The order-driven grouping is likely the closest parallel, but given these members' support for cooperation with allies, security assistance, and defending vestiges of the international order, their views are not consistent with Wittkopf's categories. Most importantly, the archetypes developed in this study are far more recent, reflecting the effects of developments over the last decade on congressional foreign policy viewpoints. In framing the main belief structures likely driving members in today's Congress, the study team has a foundation from which to identify promising foreign policy areas for bipartisan legislative activity.

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# Report Recommendations— Congress and the Future of U.S. Foreign Policy.

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The acrimony in modern politics does a disservice to Congress by concealing areas of productive consensus on fundamental foreign policy issues. As a review of major recent debates demonstrates, bipartisan majorities have succeeded on a wide range of foreign policy issues from sanctions and trade policy to authorizing major foreign aid reforms in recent congresses. The core motivations of members, as evinced by the archetypes identified among the 50 members the study team researched, cut across party lines and reveal avenues for compromise. This chapter proceeds by first highlighting areas ripe for future bipartisan collaboration on international affairs policy before offering recommendations for strengthening Congress's institutional role on foreign policy. None of these issue sets present easy opportunities for advancing policy, and all entail political and practical tradeoffs. However, with sustained bipartisan effort at collaboration, significant progress might be attained through mapping lines of consensus in U.S. foreign policy.



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## Policy Areas for Bipartisan Collaboration.

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Contrary to public perceptions that today the two major U.S. political parties agree on very little, our analysis evinced substantive policy areas for bipartisan cooperation over the next several congresses. A wide range of additional areas are also promising, including U.S. Arctic policy and improving public- and private-sector cybersecurity. Rather than providing an exhaustive list, however, the study team focused this chapter on highlighting areas with both high issue saliency and relatively strong bipartisan consensus.

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**Foreign Aid Support and Reform:** Strong bipartisan support across a range of foreign assistance types (security, development, and humanitarian) is one of the most striking findings in our research. Although a majority in Congress may not support substantial increases in the foreign assistance budget, only a small minority calls for cutting the current budget or outright dismisses the value of foreign aid. Even those critical of foreign aid tend to focus on improving efficiency and accountability, indicating a general appreciation of the benefits of foreign assistance if properly administered. When crafting a variety of arguments persuasive to diverse factions of Congress, foreign assistance programs can often mobilize wide segments of Congress in support of legislation, including order- and values-driven members. Congress passed a series of landmark aid bills in the 114th Congress, including the Electrify Africa Act, the Global Food Security Act, and the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act. This experience in turn helped educate members on the value of foreign assistance more generally. Bipartisan resistance to the dramatic foreign aid cuts in the Trump administration's FY2018 budget request is the latest evidence of opportunity in this space. Areas for future collaboration include reforming food aid, expanding global internet access, and updating archaic provisions of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act.

**Countering Emerging Threats:** Congress often finds common ground when emerging challenges create a sense of urgency. The new focus on competition from China and Russia is one such area. Ongoing efforts to reform the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS) and export control policy seek to protect the foundations of U.S. technology security. Multiple congressional committees are focused on the challenge of cybersecurity. Other committees are taking a fresh look at the organization of our space enterprise. A promising area for future collaboration is improving the defense of critical infrastructure from cyber threats.

**Oversight of the Use of Force:** Today's congress is unlikely to pass a replacement to the 2001 or 2002 authorizations for the use of military force, but many members in both parties continue to be vocal on war powers. Few would defend the efficacy of the War Powers Resolution as a means of correcting the imbalance among the branches on the authorization of the use of military force, but it has provided a helpful congressional tool for raising the political costs of unilateral military engagements. However, in an era in which the physical costs of sustained global military operations are increasingly obscured and the military continues to operate on an outdated authorization, finding ways to conduct effective oversight of ongoing operations is a critical responsibility of Congress. Bipartisan opportunities could include commissioning independent bodies to assess and provide recommendations, as appropriate, to improve U.S. counterterrorism strategy as well as implementing reporting requirements on any deployments of U.S. military forces abroad beyond those established by the War Powers Resolution. Party leadership should also take on the responsibility of educating members on U.S. military operations abroad by encouraging briefings and trips to operational theaters for rank-and-file members not serving on the national security committees.

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**Trade:** Despite fractious debates over complex multilateral deals, trade policy remains an area of potential bipartisan agreement. First, improving trade enforcement policy and resourcing tends to garner support from members across the political spectrum. Members of both parties have often decried unfair Chinese economic practices, including protectionism and currency manipulation, and could likely be mobilized to support improving trade enforcement and remedies for U.S. companies and workers. Second, the model of bilateral free trade agreements targeted to cultivate or strengthen strategic relationships with other nations still holds promise. Although the economic impact of deals may not be substantial, shoring up bilateral relationships with nations in key regions would be a geopolitically positive outcome. Third, in the aftermath of the U.S. withdrawal from TPP, regional trade agreements with groups of nations with high labor and environmental standards may be more politically feasible. Revisiting the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) would likely be more palatable to progressive Democrats, given Europe's relatively high standards, and could garner free market Republican support. Although trade promotion authority is likely to be extended until 2021, members from both parties should begin an extended dialogue over future prospects for trade liberalization to ascertain where areas of agreement may exist to inform executive branch negotiating priorities for future deliberations with Congress over TPA.

**Leading New Diplomatic Initiatives:** Political gridlock may prevent Congress from ratifying treaties, but members can still play a critical role in U.S. diplomacy. Whether visiting hot spots or forgotten spots, engaging foreign governments in support of administration policies, or establishing independent channels of communication, entrepreneurial members can affect policy beyond U.S. shores. Areas ripe for congressional diplomatic initiative include development in Africa, multilateralism in the Arctic, and supporting democracy promotion programs.

**Countering the Rise in Global Authoritarianism:** A number of members are expressing concern about the decline of democratic norms around the world. For instance, bipartisan coalitions have spoken out on Russian meddling in foreign elections and rising antidemocratic forces in Turkey and Venezuela.<sup>164</sup> Building on recent legislation, such as the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) of 2017, Congress can continue to counter global antidemocratic forces and human rights abusers through targeted sanction efforts. The House Democracy Partnership (HDP) has been a galvanizing force on democracy promotion issues, and its members have shared their expertise with fellow legislators. Expanding on efforts to date, the HDP could recruit more members and increase the number of focus nations; the Senate could develop a similar caucus approach to lead its bipartisan efforts to strengthening democracies.

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## Tools for Enhancing Congressional Influence.

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Outside of these specific legislative areas, a crosscutting bipartisan desire to improve the exercise of Article I powers, including oversight of the executive branch and strengthened direct influence on foreign policy, emerged from this research. Members of Congress cite frustrations with budget reprogrammings used by agencies to circumvent the appropriations process, the lack of influence in oversight of the State Department and associated agencies, poor executive consultation of Congress on trade policy, and insufficient oversight of military operations in the ongoing global counterterrorism efforts. Bipartisan solutions to the imbalance between the legislative and executive branches are difficult but not entirely intractable. The tools to solve these problems are within reach. Whether the political will exists to drive members of Congress to fix them remains to be seen. Members of Congress should fortify their own institutional leverage in shaping U.S. foreign policy. To strengthen Congress's role in foreign policy, legislators could consider the following tools:

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**Regular State Department Authorization Bills:** Just as the House and Senate Armed Services committees and the intelligence committees annually pass authorization bills, the foreign affairs/relations committees should strive to pass a regular State Department authorization bill. The bill itself could be an effective vehicle for oversight and reform, but the process of routinely crafting it would build bipartisan trust on the committees of jurisdiction. A regular State Department authorization process would also increase congressional leverage with the executive branch on a range of foreign policy issues. Perceiving more regular congressional scrutiny and credible avenues for congressionally mandated reforms, executive branch officials would have a far greater incentive to seek congressional consultation. Adding a regular State authorization process to the defense and intelligence authorization processes, accompanied by an effective appropriations process, would create the most powerful, comprehensive, and effective regime for congressional foreign policy influence. Even absent an annual authorization bill similar to the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), Congress could more routinely advance targeted legislation relating to State Department and U.S. Agency for International Development activities.

**Bipartisan Travel:** Members of Congress travel regularly and bipartisan travel opportunities for members and staff came up frequently as an effective tool for creating areas for bipartisan collaboration. In addition to developing a deeper understanding of global challenges, travel creates important opportunities for members to develop networks in foreign capitals and creates time and space for congressional colleagues to build bipartisan working relationships, approaching issues from an institutional perspective and coming to shared assessments of national security challenges. Unfortunately, public perspectives of congressional travel are often negative despite efforts by congressional staff to ensure that trips are substantive and rigorous. Changing public perception of congressional travel through education and encouraging and funding more member and staff travel will significantly strengthen institutional foreign policymaking.

**Bipartisan Committee Reports:** Committee policy reports are an underused tool of the legislative branch. These research efforts provide a unified platform from which the committees can present concrete policy recommendations, put pressure on the executive branch, and inspire future hearings and legislative efforts. These tools are especially effective when developed as an antecedent to legislative cooperation. The process can help build staff relationships,

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tackle emerging challenges, and probe new areas for policy innovation, all across party lines. One of the challenges to a robust research and report drafting process is the limited staff time given to regular oversight responsibilities. Congress will never be able to match executive branch manpower, but bolstering committee staff numbers dedicated to policy research would significantly assist its oversight capabilities.

**Bipartisan and Intraparty National Security Commissions and Working Groups:** Congress should look to replicate previous successes with member and staff working groups for building consensus and maintaining reservoirs of policy expertise in international affairs. At the member level, the Senate Arms Control Observer Group, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission) provide important convening, oversight, and policy development functions on a range of foreign policy issues. Members and staff should look for new topical and organizational constructs for working on critical foreign policy issues, with a special emphasis on bipartisan approaches.

**Senior Staff Level Coordination within Party Caucuses:** While bipartisan cooperation on policy issues is preferable, much of the work in Congress occurs within party caucuses. Regular senior staff foreign policy “sync” meetings within party caucuses inclusive of the range of relevant committees and leadership offices, and between both houses, could help gauge support for policy initiatives and ultimately build consensus.

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## Conclusion.

Although politics may not “stop at the water’s edge,” Congress continues to find itself unified when looking abroad. Members of Congress tend to support robust U.S. international engagement with the world more often than may be commonly thought, including leveraging alliances and multilateral institutions, using foreign aid to advance U.S. national interests, and countering major competitors. Rather than operating as an insular, parochial institution defined solely by constituent interests, members of Congress hold a nuanced set of a views on the U.S. role in the world and have a wide variety of motivations for becoming engaged in foreign policy decisionmaking. More often than not, congressional support for and bipartisanship on foreign policy also echoes the views of the U.S. public. Rather than identifying members as simply “internationalists” or “isolationists,” analysts and commentators would be better served by evaluating the holistic set of views advanced by a member in assessing the U.S. role in the world. The CSIS study team found that the members it

examined in the 115th Congress were likely to prioritize one of three attributes of the U.S. role in the international system: its advancement of the international order; its attention to democracy, human rights, and/or values; or its need to limit global engagements. Better appreciating the interconnected foreign policy beliefs and motivations will improve the prospects for identifying meaningful areas of bipartisan consensus, thereby strengthening our institutions and our security.

**Appendix A:  
Case Study—  
The Politics of  
the Use of Force,  
2011–2017.**

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## A. Overview.

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The use of military force overseas has become—for better or worse—a central and controversial feature of U.S. foreign policy with Congress operating at center stage. Since the end of World War II, the United States has intervened militarily in nearly every region of the world in the pursuit of a variety of goals from containing Communism and protecting human rights to promoting regional stability and defending allies. Several generations of U.S. political leadership have grappled over whether to intervene, how to craft a successful intervention, and the extent the nation is willing to sacrifice blood and treasure for national security goals. Deliberations in Congress over the use of force reflect the full range of these concerns. These debates can offer important insights into how members perceive U.S. national interests, assess threats, and consider the use of the military along with other instruments of power.

This section will examine three relatively recent policy debates wherein the United States employed military force or contemplated the use of force including: (1) the Libya intervention in 2011; (2) the response to the Syrian Government's use of chemical weapons in 2013; and (3) the limited airstrikes on the Syrian military in April 2017. These case studies do not seek to examine in detail the longstanding tensions between the executive and legislative branches over the constitutional division of war powers. While the war powers issue is a vital consideration for U.S. democracy, these case studies do not focus on legal questions surrounding presidential decisions to use force outside the political calculus of members of Congress. Rather, this analysis attempts to understand how members determined and advanced their policy positions toward the use of force during these debates.

## B. The 2011 Libya Intervention.

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The U.S. military intervention in Libya in March 2011 galvanized significant debate within Congress. This debate was not limited to the merits and risks of using force and the national interests at stake in Libya. On a number of fronts, the circumstances surrounding the intervention struck nerves with both Democrats and Republicans and reflected many contentious issues in U.S. foreign policy. The subsequent debate in Congress touched on the justification for humanitarian intervention and the responsibility to protect; the consequences of regime change; the legitimacy of international institutions; and the overextension of the U.S. military after a decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan. The value of U.S. alliances and partnerships also became a contentious subject as some lauded the prominent roles taken by allies and partners while others criticized foreign dependence on U.S. military enablers, renewing charges of unfair burden sharing. Libya also inflamed domestic debates over the U.S. role in the world. When an Obama administration official described the U.S. role as “leading from behind,” the conflict instantly became a rallying cry for those opposed to U.S. military retrenchment.<sup>165</sup> After the subsequent unraveling of the Libyan state, the intervention was advanced as a case in point for those advocating greater restraint in U.S. foreign policy.

At the political level, the Libya debate in Congress exposed new cleavages within and across the two parties. New and unlikely bipartisan coalitions formed in both chambers to support or oppose U.S. involvement. Although a substantial number of members disagreed with the Obama administration's interpretation of presidential war powers, genuine policy disagreements within the parties came into view. The intervention also occurred during a period of major political change in the United States. Many of the freshman Republicans entering office in 2011 identified with the antiestablishment Tea Party. Although the Tea Party movement had risen to power with a message primarily focused on domestic economic

**RIGHT**

Libyans celebrate the fall of Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi in the newly renamed Martyr's Square in Tripoli, Libya, August 30 2011.



issues, its members shared no readily apparent or consistent set of foreign policy views; some advocated for a more limited role for the United States with others staunchly opposed to reductions in U.S. international presence.<sup>166</sup> The Democrats entered 2011 divided as well. Having gained formidable majorities opposing the Republican President George W. Bush administration's foreign policy (primarily the Iraq War), anti-war Democrats found themselves uncomfortably criticizing the leader of their own party. Tea Party Republicans and anti-war Democrats formed an unlikely alliance in opposition to the Libya intervention. However, many Republicans and Democrats, influenced by their views of U.S. national interests or political incentives to

support the president in wartime, among other motives, aligned in favor of the intervention. The House and Senate leadership from both parties tacitly cooperated to contain the dissent among their members.

The 112th Congress that convened in January 2011 brought about a major shift in power in Washington. The Democratic Party, which had controlled the two political branches of government since 2008 with President Obama in the White House and strong majorities in the House and the Senate, now had to share power with Republicans. The Republican Party had dominated the November 2010 midterm elections through gaining the majority in the House and sharply reducing the Democrats' majority in the Senate in an outcome that

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## The Long Shadow of the 1988 Lockerbie Bombing

In the debates over U.S. intervention in Libya, members of Congress involved with the advocacy group for the victims of the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 played an important and vocal role in the debate given their familiarity with and hostility toward the Qaddafi regime. In 1988, the Qaddafi regime had orchestrated the bombing of a civilian airliner, which exploded over the skies of Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270 people including 189 Americans. The attack had remained a source of contention between the United States and Libya until 2003, when Libya formally accepted responsibility as part of

rehabilitating its status from being an international pariah. However, senators from New York, New Jersey, and several other states remained actively involved on Lockerbie issues. As recently as December 2010, months before unrest broke out in Libya, Senators Bob Menendez (D-NJ), Chuck Schumer (D-NY), Kristen Gillibrand (D-NY), and Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) released a report condemning the Scottish government's 2009 decision to offer medical release to the Libyan intelligence officer serving a life sentence for the attack. After the civil war in Libya broke out, the Lockerbie bombing reemerged as a motivating factor for some members, particularly after defecting Libyan officials told Western newspapers in late February 2011 that Qaddafi had personally ordered the bombing.<sup>167</sup>

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President Obama called a “shellacking.”<sup>168</sup> President Obama was gearing up for his own reelection campaign while his Republican challengers gathered in the wings, and presidential politics unquestionably influenced positioning within the debate as the Libya intervention unfolded. In Congress, the Republicans gained 62 seats in the House, the largest shift in power for either party since 1938 and at the expense of many senior, seasoned democratic members. Throughout the Libya debate, the Republicans held a majority in the House with 242 seats led by Speaker John Boehner (R-OH). The Democrats controlled 193 seats led by Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA). In the Senate, the Democrats held a thin majority with 51 seats (joined by two independents) led by Majority Leader Senator Harry Reid (D-NV). The Senate Republicans controlled 47 seats under Minority Leader Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY). The overarching political debates during this period were the showdowns over the federal budget and the debt ceiling as the Republican House angled for spending concessions from the administration as well as the repeal of the Affordable Care Act, which was energized by the Tea Party Movement.

## 1. The Run-Up to Intervention, February 17–March 19, 2011.

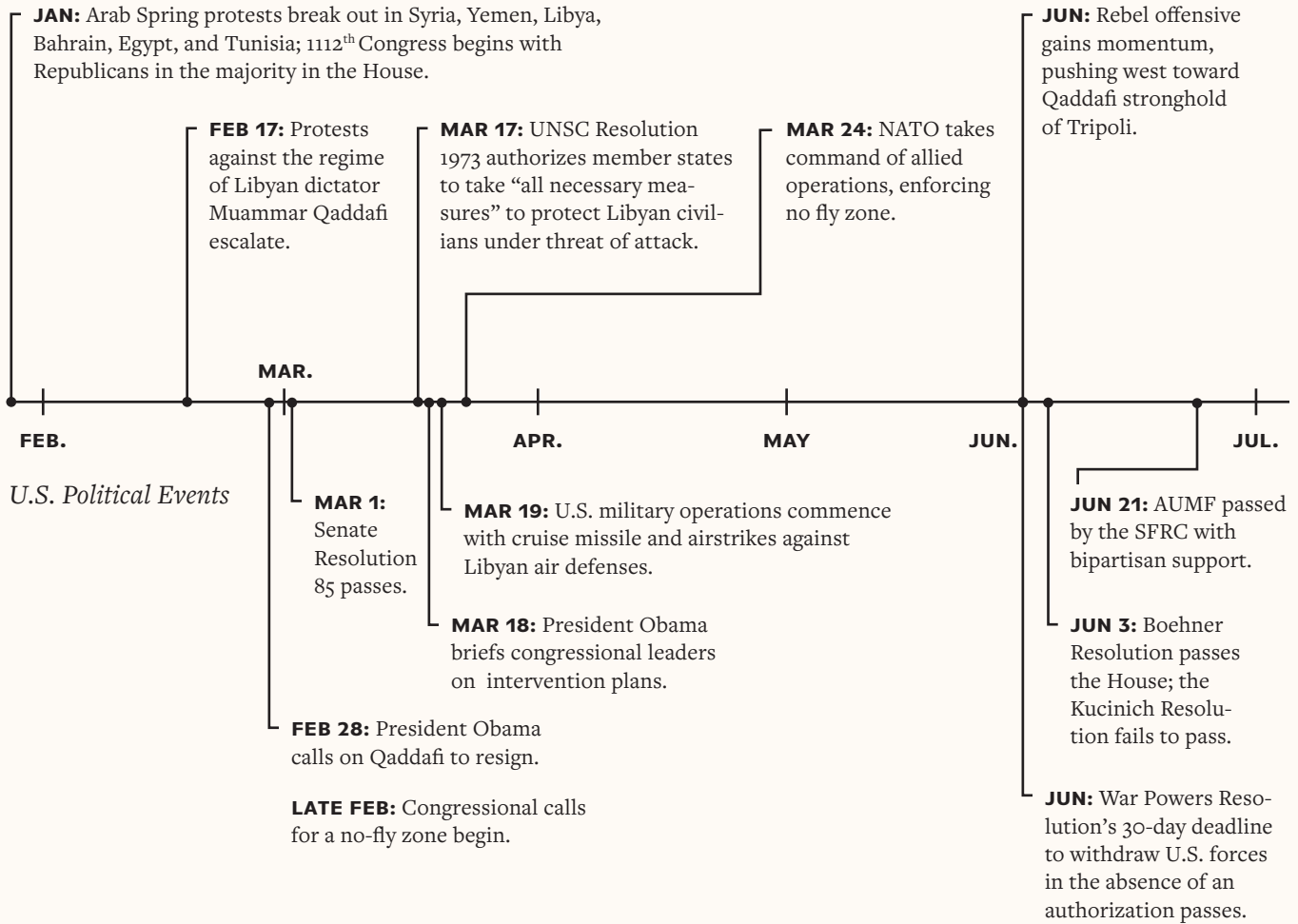
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Large-scale protests against the regime of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi erupted in major Libyan cities on February 17, 2011.<sup>169</sup> Taking place amid a wave of popular uprisings that had brought down leaders in neighboring Egypt and Tunisia, the protests were met with brutal violence by Qaddafi's security forces. The protests quickly spiraled into a full-scale insurrection as Qaddafi lost control over large swaths of the country. Many European and Arab countries, caught off-guard by the initial Arab Spring protests through the Middle East and North Africa, condemned and isolated Tripoli. On February 26, President Obama issued a statement that Qaddafi had lost legitimacy and needed to leave power.<sup>170</sup> By late February and early March, Qaddafi's position had stabilized, and his forces were mobilizing to retake the areas controlled by the weak and fragmented opposition. As fears grew that Qaddafi's crackdown would result in mass slaughter, international and domestic pressure



**FIGURE NINETEEN** Timeline of 2011 Libyan Revolution and U.S. Response

*Key International Events*



mounted for an intervention to stop Qaddafi. France and the United Kingdom led calls for an intervention to suppress regime-led violence.<sup>171</sup>

As the fighting intensified in Libya, the Obama administration and several members of Congress began to contemplate U.S. options to stop Qaddafi from slaughtering civilians and to support the uprising. In late February, Senator John McCain (R-AZ), the ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator Lindsay Graham (R-SC), the ranking Republican on the Senate Appropriations State

and Foreign Operations Subcommittee, and Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-CT) called for the United States to impose a no-fly zone, provide arms to the rebels, and extend diplomatic recognition to the fledging opposition government.<sup>172</sup> Freshman Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, strongly backed U.S. intervention against Qaddafi. As early as February 24, he called for the United States to protect Libyan civilians, enforce a no-fly zone, and take other measures.<sup>173</sup> Senator John Kerry (D-MA), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, emerged as

a key supporter of a no-fly zone in early March.<sup>174</sup> Other members, such as Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK), suggested an intervention may be necessary if sanctions on the Libya regime failed to resolve the crisis.<sup>175</sup>

On the House side, additional support for U.S. involvement was voiced by Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), chairwoman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Representative Mike Rogers (R-MI), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, Representative Adam Schiff (D-CA), and Representative Adam Kinzinger (R-IL), among others.<sup>176</sup> Other members, such as Representative Keith Ellison (D-MN), condemned the violence but stopped short of calling for U.S. involvement in the crisis.<sup>177</sup> Arguing that “the United States must play a proactive role” in the process of holding Qaddafi’s forces responsible for human rights violations and war crimes, Representative Barbara Lee (D-CA) stopped short of calling for an intervention.<sup>178</sup>

Few members in either chamber publicly expressed opposition to U.S. military involvement prior to the beginning of operations. Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, emerged as perhaps the most vocal and senior opponent of U.S. involvement in Libya through early March. In committee hearings, Senator Lugar expressed skepticism that U.S. interests would be advanced by taking military action. He was also concerned by the cost and military tradeoffs of any U.S. operations—suggesting that Arab governments and others pay for any U.S. involvement.<sup>180</sup> Senator Lugar was also a strong proponent that the Obama administration seek congressional debate regarding an authorization for the use of force prior to imposing a no-fly zone or taking other “significant military action.”<sup>181</sup>

Throughout March, members leveraged the routine annual budget and posture hearings with senior administration

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## Senate Resolution 85: Symbol or Authorization?

Perhaps one of the more controversial actions during congressional debate on Libya occurred on March 1 when the Senate passed Senate Resolution 85 by unanimous consent. Introduced by Senator Bob Menendez (D-NJ) and co-sponsored by nine Democrats and one Republican (many with a record on Lockerbie issues), it was a nonbinding resolution that condemned the Qaddafi regime for human rights violations and its involvement in the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing. It urged the UN Security Council to “take such further action as may be necessary to protect civilians in Libya from attack, including the possible imposition of a no-fly zone over Libyan territory.” Obama administration officials and congressional Democrats would later point to the measure as evidence that the Senate had in some form blessed U.S. military action.

Over the ensuing months, Senate Resolution 85 would frequently be referenced in press coverage of the Libya debate, often presuming that the Senate had sought to sanction U.S. military involvement or that unanimous consent meant that all members had voted for it. Perturbed by the administration’s legal rationale, Senator John Ensign (R-NV) later argued the resolution “received the same amount of consideration that a bill to name a post office has.” Constitutional war powers scholar Louis Fisher challenged the administration’s claims that the resolution served as congressional authorization, arguing that “the passage of S. Res. 85 reveals little other than marginal involvement by a few Senators,” and provided “no statutory support” since no similar legislation passed the House.<sup>179</sup>

officials as opportunities to solicit opinions and engage officials on the evolving situation in Libya. In many ways, these hearings fueled the news cycles surrounding the U.S. response to Libya in early to mid-March, shaping the public discourse over whether to use force and if so, to what extent. Top administration officials were placed in the position of outlining options under consideration and updating Congress (and the public) in real time as the dynamic and fast-moving situation in Libya evolved and before having received a clear policy direction from the White House.<sup>182</sup>

The hearings revealed the emerging divisions within the Obama administration over how to respond. On March 2, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael Mullen, in a DoD budget hearing before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense, were repeatedly asked about Libya. Both expressed skepticism at engaging in yet another military intervention in the Middle East. In an exchange with Representative Rodney Frelinghuysen (R-NJ) on military options, Secretary Gates sharply criticized the advocates of a no-fly zone, arguing, “There’s a lot of, frankly, loose talk about some of these military options, and let’s just call a spade a spade. A no-fly zone begins with an attack on Libya to destroy the air defenses. That’s the way you do a no-fly zone. And then you can fly planes around the country and not worry about our guys being shot down. But that’s the way it starts.”<sup>183</sup>

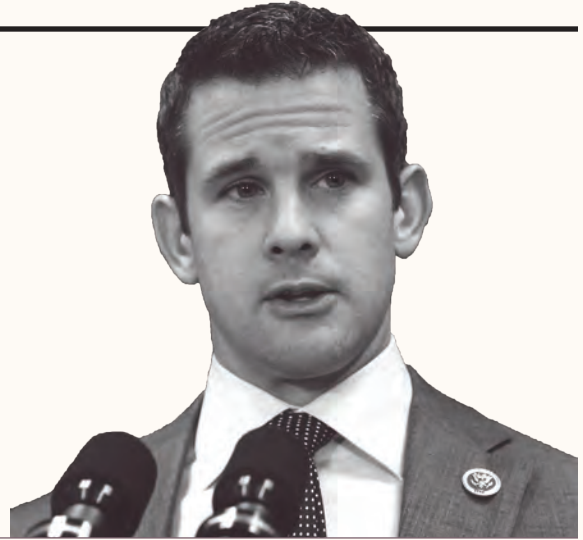
As Qaddafi’s forces advanced on the rebel capital of Benghazi in mid-March, domestic attention toward the conflict was sporadic. While hawks in both parties made an increasingly vocal case to intervene, most members had not staked out positions, and critics were largely silent. The public was inattentive and unmoved by the violence in Libya. In mid-March, just over a quarter of the U.S. public believed the United States had a responsibility to act in Libya.<sup>184</sup> Nevertheless, international pressure grew amid Qaddafi’s offensive, resulting in a series of diplomatic breakthroughs. European allies and Arab partners aligned in favor of military intervention, with France and the United Kingdom leading the way. President Obama was mindful of the growing pressure from hawks

and the possible political repercussions of inaction, as Republicans continued to criticize him for his hands-off approach to Iran’s 2009 Green Revolution. President Obama agreed to commit U.S. forces to a limited air and naval campaign in Libya aimed at protecting civilians; however, he would not sign off on regime change or deploy ground troops. On March 17, the United States succeeded in defusing Russian and Chinese opposition to an intervention, clearing the path for the UN Security Council to pass Resolution 1973, which authorized member states to take “all necessary measures” to protect Libyan civilians under threat of attack. While the UN Security Council resolution expressly permitted members to enforce a no-fly zone and an arms embargo, the vague language authorizing protection of civilians quickly became a point of contention after it became clear that airstrikes against Qaddafi’s ground forces were necessary to halt his offensives. On March 18, President Obama gathered congressional leaders at the White House and briefed them on his plans for the intervention.<sup>185</sup> Several members were frustrated with the structure of the meeting—describing it as less a consultation and more an announcement—and the lack of details provided regarding the potential military action.<sup>186</sup>

REPRESENTATIVE

## Adam Kinzinger (R-IL)

Advocating for Muscular Foreign Policy



Representative Adam Kinzinger was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 2010. Before being elected to the House, Representative Kinzinger served in the U.S. Air Force in both Iraq and Afghanistan, which has shaped his focus on U.S. leadership in the Middle East and a broad interpretation of the president's commander in chief powers.<sup>187</sup> In an op-ed, Representative Kinzinger voiced his opposition to President Obama's potential accelerated drawdown or full-on removal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan in 2014, arguing, "As a veteran of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, I can say without reservation that both of these scenarios would be disastrous for American interests. Afghanistan is key to maintaining regional stability..."<sup>188</sup> In advocating for U.S. intervention in Syria, Representative Kinzinger said, "America was created with a fundamental mission to be an example for human dignity and strength," demonstrating his longstanding belief in the importance of maintaining U.S. global leadership, particularly in the Middle East.<sup>189</sup> Notably, Representative Kinzinger implored President Obama to institute a no-fly zone over Libya in 2011 after President Qaddafi's security forces launched a violent campaign against anti-government protestors. In a letter to President Obama on March 11, 2011, Representative Kinzinger referred to the no-fly zone that the United States helped enforce in Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War and advocated for a similar implementation in Libya. He argued that the United States could institute a no-fly zone with little trouble, given Libya's outdated air defense systems.<sup>190</sup> On June 25, 2011, Representative Kinzinger

urged his House colleagues to authorize up to one year of military intervention in Libya. After this failed to pass in the House, Representative Kinzinger said, "Don't let a dispute between the legislative branch and the executive branch result in us pulling the rug out from standing up for freedom. America has a responsibility to finish this through, to stand with our allies. To leave now means Qaddafi wins."<sup>191</sup> After President Obama decided to seek congressional approval before authorizing a military strike in Syria following the Assad regime's chemical weapons attack on Ghouta in 2013, Representative Kinzinger criticized the president for adopting a "lead from behind" method to governing.<sup>192</sup> This assertion was an evident departure from the sentiments of many of his House and Senate colleagues, the majority of whom demanded that that President Obama seek congressional approval before authorizing the use of military force in Syria. He went so far to say, "Without strong leadership from our Commander in Chief, neither the American people nor the rest of the world will believe that the United States is serious in our condemnation of the use of chemical weapons, no matter what limited military action is eventually taken."<sup>193</sup> Consistent with his previous statements and legislative actions regarding the use of force, Representative Kinzinger applauded President Trump for authorizing military a strike in April 2017 on the Shayrat Air Base in Syria, stating that the strike "will help save more innocents from meeting that same fate, and help prevent future use of such vile attacks."<sup>194</sup>

## 2. Congress Reacts, March 19–March 30, 2011.

U.S. military operations commenced on March 19, 2011, with cruise missile and airstrikes against Libyan air defenses and gradually intensifying strikes against regime ground forces. The intervention started while Congress was in recess. Most members were back in their districts or states with a full slate of constituent engagements. Members and the public were largely caught off guard by the speed with which the United States was thrust into an entirely new conflict. The broad public reaction ranged from ambivalence to confusion. Much of the U.S. public was concerned that the United States was being drawn into another expensive conflict with an unclear mission.

In the opening stages of the conflict, many members became frustrated with what they perceived as obfuscated aims of the intervention and doublespeak by administration officials when describing its means and ends. The administration insisted that the military objectives were well defined and limited to enforcing a no-fly zone and protecting civilians, adding that U.S. involvement would last a matter of days, not weeks.<sup>195</sup> The White House maintained that regime change was not a military objective and that the United States would pursue non-military means to convince Qaddafi to leave power—only then to bomb Qaddafi's palace. Moreover, it became increasingly clear that protecting civilians entailed a sustained and increasingly expansive bombing campaign against Qaddafi's military since it posed a threat to civilians throughout Libya. After officials suggested U.S. warplanes were no longer participating in airstrikes against Qaddafi's ground forces, it became evident that manned aircraft continued bombing air defenses while drones bombed ground forces (though in limited numbers).<sup>196</sup> In fact, airstrikes would continue for months, allowing critics to argue that protecting civilians was a backdoor rationale for regime change. Finally, Washington's move to shift operational command to NATO to reduce its role in the campaign while European and Arab allies and partners took greater responsibility entailed challenges.

Even under the umbrella of NATO, the United States was still directing much of the operation while allies and partners were dependent upon U.S. enablers and even munitions to sustain their operations.<sup>197</sup>

In the days immediately following the onset of hostilities, congressional leadership was largely supportive of the intervention. The degree of support, however, was divided down party lines. Republican leaders backed the intervention but pulled no punches in their criticism of the White House. Speaker John Boehner (R-OH) framed support for the Libyan rebels as a “moral obligation” for the United States and praised the operation's humanitarian objectives. Boehner, however, criticized what he viewed as a lack of strategy from the White House and the uncertainty of NATO's commitment to the operation while calling on the administration to clarify the objectives and scope of the mission.<sup>198</sup> Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) also supported the operation but similarly questioned the administration's strategy and expressed concern at the length of the mission ahead. Democratic leaders, on the other hand, lent political support to the White House. Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and Minority Whip Steny Hoyer (D-MD) supported the intervention on humanitarian grounds.<sup>199</sup> Pelosi hailed ongoing military efforts for having “already prevented Qaddafi from implementing his threat to ‘show no mercy’ to his own people.”<sup>200</sup> Hoyer, however, did express concerns about the absence of a “clear endgame.”<sup>201</sup>

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**“Broadening our military mission to include regime change would be a mistake. . . . The task that I assigned our forces [is] to protect the Libyan people from immediate danger and to establish a no-fly zone.”<sup>202</sup>**

**PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA**

*March 28, 2011*

The House Republican leadership had political incentives to use the privileges of the majority to embarrass the White House, especially by highlighting Democratic opposition. Both opponents and supporters of the intervention were permitted to bring legislation to the floor, but rather than pressure their caucuses to make a unified, public stand regarding the administration's decisions, House leadership mostly avoided steering debates or votes. This open-floor strategy, however, eventually reached its limits when legislation that might impact military operations approached passage. For the most part, House leaders on both sides of the aisle were in an awkward position, given the divisions among rank-and-file members. These circumstances resulted in a rather rare dynamic for the modern House: a series of free-ranging floor debates and votes took place where rank-and-file members could fully participate with little leadership direction.

Committee leaders in the House generally supported the intervention but held the administration's feet to the fire over specifying U.S. interests in the conflict and avoiding mission creep. Although House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) had strongly advocated for U.S. military action in Libya prior to the intervention, after military operations began, she began criticizing the administration for insufficiently defining the scope of the intervention and outlining relevant U.S. national interests at stake.<sup>203</sup> House Armed Services Committee Chairman Representative Buck McKeon (R-CA) also expressed concern over the scope of the mission and argued that the U.N. resolution "is not and should not be confused for a political and military strategy."<sup>204</sup> House Armed Services Committee Ranking Member Representative Adam Smith (D-WA) supported the intervention and praised the administration's communication with Congress.<sup>205</sup> Vice Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee Representative Mac Thornberry (R-TX) called for the administration and President Obama to "define their mission clearly, to explain the strategy he intends to use to accomplish that mission, to estimate the costs, and to state whether he is setting any kind of time limit on our involvement."<sup>206</sup> Representative Mike Rogers (R-MI), chair of the House

Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, supported the intervention but came out against suggestions that the United States should arm Libyan rebels.<sup>207</sup>

In the House, rank-and-file members held a diverse range of views toward the intervention, with each party containing multiple factions supportive or opposed to intervention. A small number of hawkish Republicans such as Representative Adam Kinzinger (R-IL), a freshman and former U.S. Air Force pilot, backed the intervention. Kinzinger, moreover, wanted President Obama to expand the mission to overthrow Qaddafi.<sup>208</sup> By contrast, Representative Michael McCaul (R-TX) took a more moderate position, telling his constituents that Obama should have acted in Libya sooner to remove Qaddafi—by negotiation or force—to avoid what would likely now become a prolonged mission.<sup>209</sup> At the other end of the Republican caucus, many Tea Party Republicans shared the viewpoint of freshman Representative Justin Amash (R-MI), who argued Libya posed "no imminent threat" and, therefore, U.S. involvement was unconstitutional absent congressional authorization.<sup>210</sup> Among Democrats, Representative Chris Murphy (D-CT), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, held views similar to many liberal and left-leaning Democrats who supported the intervention's humanitarian impetus but sought a mission limited in length and cost and opposed regime change. Anti-war Democrats led by Representative Barbara Lee (D-CA) stringently argued against a mission they saw as unconstitutional. One anti-interventionist Democrat put forward a position that many Republicans colleagues shared, arguing, "They [the Obama administration] consulted the Arab League. They consulted the United Nations. They did not consult the United States Congress."<sup>211</sup>

In the Senate, Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) strongly endorsed the intervention and pushed back against any concerns over war powers.<sup>212</sup> Majority Whip Dick Durbin (D-IL), alongside veteran lawmakers Senators Carl Levin (D-MI) and Jack Reed (D-RI), held a press call on March 23 to demonstrate congressional support for the White House. Senator Durbin, who had indicated that the U.S. commitment needed to remain

limited in scope and duration, praised the international support the administration had rallied and criticized the operation's congressional opponents.<sup>213</sup> Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) lent support to the decision to intervene but criticized the Obama administration's unclear strategy and lack of communication.<sup>214</sup> Minority Whip Jon Kyl (R-AZ), a strong proponent for intervention since mid-February, nevertheless criticized the operation as potentially "too little, too late" to result in success.<sup>215</sup> Although Democrats were not united in support for the intervention, Senate Democratic leadership and rank-in-file showed loyalty to the Democratic commander-in-chief and precluded major floor votes on U.S. military operations in Libya. As a result, most activity in the Senate would either take place inside relevant committees or be forced onto the floor by activist members.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry (D-MA) supported the intervention, emphasizing its narrow scope.<sup>216</sup> Senator Lugar remained an outlier among veteran lawmakers with foreign policy expertise. Confident in NATO allies being able to bear the brunt of the burden of military operations, Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Levin indicated that his concerns over "mission creep" had been addressed by the administration.<sup>217</sup> Republicans, however, did not spare the administration from criticism. Senate Armed Services Committee Ranking Member John McCain (R-AZ), for example, chided President Obama for waiting too long to act while Senator Lindsay Graham (R-SC) lamented that the United States was not taking the lead militarily.<sup>218</sup>

Rank-and-file members of both parties were restive in the Senate. Senator Joe Manchin (D-WV) expressed doubts about the operation but avoided direct criticism of the White House. Instead, he referenced his recent visit to Afghanistan and lamented the expense and duration of U.S. military efforts there, saying, "We don't have a good record of getting in and out."<sup>219</sup> Senator Michael Bennet (D-CO) came out in support of the intervention but wanted operations to remain focused on protecting civilians; he also argued that allied and partner militaries must share more responsibility.<sup>220</sup> Senator Orin Hatch (R-UT) critiqued the disconnect

between the mission to protect civilians and Obama's statement that Qaddafi must go, arguing that the White House did not have a well-thought-out strategy.<sup>221</sup> Senator Pat Toomey (R-PA) released a statement that was skeptical—but not sharply critical—of the intervention's goals and duration; Toomey questioned what the United States would do if the assumptions made about the Libyan opposition's commitment to democracy and their character proved incorrect.<sup>222</sup>

REPRESENTATIVE

## Justin Amash (R-MI)

A Focus on the Constitution



A son of Syrian and Palestinian immigrants, Representative Justin Amash was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 2010 to represent Michigan's 3rd district. Chairman of the House Liberty Caucus, Representative Amash identifies himself as a libertarian Republican and associates closely with the Tea Party.<sup>223</sup> Describing his foreign policy as “constitutional,” not “isolationist,” Amash has stated his support for limited military interventions, such as counterterrorism operations in the immediate aftermath of the September 11th attacks, when congressional authorization is provided. A staunch defender of civil liberties and the U.S. Constitution, Representative Amash frequently decries the growth of the national security bureaucracy, especially the National Security Agency, citing his concerns with violations of civil liberties.<sup>224</sup> He also opposed the use of force in Libya in March 2011 as the Obama administration contemplated taking military action against the Qaddafi regime. Amash argued that Libya posed no imminent threat to U.S. national security and deemed the proposed use of force to protect Libyan protestors as an act of war that that required congressional consent.<sup>225</sup> Following the U.S. intervention in Libya in March 2011, Representative Amash and Representative Dennis Kucinich (D-OH) introduced a bipartisan amendment to bar funds from being taken from the 2012 Pentagon budget to support the

military campaign in Libya.<sup>226</sup> In May 2011, Representative Amash wrote an op-ed in the *Detroit News* urging Congress to take action if the Obama administration did not follow the War Powers Resolution 60-day deadline and cease the military campaign in Libya.<sup>227</sup> The debate over potential U.S. intervention in Syria in 2013 elicited a similar response from Representative Amash, who took to social media to condemn potential U.S. strikes as illegal without congressional authorization.<sup>228</sup> When President Trump used force against the Assad regime in 2017, following the chemical attack on Khan Shaykhun, Representative Amash similarly came out in opposition to the strikes. He questioned their constitutionality and criticized the administration for failing to seek congressional authorization prior to the use of force.<sup>229</sup> His consistent views on the use of force across the Obama and Trump administrations are notable. Indeed, although many of his constituents supported President Trump in 2016, Representative Amash has become one of President Trump's most ardent foreign policy critics. For instance, he has referred to President Trump's “constant fear-mongering” about terrorism as “irresponsible and dangerous.”<sup>230</sup> He has stated that his criticism of the president stems from his belief in limited government and adherence to the principles of the U.S. Constitution.<sup>231</sup>



### 3. Senate Opposition Stalls, March–April 2011.

As the initial reactions to the intervention faded and the realization that Qaddafi would likely not fall quickly set in, members began to try to advance their policy preferences through the legislative process. On March 30, Senator Rubio sent a letter to the Senate leadership requesting a vote to authorize the use of force against Libya. Moreover, Senator Rubio asked for the authorization to explicitly state that Qaddafi's removal from power was a policy objective—a step farther than the Obama administration and many other supporters were willing to go.<sup>232</sup> Rubio argued that U.S. action was necessary to halt Qaddafi's attacks on Libyan civilians because the U.S. leadership role in the world carried “unique moral obligations and responsibilities.”<sup>233</sup> While supportive of the administration, Majority Leader Reid's office sharply criticized Rubio's position toward regime change, arguing that such a policy would commit U.S. forces to a long-term and expensive nation-building effort.<sup>234</sup> Rubio countered that a limited humanitarian intervention that left Qaddafi in power would create a potent national security threat to the United States given Qaddafi's history of state-sponsored terrorism and development of weapons of mass destruction. Rubio stated, “If [Qaddafi] survives this international effort against him and remains in power, he will be emboldened and angry, and he will once again act against America's interests.”<sup>235</sup>

Freshmen Senators Rand Paul (R-KY) and Mike Lee (R-UT) emerged as vocal and active opponents of the intervention, arguing that military action was not in the national interest. They maintained that since Libya did not pose an immediate threat to the United States, the Obama administration's use of force was unconstitutional absent express congressional authorization. Seeking to attract support for this position, on March 31, Senator Paul introduced a non-binding amendment to an unrelated bill consisting of a single sentence drawn from a 2007 statement by then-Senator Barack Obama that read, “The president does not have power under the Constitution to

unilaterally authorize a military attack in a situation that does not involve stopping an actual or imminent threat to the nation.”<sup>236</sup> After Majority Leader Reid moved to shelve the amendment, Senators Paul and Lee informed the Senate leadership that they would block any further action in the chamber until a vote was held.<sup>237</sup> On April 5, the Senate voted 90–10 against the Paul amendment, with eight other Republicans joining Paul and Lee.<sup>238</sup>

Minor skirmishes in the Senate continued into mid-April. Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) introduced a non-binding resolution (S.Res. 148) on April 14 that required the president to submit a report on the U.S. policy objectives in Libya (both during and after the Qaddafi regime), plans and cost estimates to achieve those objectives, and limits to nature, duration, and scope of U.S. military operations and called for President Obama to seek congressional authorization for the use of military force in Libya.<sup>239</sup> Co-sponsored by five other Republican senators, the Cornyn Resolution was notable for explicitly calling out the gap between the limited U.S. military objectives laid out by President Obama and his rhetoric that Qaddafi needed to be removed from power. The Cornyn Resolution, however, stopped short of suggesting a policy.<sup>240</sup> In many ways, Senator Cornyn's position reflected that of many centrist Republicans—he was content to criticize President Obama on war powers and the operation's lack of strategic clarity, cost, and other matters.<sup>241</sup> However, he hesitated to stake out a position for or against the intervention itself. The Cornyn Resolution was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which failed to debate it or otherwise mark it up. Thereafter, the focus of congressional activity largely shifted to the House.

### 4. Growing Opposition, May–July 2011.

In late May and early June, the conflict settled into a stalemate as Qaddafi's forces proved more resilient than expected, attacks on civilians continued, and it became clear that the rebels were disorganized and poorly equipped. Bipartisan opposition to the intervention grew

as the 60-day deadline for unauthorized military action under the War Powers Resolution (WPR) approached and passed without recognition by the White House. As outlined in the WPR, if the president did not receive congressional authorization for military operations within 60 days of the intervention's start, the law mandated U.S. military forces withdraw from the conflict within an additional 30-day period.<sup>242</sup> Representative Dennis Kucinich (D-OH), a staunch anti-interventionist, introduced House Concurrent Resolution 51 in late May, which directed the president to withdraw all U.S. forces from Libya within 15 days.<sup>243</sup> Of the various measures considered in Congress during this period, the Kucinich Resolution was perhaps the most unambiguous in its opposition to the intervention and would have carried the force of law if passed by both chambers. After its introduction, the resolution appeared to gain favor with Republicans and Democrats alike as frustration grew with the White House's obstinacy on the war powers matter and the campaign in Libya continued with little progress by the rebels on the ground. Additionally, during full consideration of the FY2012 National Defense Authorization on the House floor in late May, the House overwhelmingly approved, in a roll call vote of 416–5, an amendment offered by Representative John Conyers (D-MI) to prohibit the use of FY2012 funds to deploy, establish, or maintain U.S. troops or private security contractors on the ground in Libya.<sup>244</sup>

By early June, the House Republican leadership was concerned with growing opposition to the intervention and convened to find a less radical alternative to mandating the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Libya. Boehner and other moderate Republicans expressed concerns that an abrupt U.S. withdrawal from Libya would embolden Qaddafi and significantly damage U.S. credibility with NATO allies at a time when the United States was counting on allied troop commitments in Afghanistan.<sup>245</sup> After consultations within the House Republican caucus, on June 2, Speaker Boehner introduced House Resolution 292, a non-binding resolution that indirectly rebuked the basis for U.S. involvement, stating, “President Obama failed to provide Congress with a compelling rationale based on U.S.

national interests.”<sup>246</sup> The Boehner resolution prohibited the deployment, establishment, or maintenance of a U.S. military presence on the ground (which by this time, the White House had promised it would not do), set new reporting requirements, and restated its findings that the president did not have congressional authorization for the operation and Congress had a constitutional prerogative to withhold funding for unauthorized uses of military force.

During the roughly one-hour floor debate on this resolution on June 3, House members articulated a range of sentiments regarding U.S. national interests in Libya. Many Republicans continued to question the objectives of military operations and whether the mission advanced U.S. national interests. Rising in opposition to the intervention, Representative Tim Scott (R-SC) argued, “It is simply not clear that Libya posed a threat to our nation that justified the use of troops.”<sup>247</sup> Similarly, Representative Jeff Duncan (R-SC) remarked, “The President cites humanitarian needs, regional stability, and supporting the international community as his justification [for war]. I do not believe these reasons suffice as national security interests.”<sup>248</sup> Other members criticized the Boehner resolution for its supposed assertion of Congress's war powers by way of a statement of policy that lacked the force of law and called for more debate over the intervention.<sup>249</sup> Defending the intervention and opposing the Kucinich Resolution, House Foreign Affairs Committee Ranking Member Howard Berman (D-CA) cited the Qaddafi regime's history of antagonism toward the United States and the importance of signaling support for democratic movements across the Middle East and North Africa, arguing, “it is quite clear that stopping murder and preventing a refugee crisis very much correspond with U.S. national interests.”<sup>250</sup> Likewise, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Ros-Lehtinen concluded, “The news that the U.S. House of Representatives had mandated a withdrawal of U.S. forces would send a ray of sunshine into the hole in which Qad[d]afi is currently hiding. . . . It would be seen not only in Libya, but throughout the Middle East and North Africa as open season to threaten U.S. interests and destabilize our allies.”<sup>251</sup>

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**“Is this the time for Congress to declare to the world . . . that our heart is not in this, that we have neither the will nor the capability to see this mission through, that we will abandon our closest friends and allies on a whim?”**

**SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN (R-AZ)**

*June 21, 2011*

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The Boehner resolution passed the House 268-145 on June 3, with 223 Republicans and 45 Democrats voting in favor and 10 Republicans and 135 Democrats voting against.<sup>252</sup> As a political maneuver, the Boehner Resolution successfully attracted support from anti-interventionists—including Representatives Amash and Kucinich—as well as from moderates and hawks by providing an outlet for those who sought to admonish the White House without the potential repercussions that could accompany forcing a U.S. withdrawal. Most Democratic opponents of the Boehner resolution supported the Democratic administration’s intervention and did not want to support what they viewed as a political ploy to embarrass the president. The Kucinich resolution was defeated 148-265, with 87 Republicans and 61 Democrats voting in favor and 144 Republicans and 121 Democrats voting against. Despite failing to pass, the Kucinich resolution managed to attract a noteworthy level of support from both parties, with nearly a third of the House supporting the removal of U.S. forces from an active conflict.<sup>253</sup>

The next significant congressional actions took place in late June and early July as the WPR’s 30-day deadline to withdraw U.S. forces engaged in hostilities without authorization passed. In response to congressional calls for additional information, the Obama administration issued a report to Congress that took the controversial but not unprecedented position that the WPR did not apply because U.S. military forces were not directly operating

in “hostilities.” The opinion was met by fierce criticism in Congress, even among supporters of the intervention. Senator McCain called it “a confusing breach of common sense.”<sup>254</sup> In calling for a mid-June Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on the administration’s legal justification, Senator Corker noted, “If dropping bombs and firing missiles on military installations are not hostilities, I don’t know what is.”<sup>255</sup> Representative Tom Rooney (R-FL), a second-term member sitting on the House Armed Services Committee, concurred that the rationale “insults our intelligence.”<sup>256</sup> On June 21, Senators Kerry and McCain were supported by a bipartisan group of co-sponsors in seeking to quash the lingering war powers issue through a bill (S.J.Res. 20) to authorize the use of force against Libya. Immediately after a contentious June 28 hearing with administration lawyers over their interpretation of the WPR, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed the Kerry-McCain Resolution in a 14-5 vote. All 10 Democrats and 4 Republicans, including Senators Barrasso, Inhofe, Isakson, and Rubio, voted in favor. Republican Senators Lugar, Corker, DeMint, Lee, and Risch opposed it.<sup>257</sup> The measure was never brought to vote in the full Senate, likely due to a lack of support. However, the move did catalyze a parallel effort in the House.

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**“People say we’re the indispensable nation. That’s a terrible burden to impose on ourselves. . . . America can no longer be asked to be the one that does everything, everywhere, every time.”<sup>258</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE BARNEY FRANK (D-MA)**

*June 24, 2011*

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In late June, the House debate over the intervention culminated in votes on two key bills. The first, House Joint Resolution 68, introduced by Representative Alcee Hastings (D-FL), largely mirrored the Kerry-McCain resolution and would have authorized the limited use of

the U.S. military in support of the NATO mission in Libya for a period of one year and barred the use of U.S. ground forces.<sup>259</sup> The second, House Resolution 2278, introduced by Representative Rooney, would have prohibited DoD from expending funding in support of NATO operations in Libya except for specified enabling capabilities.<sup>260</sup> While the Rooney resolution appeared to be an attempt to defund the operation, opponents of the measure argued that it was actually a de facto authorization for the use of force because it did not limit DoD funding for the majority of ongoing U.S. military activities in Libya. Also in June, Representative Kucinich and nine other representatives filed a lawsuit against the administration alleging that military operations in Libya were unconstitutional.<sup>261</sup>

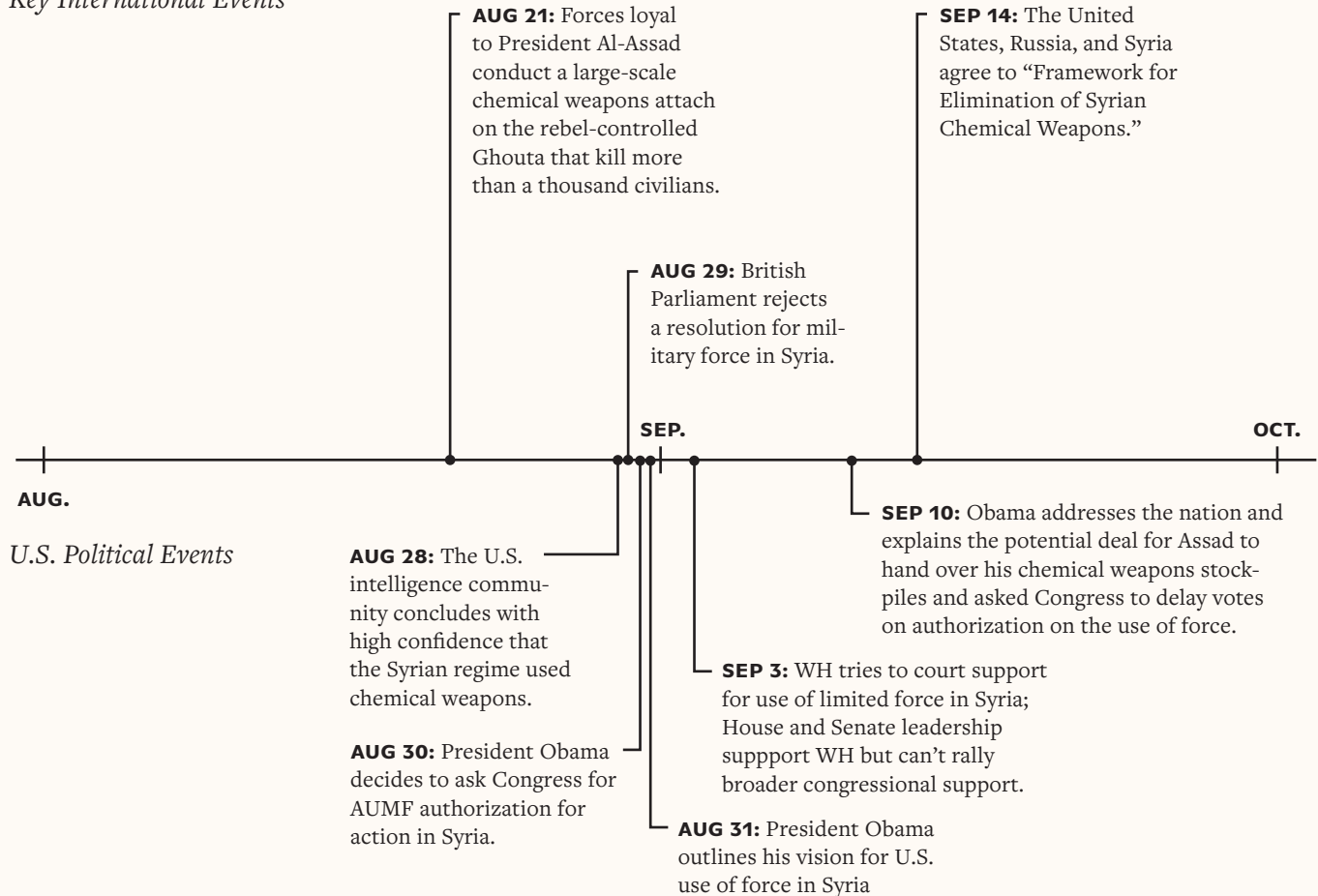
As the debate shifted toward authorizing U.S. military support for NATO's operation in Libya as well as funding for that support, the deliberations over the Hastings and Rooney amendments touched on deeper issues regarding U.S. alliances. Republicans and Democrats assailed NATO on the House floor, criticizing the inability of the allies to take on Qaddafi without the U.S. military and the unfair burden sharing in the alliance given deep U.S. involvement in other conflicts and the economic malaise at home. Yet other Republicans and Democrats rose in defense of the alliance, arguing that NATO allies and partners were in fact shouldering more of the burden than the U.S. military in Libya and removing support from them would damage U.S. credibility.<sup>262</sup> The Hastings Resolution failed in a 123–295 vote, with 8 Republicans and 115 Democrats in support and 225 Republicans and 70 Democrats opposed.<sup>263</sup> Immediately thereafter, the Rooney Resolution failed on a 180–238 vote.<sup>264</sup> The *New York Times*' Jennifer Steinhauer concluded, "The message—a bipartisan muddle—reflected both a nation weary of wars across party and geographic lines, and a Congress that dislikes having its powers usurped by the executive branch."<sup>265</sup> In early July, the House debated five additional measures along these lines, all of which failed to pass.<sup>266</sup>

Congress was neither able to expressly authorize the Libya intervention nor force a withdrawal, often resorting to imposing caveats on certain matters that the White House had no interest in pursuing. Congressional focus

on Libya diminished over the course of the summer as the rebels broke the stalemate and seized Tripoli in August. The United States continued to participate in operations in Libya under NATO command until October 2011, when the rebels successfully captured the last of Qaddafi's strongholds and killed the dictator himself.

## C. The U.S. Response to the Assad Regime's Use of Chemical Weapons in 2013.

On August 21, 2013, forces loyal to Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad conducted a large-scale chemical weapons attack on the rebel-controlled areas in Ghouta outside of Damascus that killed more than a thousand civilians, including hundreds of children.<sup>267</sup> The attack sparked intense deliberation over a potential U.S. intervention in the Syrian Civil War, particularly given that President Obama had warned the Syrian regime that the use of chemical weapons would represent the crossing of a "red line," suggesting that such use would prompt U.S. intervention. After initially deciding in favor of a limited strike, President Obama surprised many when he deferred the matter to Congress and sought authorization before taking military action. The debate exposed a rising tide of hostility toward additional U.S. military interventions. Congressional opposition to intervention was particularly strong in the Republican-controlled House, where many Republicans and Democrats firmly opposed stepping into the Syria conflict. By mid-September, it appeared likely that opponents of intervention from both parties would stymie congressional authorization for the use of force in response to the chemical weapons attack, though congressional sentiment remained largely uncertain. The only vote taken in Congress on an authorization for military action against the regime produced a positive result with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 10–7 in favor of authorizing force (S.J.Res.21). Rather than opting for unilateral military action without ex ante congressional authorization, the Obama administration

**FIGURE TWENTY** The 2013 Syria “Redline” Debate*Key International Events*

instead agreed to a last-minute diplomatic solution with Syria brokered by Russia. The decision to support the deal averted the need for congressional authorization for the use of military force and resulted in the removal of most of Syria’s chemical weapons stockpiles.

The debate over how the United States should respond to the chemical weapons attack in Syria in August 2013 came amidst a broader discussion in Washington over U.S. and European policies towards Syria’s civil war. After more than two years, the conflict was increasingly destabilizing the region. A humanitarian crisis was unfolding with millions of refugees fleeing to neighboring countries. Radical Islamist factions were becoming more prominent

among the rebels and the embattled Assad regime was drawing greater levels of support from Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah to hold onto power. U.S. policy in the summer of 2013 consisted of political pressure on Assad to leave power, economic sanctions on the regime, limited clandestine military support to moderate Syrian rebels, and humanitarian support to civilians.<sup>268</sup>

With more than 110,000 people already estimated to have died in the conflict between March 2011 and September 2013, the United States had drawn a red line on the use of chemical weapons.<sup>269</sup> President Obama told reporters on August 20, 2012, almost exactly a year prior to the Ghouta chemical weapons attack that killed thousands,

“We have been very clear to the Assad regime . . . that a red line for us is we start seeing a whole bunch of chemical weapons moving around or being utilized. That would change my calculus.”<sup>270</sup> While initially taken as an offhand remark and not an official policy, this statement and others over the next year by President Obama and other administration officials made it clear that the use of chemical weapons would trigger a U.S. response. Although the precise nature of the response was left ambiguous, U.S. policymakers saw value in a limited military intervention to uphold the credibility of U.S. deterrence. To be sure, it was a position that President Obama, who was weary of greater involvement in Syria, hoped he would not have to enforce.<sup>271</sup>

The domestic U.S. debate over how to respond to the Ghouta attack endured through September 2013. President Obama was in his second term in office after winning reelection the previous year. The 113th Congress remained divided after the 2012 elections. Republicans lost eight House seats but retained the majority with 234 seats led by Speaker John Boehner (R-OH); House Democrats were in the minority with 201 seats led by Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA). The Democrats held the majority in the Senate with 53 seats, joined by two independents, led by Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV); Senate Republicans controlled 45 seats under Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY).

## 1. Initial U.S. Reaction, August 21–August 31, 2013.

As the world learned of the Assad regime’s August 21 attack, the Obama administration began to prepare for a military response to enforce the aforementioned red line while the intelligence community worked to confirm Syria’s use of chemical weapons. Secretary of State John Kerry, convinced that a punitive strike was set in stone, started laying groundwork for the public justification for a strike and building an international coalition to support U.S. action. U.S. forces moved into place, and a military response loomed. Senator Bob Corker, the ranking Republican on the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee, suggested on August 26 that U.S. military action was imminent.<sup>272</sup> However, as the Obama administration’s intent to take military action became clearer, significant opposition arose from disparate parts of Congress. Both Democratic allies of the Obama administration and Republican supporters of military action argued for greater consultation and ex ante authorization from Congress. For instance, Senator Tim Kaine (D-VA) stated, “Absent an imminent threat to United States national security, the U.S. should not be engaged in military action without congressional approval.”<sup>273</sup> Senator Chris Murphy (D-CT) questioned the value of limited strikes that would amount to “little more than a slap on the wrist” and urged “restraint.” Senator John Boozman (R-AR) also called for congressional authorization and a clear “end game” in mind before initiating military operations.<sup>274</sup>

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**“I am deeply concerned by the use of chemical weapons in Syria against innocent people, but after over a decade of war in the Middle East, there needs to be compelling evidence that there is an imminent threat to the security of the American people or our allies before any military action is taken.”<sup>275</sup>**

**SENATOR JOE MANCHIN**

*August 30, 2013*

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Leading the opposition to an intervention were Tea Party Republicans and anti-war Democrats in the House. On the Republican side, staunch opposition came from junior leaders such as Representative Justin Amash (R-MI), who took to his social media accounts to condemn a potential U.S. strike against Syria as illegal without congressional authorization. He also sharply criticized Speaker Boehner, suggesting that if the leader supported an intervention, he should call the House back into session for a vote.<sup>276</sup> Representative John Duncan (R-TN) also opposed the



intervention, arguing, “While what is going on in Syria is very sad, if we keep getting into situations like this, we will be in a state of almost permanent war.”<sup>277</sup>

On August 28, Speaker Boehner sent a letter to President Obama calling for a “clear, unambiguous explanation” of the goals and scope of any military options being considered and included detailed questions regarding the administration’s Syria policy. By August 28, at least 116 House members, including 98 Republicans and 18 Democrats, signed a letter to the White House demanding Congress authorize any military action prior to it being taken.<sup>278</sup> The letter effort was organized by Representative Scott Rigell (R-VA), a second-term member whose district included Naval Station Norfolk and therefore a large number of active-duty and retired military personnel.<sup>279</sup> While signatories included Homeland Security Committee Chair Michael McCaul (R-TX) and House Republican Policy Committee Chair James Lankford (R-OK), no members of House leadership or leaders from the foreign affairs or armed services committees joined.<sup>280</sup> At the same time, Representative Barbara Lee (D-CA) spearheaded a separate letter that similarly cautioned the president against military action without congressional support and was signed by 54 Democrats.<sup>281</sup> In a statement, Representative Lee drew analogies between proposed action in Syria and the flawed outcomes of U.S. interventions in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya.

After its investigation into the Ghouta attack, the U.S. intelligence community by August 28 concluded with high confidence that the Syrian regime had used chemical weapons, but President Obama declined to comment on whether he had decided to use force. As the situation in Congress appeared to be growing more difficult, the

ability of the White House to take action in concert with a strong coalition of allies and partners diminished. Given Assad’s close ties with Russia, authorization by the UN Security Council was not realistic. The United States instead began building a coalition of the willing with European and Arab states. This approach encountered trouble on August 29 after the British Parliament rejected a resolution put forward by Prime Minister David Cameron for military action against Syria.<sup>282</sup> President Obama later cited Parliament’s action as a major factor in his decision to seek congressional authorization.<sup>283</sup> After lengthy internal deliberations, on August 30, President Obama decided—against the advice of many of his advisers—that he wanted congressional authorization before taking action.<sup>284</sup> On the afternoon of August 31, President Obama outlined his response to the Syrian attack in an address from the White House Rose Garden. Stating that he had decided in favor of using force against the Assad regime, he promised the intervention would be limited in duration and scope and that he would not deploy U.S. ground forces.<sup>285</sup> He then announced a second decision that caught most political observers, experts, and Congress by surprise:

*But having made my decision as Commander-in-Chief based on what I am convinced is our national security interests, I’m also mindful that I’m the President of the world’s oldest constitutional democracy. I’ve long believed that our power is rooted not just in our military might, but in our example as a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And that’s why I’ve made a second decision: I will seek authorization for the use of force from the American people’s representatives in Congress.*<sup>286</sup>

Several hawks called on President Obama to move forward with strikes without going to Congress. For instance, Representative Kinzinger criticized the president for adopting a “‘lead from behind’ approach in his own government.”<sup>287</sup> However, the vast majority of members were supportive of the president’s decision to go to Congress for authorization before initiating military operations. Forward-leaning interventionists, such as Senators Corker

**RIGHT**

Syrian American protesters gather outside the U.S. Capitol urging Congress to support U.S. President Barack Obama in striking Syria for using chemical weapons against its own people in Washington, DC, September 9, 2013.



and Rubio, along with anti-interventionists, such as Senators Leahy and Paul, all agreed with the president's decision.<sup>288</sup> "This is not a moment to look the other way, to blind ourselves to the horrifying images in Syria, and to send the dangerous message to the global community that we would allow the use of a chemical weapons attack to take place with impunity," argued Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Bob Menendez (D-NJ), calling for a "decisive and consequential U.S. response."<sup>289</sup>

Whether such authorization could be secured, however, was unclear from the start. Republican leaders indicated early on that the House would probably vote against authorization if a vote were held immediately. Democratic support in the House was weak as well. Many anti-war Democrats felt obliged to oppose a course of action that could lead to deeper U.S. military involvement in the Middle East, while

Democrats with strong positions on advancing human rights saw some sort of action as necessary but were uneasy with authorizing a broad commitment. The Democratic-controlled Senate was generally more disposed toward intervention, but support was tenuous, and many members were on the fence. For the next week and a half, the Obama administration would launch an all-out effort to lobby Congress into supporting military action.

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**"Obama hasn't got a chance to win this vote if he can't win the majority of his own party, and I doubt he can. . . . He is a war president without a war party."<sup>290</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE TOM COLE  
(R-OK)**

*August 31, 2013*





REPRESENTATIVE

## Barbara Lee (D-CA)

Peace Activist

Representative Barbara Lee has served in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1998, representing the steadfastly liberal district that includes Berkeley. Representative Lee is well-known for her staunch opposition to military force in many instances and refers to herself as “pro-peace” as opposed to “anti-war.” Representative Lee is a self-described military brat, as her father served in the U.S. Army and her ex-husband served in the U.S. Air Force. Representative Lee has said that having close family members in the military has enabled her to “understand that we don’t want to send our young men and women into harm’s way if we can avoid that,” and that she has always grown up looking for alternatives to military solutions.<sup>291</sup> Accordingly, she believes that foreign assistance is an important tool of U.S. foreign policy. She once stated, “If you prioritize humanitarian and development aid over military assistance, you will reap more results, save lives, and improve security.”<sup>292</sup> Most notably, Representative Lee was the only member of Congress to oppose the Authorization of the Use of Military Force (AUMF) against al Qaeda and the Taliban immediately following the September 11 terrorist attacks. Representative Lee recognized the pressing need for a U.S. military response to the attacks but felt that “Congress was rushing to put its stamp of approval on a war without a clear strategy or endgame,” and that the authorization was essentially a blank check created without sufficient congressional debate.<sup>293</sup> In defense of this vote, she said, “As we act, let us not become the evil that we

deplore,” and that we must be “careful not to embark on an open-ended war with neither an exit strategy nor a focused target.”<sup>294</sup> Her vote earned her significant criticism, and she has routinely attempted to repeal the authorization since its passage. Her longstanding opposition to the use of force included the 2011 NATO military intervention in Libya. In March 2011, Representative Lee stated that she recognized the United States must play a role in holding those guilty of human rights violations and war crimes accountable, but she stopped short of calling for military action.<sup>295</sup> Upon President Obama’s authorization of strikes on Libyan air defenses and a widening bombing campaign against ground forces later that month, Representative Lee joined a coalition of other anti-war Democrats in arguing that the intervention was unconstitutional.<sup>296</sup> In 2013, Representative Lee wrote a letter, signed by 54 Democrats, urging the Obama administration to seek congressional approval before using force against the Assad regime after the chemical attacks in Ghouta. Representative Lee and her House colleagues implored President Obama to reflect on the flawed outcomes of U.S. military interventions in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria before authorizing military intervention in Syria.<sup>297</sup> She also opposed the Trump administration’s strikes in 2017 on the Shayrat Air Base in Syria, where the chemical attacks on Khan Shaykhun had originated, declaring on Twitter on April 7, 2017, that this use of force constituted an act of war, requiring prior congressional debate and authorization.<sup>298</sup>

## 2. Congress Weighs Intervention, August 31–September 10, 2013.

Rallying support for military action was complicated due to Congress's August recess, during which all representatives and senators had returned to their districts; their planned return to Washington, DC, was scheduled for the second week in September. Even after he deferred to Congress for authorization, President Obama refrained from calling members back to Washington and convening a special session of Congress to take up the issue. Congressional leaders indicated they would reconvene as planned in the second week of September and then take up the Syria issue. In the meantime, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee returned early to hold hearings with senior administration officials on Syria policy.<sup>299</sup> Many members who did not serve on these committees also returned to Washington early to participate in classified briefings and consultations with senior administration and military officials.

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**“This is not the time for armchair isolationism.”<sup>300</sup>**

**SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN KERRY**

*September 3, 2013*

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After the Labor Day holiday on the first Monday in September, skeptical lawmakers were met with the first national opinion polls since the chemical attack that showed widespread public opposition to military action across party lines. Moreover, many members were inundated in their home districts and in Washington by constituents who opposed intervention. Representative Ralph Hall (R-TX), for example, came out in opposition to the use of force, citing an overwhelmingly negative reaction by his constituents in the form of hundreds of calls and letters.<sup>301</sup> At the same time, the

White House started a full-court press to drum up support, providing congressional leaders with draft legislative language to authorize the use of military force, sending senior officials to testify, and providing classified intelligence briefings and consultations to hundreds of members. Democrats and Republicans on the fence, however, appeared only willing to authorize highly circumscribed military action given the precedents established in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya. Representative Adam Schiff (D-CA) offered support for limited strikes but expressed reservations over the breadth of the White House's proposed authorization.<sup>302</sup> At the other end of the spectrum, the administration had to avoid crafting an authorization too limited in scope for congressional hawks. Senator Rubio was skeptical that limited strikes would change the Assad regime's calculations for future chemical weapons use.<sup>303</sup> Senators McCain and Graham indicated they would not support strikes without a strategy to “change the momentum on the battlefield.”<sup>304</sup>

Following consultations at the White House on September 3, nearly all congressional leadership in both chambers emerged supportive of the administration's desire to use military force with some reservations. While Speaker Boehner and House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) favored military action, they both indicated that they would not whip votes for the authorization, suggesting it was up to President Obama to persuade Congress.<sup>305</sup> On the Democratic side, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV), House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), Senate Majority Whip Richard Durbin (D-IL), and House Minority Whip Steny Hoyer (D-MD) also favored limited military action.<sup>306</sup> Pelosi, however, noted she did not think her constituents were convinced that military action was necessary. She emphasized that members must help communicate to the public how Assad's use of weapons of mass destruction changed the nature of the conflict, thus meriting U.S. military involvement. Pelosi described her approach as coming from a humanitarian standpoint and that even waiting for the United Nations or Russia to act was “a luxury that we cannot afford.”<sup>307</sup> Recognizing the strong public skepticism for action, Pelosi urged members to make their constituents aware of the “clear, convincing, and devastating” intelligence on the chemical attack.<sup>308</sup>

In fact, Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell would emerge as the only congressional leader opposed to military action in Syria. Although McConnell's opposition came later in the debate—on September 10, after the news had broken on Russia's diplomatic overture—it was still a noteworthy break from his past record on using force. In a lengthy speech on the Senate floor, McConnell based his opposition on two key elements: he did not consider there to be any vital U.S. national security interest at stake and he maintained deep misgivings regarding the Obama administration's longer-term strategy. McConnell drew a sharp distinction between himself and those he called isolationists, likely referencing his colleague from Kentucky, Senator Paul. McConnell defended his credentials as an internationalist, arguing, "I've never been an isolationist and a vote against this resolution shouldn't be interpreted by anyone as a turn in that direction. . . . All interventions are not created equal. And this proposal just does not stand up."<sup>309</sup> Several political commentators noted that McConnell's upcoming reelection bid in 2014—especially as Democratic party leaders were targeting his seat as a potential pick-up—may have influenced his position.<sup>310</sup>

Throughout early September 2013, Secretary of State John Kerry, Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Martin Dempsey engaged the Hill to make the administration's case for intervention. On September 3, the trio appeared before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Senators Chris Murphy (D-CT) and Tom Udall (D-NM) wavered in their

support for military action, fearing limited action would beget sustained military engagement. Furthermore, Senator Murphy pushed back against accusations that those opposing a military response lacked political courage or sought to enable the Assad regime, arguing, "it's that we wonder whether there is a limit to the ability of American military power to influence the politics on the ground in the Middle East."<sup>311</sup> The following day, the same officials testified to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, a more contentious and partisan encounter as Republicans grilled the witnesses. Throughout both hearings, however, the inconclusive wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and more recently Libya weighed heavily on members as they considered their positions.

On September 4, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee narrowly voted 10–7 in favor of an authorization for the use of force against Syria across party lines. The authorization, drafted by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Senator Menendez (D-NJ) and Ranking Member Senator Corker (R-TN), authorized 60 days of airstrikes against Syria with a possible 30-day extension. It was far more limited than the White House's original proposal. While seeking to limit U.S. involvement in duration and scope to attract greater support, these changes had jeopardized the support of hawks, including Senators McCain and Coons, who sought and gained amendments that called for the United States to "change the momentum" on the ground and expressed congressional support for arming vetted Syrian opposition forces.<sup>312</sup>

**SENATE  
FOREIGN  
RELATIONS  
COMMITTEE**

Vote on the  
Authorization for  
the Use of Force  
against Syria<sup>313</sup>

September 4, 2013

**Yes**

Barbara Boxer (D-CA)  
Benjamin Cardin (D-MD)  
Chris Coons (D-DE)  
Bob Corker (R-TN)  
Richard Durbin (D-IL)  
Jeff Flake (R-AZ)  
Tim Kaine (D-VA)  
John McCain (R-AZ)  
Bob Menendez (D-NJ)  
Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH)

**Democrats: 7**  
**Republicans: 3**  
**Total: 10**

**No**

John Barrasso (R-WY)  
Ron Johnson (R-WI)  
Chris Murphy (D-CT)  
Rand Paul (R-KY)  
James Risch (R-ID)  
Marco Rubio (R-FL)  
Tom Udall (D-NM)

**Democrats: 2**  
**Republicans: 5**  
**Total: 7**

**Present**

Ed Markey (D-MA)

## The Manchin-Heitkamp Resolution

Perhaps one of the more unusual aspects of the Syria debate involved the actions of Senators Joe Manchin (D-WV) and Heidi Heitkamp (D-ND), who proposed a diplomatic plan to disarm Syria of its chemical weapons days before the Obama administration and Russia agreed to a deal to do exactly that. In early September, both conservative Democrats had returned to Washington to participate in intelligence briefings on Syria while soliciting constituent opinions. Both senators were unconvinced that a strike against Syria would be in the best U.S. interest. Seeking an alternative to doing nothing or using force, they began working with

a group of former diplomats, national security officials, and think tank experts on a draft resolution that would give the Assad regime 45 days to become a signatory to the Chemical Weapons Convention and begin turning over its chemical weapons, after which “all elements of national power will be considered by the United States Government.” Drafts of the Manchin-Heitkamp resolution began circulating on September 5. Despite having a nearly-identical concept, it is unclear if the Manchin-Heitkamp resolution served as an inspiration for the eventual diplomatic deal that emerged, reflected behind-the-scenes talks already ongoing with Moscow and Damascus, or was simply unrelated.<sup>314</sup>

## 3. Diplomatic Breakthrough, September 9–September 14, 2013.

As votes in the Senate and House approached the week of September 9, the outlook for authorization was grim. Media outlets that were tracking whip counts noted that authorization, while still possible in both chambers given the number of undecided members, faced an uphill battle and was losing momentum. The situation in the House was more tenuous. While there remained a large number of undecided members, opponents were building from a solid core of anti-interventionist Republicans and anti-war Democrats. Many undecided Republicans, citing overwhelming constituent opposition fueled by war weariness and an unclear longer-term strategy from the administration, leaned against intervention.<sup>315</sup> Support in the House was largely limited to the Republican and Democratic leadership, committee chairs, and ranking members from national security committees (e.g., armed services, foreign affairs, intelligence), and outspoken hawks such as Representative Tom Cotton (R-AR). The

Senate was almost evenly divided, but momentum favored opponents as moderate and vulnerable Republicans and Democrats began breaking against an authorization.<sup>316</sup>

With floor debates and votes looming as Congress returned from recess, the administration began to explore its alternatives to congressional authorization. Secretary Kerry was asked by a reporter on September 9 what Assad could do to avoid an attack. He replied, “He could turn over every single bit of his chemical weapons to the international community in the next week. Turn it over, all of it, without delay, and allow a full and total accounting for that . . . he isn’t about to do it and it can’t be done.”<sup>317</sup> While Kerry and his aides insisted he was responding rhetorically and offhand, some have indicated his remarks reflected conversations already taking place within the administration and with Russian colleagues. Moscow responded to Kerry’s remarks positively, and the framework for a deal in which Assad would dismantle his chemical weapons program began to take shape. President Obama addressed the U.S. public on September 10, explaining the potential deal for Assad to hand over his chemical weapons stockpiles and—to the relief of many members—asking Congress to delay votes on authorization for the use of military force in Syria.<sup>318</sup>

**FIGURE TWENTY-ONE** Whip Counts on U.S. Intervention in Syria, Mid-September 2013

Outlet	Senate			House		
	Support	Undecided	Oppose	Support	Undecided	Oppose
<b>NYT</b> <sup>319</sup>	24	47	29	32	213	181
<b>The Hill</b> <sup>320</sup>	26	54	20	31	92	144
<b>Bloomberg</b> <sup>321</sup>	22	35	43	26	149	258
<b>CNN</b> <sup>322</sup>	25	43	32	25	223	179

Congressional reaction to the potential deal was divided primarily along partisan lines. Democratic House and Senate leadership supported the move with Minority Leader Pelosi arguing the deal “was only made possible by a clear and credible threat of the use of force by the United States.”<sup>323</sup> Senate Armed Services Chairman Levin also supported the deal, especially since it did not take the potential option off the table and maintained pressure on Syria for compliance.<sup>324</sup> War-weary Democrats, eager to avoid another conflict in the Middle East but motivated to support a humanitarian response to the Syria crisis, welcomed the diplomatic breakthrough.

Among Republicans, the response was more divided, with some opposing the deal, others begrudgingly supportive of the administration’s attempt at diplomacy, and still others relieved that they did not have to vote on an unpopular issue. While harshly criticizing the administration’s Syria strategy and proposed military action, Senator McConnell indicated that the deal was “worth exploring.”<sup>325</sup> Senators McCain and Graham questioned the “seriousness of the Russian and Syrian proposal” and called for United Nations Security Council action to punish Syria if it failed to follow through with the chemical weapons transfer.<sup>326</sup> House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Ros-Lehtinen likewise expressed skepticism with the proposal and raised

questions relating to it.<sup>327</sup> Senator Paul highlighted the role that congressional and public opposition to military action played in creating time and space for the pursuit of diplomacy before the use of force.<sup>328</sup> While admitting, “Russia’s proposal might be the best available option,” Representative Robert Pittenger (R-NC), chairman of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare, criticized the administration’s policy up to that point, concluding, “it is also an indictment of President Obama’s indecisive foreign policy.”<sup>329</sup>

## **D. The Trump Administration’s Use of Force against the Assad Regime, April 2017.**

On April 4, 2017, Syrian warplanes attacked the village of Khan Shaykhun in northwestern Syria with sarin nerve gas, killing more than 80 civilians and injuring hundreds. While not the first incident in which the Assad regime was suspected of employing chemical weapons since its 2013 commitment to destroy its stockpiles, it was the largest such attack to occur in several years and the first under

the Trump presidency. On April 6–7, the United States responded with a salvo of cruise missiles that struck the Syrian air base where the aircraft had originated. The Trump administration’s decision to use force against the Assad regime, notably without prior authorization by Congress, sparked far less controversy than the situations in Libya in 2011 and Syria in 2013.

The Trump administration’s response to the Khan Shaykhun chemical weapons attack must be considered within the broader context of the unfolding catastrophe in Syria. By April 2017, the Syrian Civil War was entering its sixth year. The country was shattered. An estimated 400,000 Syrians were dead and millions more displaced. Despite much of the Washington foreign policy establishment’s longstanding desire to see Assad ousted, U.S. pressure for him to leave power had faded. In late March, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and UN Ambassador Nikki Haley had suggested that the U.S. focus in Syria was shifting away from seeking Assad’s removal. Moreover, despite a desire to avoid deeper military entanglements in Syria, Washington found itself with several thousand U.S. troops deployed in eastern Syria supporting irregular Kurdish and Arab militias combating the Islamic State. U.S. and coalition warplanes routinely flew sorties in Syrian airspace to conduct airstrikes against Islamic State targets—in conjunction with its campaign against the group in Iraq—and to protect U.S. and partner military forces on the ground. U.S. forces were increasingly involved in tense standoffs in the air and on the ground with Russian and Syrian forces similarly combating the Islamic State as well as anti-regime rebels, some backed by the United States. To be certain, the Trump administration had little interest in further prosecuting the removal of Assad given Russia’s intervention on the Syrian leader’s behalf and the diminishing number of war-weary, moderate rebels. Within several months of taking office, President Trump would end U.S. clandestine support for rebels fighting Assad.<sup>330</sup>

Domestically, the U.S. response to Syria’s use of chemical weapons took place as Republican President Donald Trump entered his third full month in office after running on an anti-interventionist platform. The 115th Congress remained in Republican control after the 2016 elections, but the Republican majorities had narrowed in both chambers

after losing six House seats and two Senate seats. Overall, the House Republicans held the majority with 241 seats led by Speaker Paul Ryan (R-WI) and Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R-CA). The Democrats were in the minority with 194 seats led by Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and Minority Whip Steny Hoyer (D-MD). The Republicans held the majority in the Senate with 52 seats led by Majority Leader McConnell (R-KY) and Majority Whip John Cornyn (R-TX). The Senate Democrats controlled 44 seats, joined by two independents, under Minority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) and Minority Whip Dick Durbin (D-IL).

On the evening of April 6–7, U.S. warships launched 59 cruise missiles at the regime-controlled Shayrat Airbase where the aircraft that conducted the chemical weapons attack had originated. It was the first U.S. attack on the Assad regime since the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011. Of the various military responses presented by the Pentagon to the White House, the cruise missile strikes against Shayrat were reported to be among the most discrete and low-risk options. Given the presence of Russian military personnel at the base, the United States gave advanced notice to Moscow, and Syrian forces reportedly evacuated personnel and moved equipment.<sup>331</sup> Nevertheless, the strikes successfully destroyed many Syrian aircraft. President Trump framed the use of force as upholding vital U.S. national security interests “to prevent and deter the spread and use of deadly chemical weapons.”<sup>332</sup>

The cruise missile strikes against Syria won broad bipartisan praise and support in most corners of Congress. Congressional leadership backed the strikes. After criticizing the Obama administration’s proposed strikes in 2013, Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell praised the use of force by the Trump administration. When pushed by journalists to explain the rationale for the shift in their bosses’ positions, staff from both offices distinguished the Trump administration’s 2017 strikes from the Obama administration’s proposed 2013 plans by citing a statement from then-Secretary of State John Kerry describing 2013 attack as an, “unbelievably small, limited kind of effort.”<sup>333</sup> Regarding the April 2017 strikes, Senator McConnell hailed, “America is back in terms of

playing a leadership role” around the world.<sup>334</sup> Taking a more critical position, Senate Majority Whip Cornyn declared, “You can’t just shoot off 59 tomahawk missiles and declare victory. . . . I think in a way what the president did last night is the easiest part,” he said. “Now comes the hard part.”<sup>335</sup> House Majority Leader McCarthy was supportive of the strikes after having similarly held reservations regarding the 2013 strikes.<sup>336</sup> Among Democratic leaders, Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer described the attacks as the “right thing to do.”<sup>337</sup> Senator Durbin called the strikes a “measured response,” and called on the administration to engage with Congress and the public before escalating any further.<sup>338</sup> House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi backed the strikes with qualifications as did Minority Whip Steny Hoyer, who also argued the airstrikes were “not a sufficient answer on their own to the challenge posed by the civil war in Syria and the Assad regime’s war crimes.”<sup>339</sup>

An overwhelming majority of the Senate and most of the House supported President Trump’s decision to use force. While the support was bipartisan, there was a significant difference in tone across parties. Many Republicans praised the White House for its decisiveness and simultaneously criticized the Obama administration’s Syria policy. Although most Democratic lawmakers backed the response, many qualified their support with demands that the Trump administration should have first consulted Congress for authorization and questioned whether the White House had a coherent strategy toward Syria.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Corker applauded the strikes but called on the administration to “engage with Congress and clearly communicate its full strategy to the American people.”<sup>340</sup> Senators John McCain and Lindsay Graham strongly endorsed the strikes while calling for expanded support to the rebels, the imposition of a no-fly zone against the Syrian Air Force, and a strategy to pursue Assad’s removal.<sup>341</sup> Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL) similarly backed the strike (in contrast to his 2013 opposition) but called on the White House to develop a strategy to “ensure that Assad is no longer a threat to his people and to U.S. security, and that Russia no longer has free rein to support his regime.”<sup>342</sup> The ranking members of both the Senate Armed Services and Senate Foreign Relations



committees—Senators Reed and Cardin—both called on the administration to elaborate its legal justification for the strikes and long-term strategic goals on Syria.<sup>343</sup>

In the Senate, only a handful of Democrats and Republicans publicly opposed the use of military force outright. On the Republican side, Senator Rand Paul (R-KY) premised his opposition on the basis that Syria did not pose an imminent threat to the United States and pointed to the recent history of U.S. interventions in the region. Paul, however, found himself an increasingly lone voice of opposition among Senate Republicans. Senator Mike Lee (R-UT), generally closely aligned with Paul’s foreign policy views, declined to either endorse or condemn the military response.<sup>344</sup> The handful of Senate Democrats who opposed the operation included Senators Chris Murphy (D-CT), Tom Udall (D-NM), Tim Kaine (D-VA), Bernie Sanders (I-VT), and Kristen Gillibrand (D-NY), who largely agreed that the chemical weapons attack demanded a U.S. response but admonished the administration for acting without congressional authorization.<sup>345</sup> “I’m deeply concerned that these strikes could lead to the United States once again being dragged back into the quagmire of long-term military engagement in the Middle East,” argued Senator Sanders.<sup>346</sup> Senator Murphy drew comparisons to the proposals in 2013, arguing, “Dropping bombs inside a civil war was a bad idea in 2013, it’s a worse idea in 2017. . . . It will make some Americans feel better, but it will make that battle space more chaotic and end up with more people getting killed, not less.”<sup>347</sup> Senator Angus King (I-ME) also worried about the risks associated further military action given the uptick in Russian military presence in Syria since 2013.<sup>348</sup>

SENATOR

## Tim Kaine (D-VA)

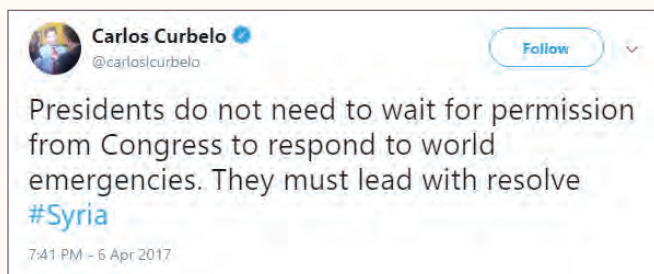
### Restoring the Constitutional Balance on War Powers



Senator Tim Kaine has served Virginia in the U.S. Senate since 2012. A member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Kaine is a consistent advocate for congressional oversight of U.S. foreign policy. He has said that he entered the Senate with the intention of working on issues related to war powers, stemming from the fact that his son is a Marine and that nearly one in three Virginians have direct ties to the military.<sup>349</sup> He states, “There is no decision more serious than to send our troops into harm’s way,” and that his goal is “to minimize the risk of unnecessary war and maximize the chance that the United States will decisively win any war we must fight.”<sup>350</sup> Some of Senator Kaine’s most noteworthy work has been his advocacy in the Senate on updating the 2001 Authorization of the Use of Military Force (AUMF) and resetting the constitutional balance of war powers. In 2014, Senator Kaine co-sponsored the War Powers Consultation Act to reform the War Powers Resolutions and enhance the congressional role prior to the initiation of military operations.<sup>351</sup> In 2017, he co-authored an AUMF reform proposal with Senator Jeff Flake (R-AZ) that would have repealed and replaced the 2001 and 2002 authorizations and required the president to reauthorize operations against terrorist groups every five years. More recently, Senators Kaine and

Corker unveiled a new AUMF that redefines presidential limits on using force against terrorist groups. “For too long, Congress has given Presidents a blank check to wage war,” Kaine said in a statement. “We’ve let the 9/11 and Iraq War authorizations get stretched to justify wars against multiple terrorist groups in over a dozen countries, from Niger to the Philippines. Our proposal finally repeals those authorizations and makes Congress do its job by weighing in on where, when, and with who we are at war.”<sup>352</sup> His positions on the use of force against the Assad regime in Syria also reflect his emphatic belief in congressional oversight of the use of force. After the Assad regime deployed chemical weapons in Eastern Ghouta in August 2013, Senator Kaine voiced his opposition to the U.S. use of force. He believed that absent an imminent threat to U.S. national security, the president must seek congressional approval for any deployment of force. Immediately following President Trump’s decision to employ force in Syria in response to the Khan Shaykhun chemical attacks in 2017, Senator Kaine expressed his support for holding the Assad regime accountable for its actions but criticized President Trump’s failure to seek congressional approval. He concluded his statement saying, “Congress will work with the President, but his failure to seek Congressional approval is unlawful.”<sup>353</sup>





House Armed Services Committee Chairman Mac Thornberry (R-TX) came out in support of the strikes, after having opposed the use of force in 2013, expressing hope that the move would restore U.S. credibility regarding deterrence.<sup>354</sup> Representative Ed Royce, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, cautiously supported what he deemed to be a “measured response,” calling on the administration to “work with Congress and lay out clear policy goals for Syria and the region” going forward.<sup>355</sup> House Armed Services Committee Ranking Member Adam Smith (D-WA) struck a similarly cautious tone by calling the strikes a “proportional response,” but imploring the administration to explain its Syria strategy to Congress and the public.<sup>356</sup> Exemplifying the viewpoint of many House Democrats who supported the strikes, Representative Eliot Engel (D-NY), the ranking member on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, made it clear he would withhold future political support for additional strikes against Syria absent congressional authorization. This position was also advanced by Minority Leader Pelosi in a letter to the Democratic caucus. Moreover, Pelosi

and other Democratic leaders called on the Republican leadership to bring forward a vote on an authorization for the use of force.<sup>357</sup> Representative Adam Schiff, ranking member on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, criticized President Trump’s unilateral decision to use force, arguing the administration acted without proper congressional authorization.<sup>358</sup>

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**“The problem with process arguments is it’s not the substantive question. The question is: Where do you stand on issues of war and peace? Do you believe it’s more unilateral military intervention? Did we learn the lessons of Iraq and Libya and that we should not be engaged? I wish the Democratic Party would speak to the substance of that issue.”<sup>359</sup>**

### **REPRESENTATIVE RO KHANNA (D-CA)**

*April 7, 2017*

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In the House, reactions among those who had been anti-interventionists in 2013 seemed to correlate closely with party affiliation. Tea Party Republicans were far more measured in their reaction to the use of force by the Trump White House than by President Obama. Freedom Caucus Chair Representative Mark Meadows (R-NC) came out in support of the strikes, noting that “any further action, obviously, that would deploy troops on the ground or having major military intervention would certainly need Congress’s approval to weigh in on that.”<sup>360</sup> Representative Justin Amash (R-MI) came out in opposition to the strikes and demanded congressional authorization. Others, such as Representative Mo Brooks (R-AL), were muted in their position. Some speculated whether the Assad regime was responsible for the

**RIGHT**

Rep. Walter Jones (R-NC) speaks during a press conference outside the U.S. Capitol in opposition to the involvement of U.S. military forces in Syria in Washington, DC, March 21, 2017.



chemical attack, including Representative Warren Davidson (R-OH), who raised the possibility that it “could be a false flag.”<sup>361</sup>

In contrast, liberal House Democrats, such as Representatives Keith Ellison (D-MN), Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI), Barbara Lee (D-CA), and Ted Lieu (D-CA), strongly criticized the use of force.<sup>362</sup> Representative Ellison argued the strikes would draw the United States into a regional conflict and deepen the humanitarian crisis. Representative Gabbard, who sparked controversy both in Congress and within the broader public by traveling to Syria and meeting with Assad in early 2017, raised the prospect that Assad’s forces were not responsible for the attack and criticized the administration’s strikes for undermining prospects for an investigation.<sup>363</sup> Liberal Democrats were incensed at their party’s leadership for

supporting the strikes and took strong stances with the backing of progressive organizations. Representative Seth Moulton (D-MA), a former Marine Corps officer, took the strikes as an opportunity to criticize President Trump’s immigration policy tweeting that he, “cares enough about the Syrian people to launch 50 Tomahawks but not enough to let the victims of Assad find refuge & freedom here.”<sup>364</sup>

## **E. Conclusions.**

Across the three use of force debates studied, several themes emerged. First, the debate over the objectives of using force often takes a back seat to deliberations over the means to do so. Congress seems to have focused intensely on the expected duration and scope of U.S.

involvement, the use of ground forces (perhaps a proxy for the risk of casualties), and the financial cost. In each case, opponents may have taken issue with the cause, legal justification, and strategic ends of the conflict, but proponents never felt compelled to spend much time arguing the case for any of these. Outside of infrequent questioning of the strategic rationale for the use of force, opponents spent more effort debating the merits of the means of employing military force in a given context.

The cases reveal members' views were frequently motivated by a sense of war weariness, a preference for multilateral operations, and, above all, partisanship. First, the long shadow cast by the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have shaped how members of Congress framed the nature of U.S. military interventions since 2010. Policymakers from both parties have deep-seated concerns that even a limited use of force will draw the United States into a lengthier and costlier commitment. The volume of these concerns is strongest among the flanks of each party, with a substantial number on the left and right expressing cynicism over the effectiveness of military force and advocating for a more limited interpretation of U.S. national interests.

Second, members often calibrate their positions on the wisdom of using force based in part upon allied and partner nation support for military operations. The forward-leaning role NATO allies took in 2011 against Qaddafi in Libya legitimized U.S. operations for some in Congress, whereas the British Parliament's vote against striking Syria in 2013 seemed to stymie U.S. political efforts for authorizing force. One explanation for this new dynamic may be that growing war weariness increasingly necessitates multilateral support for military operations to ameliorate potential criticisms of the United States "going it alone" while allies "free ride" under the U.S. security blanket. Although multilateralism may increase domestic political support for the use of force due to shared costs and risks, allied involvement can also exacerbate burden-sharing debates and reveal weaknesses and disparities in capabilities as occurred in Libya.

Finally, most members' responses to the use of force strongly correlated with their party affiliation. Rank-

and-file members were far more likely to support military operations initiated by a president of their own party. Several notable exceptions to this rule appeared. First, strong anti-interventionists' positions remained consistent across presidential administrations, even if the tone may have shifted to reflect party loyalty. Second, congressional leadership tended to support the president's decision to use force regardless of party alignment. Third, serving on the foreign affairs, armed services, or intelligence committees seems to have created competing incentives in support of and opposition to the use of military force. Members with a more expansive view of the role of the United States in the world may be more likely to serve on these committees and support the use of force. However, those members who had opposed the use of force and served on committees of jurisdiction were more vocal in their questioning of interventions than their non-committee peers. Further complicating a strictly partisan explanation for behavior, experienced members serving on committees of jurisdiction were more likely to hold higher expectations for an administration's strategy and ability to communicate U.S. national interests at stake in a given conflict even when they supported the use of force in principle. For instance, Senator Lugar's opposition to the Libya intervention was rooted in criticisms of the Obama administration's perceived lack of a strategy.

Across the cases studied, Congress seems more interested in debating the parameters of U.S. involvement rather than the need to authorize it. There were members from across the political spectrum who routinely decried the lack of congressional debate and authorization for military operations seemingly beyond the scope of the 2001 AUMF. However, these legislators represented a minority within Congress. There seemed to be no clearly defined "norm" for when administrations ought to seek congressional authorization or when Congress should insist upon it. Throughout the period examined, Congress remained largely reluctant to use its institutional power of the purse and power to make war to influence the executive branch's employment of the use of force.

**Appendix B:  
Case Study—  
The Politics of Russia  
Policy, 2008–2015.**

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## A. Overview.

This case study aims to highlight how recent Congresses have approached the U.S.-Russia relationship. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, U.S. policymakers' perspectives on Russia have oscillated between viewing it as a potential strategic partner, if it could be integrated into the international order, or as a strategic competitor, warranting cautious engagement. Some have responded to Russian aggression in its neighborhood, malicious cyber activity, and election interference with harsh criticism and calls to action; others have called for warmer ties by citing the necessity of Russian cooperation to address a litany of global threats, such as terrorism and nuclear proliferation, and highlighting structural economic and demographic weaknesses of the Russian state. Most recent administrations and members of Congress have, on average, fallen somewhere in the middle: a mix of criticism and openness to cooperation in appropriate circumstances. Given the complexity of the U.S.-Russia relationship and political microscope it operates under, assessing the evolution of the viewpoints of members of Congress in recent debates over policy toward Russia provides an important window into their broader worldviews. In particular, it may provide insight into how they view relationships with other strategic competitors going forward.

This study focuses on four periods of heightened political debate on Russia in Congress: (1) the 2008 Russo-Georgian War; (2) the passage of the New START Treaty in 2010; (3) the passage of Permanent Normalization of Trade Relations and the Magnitsky Act in 2012; and (4) the Russian intervention in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea in 2014. Despite deviations over time, members of Congress tend to reconcile optimism with reality in calibrating Russia policy to seek cooperation where feasible and punishment where necessary.

## B. Legislative Debates.

### 1. 2008: Russian Intervention into Georgia

Simmering historical antagonism between Russia and Georgia over the political status of the South Ossetia and Abkhazia regions boiled over during the summer of 2008. On August 7, 2008, Georgia sent troops into the ethnically Russian South Ossetia to reassert control over the breakaway region. Russia escalated, deploying troops and conducting air strikes on Georgian military targets both in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. After three days of fighting, Georgia removed its troops from South Ossetia's capital. As Georgia withdrew, Russia continued to increase its presence in the region. Despite its decisive military advantage, Russia agreed to diplomatic negotiations brokered by French President Nicolas Sarkozy. Shortly thereafter, Georgia and Russia signed a ceasefire agreement on August 15. In accordance with the peace deal, Russia withdrew its military assets from undisputed Georgian territory, but kept assets in disputed South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

Despite its brevity, the conflict was significant in shifting U.S. political debates over the future of the relationship between the United States and Russia. Leading up to the conflict, the United States had sought a cooperative relationship with Russia through specific areas of engagement such as addressing shared concerns over the Iranian and North Korean nuclear weapons programs.<sup>365</sup> However, relations grew contentious as Russia bristled at NATO enlargement, the recognition of Kosovo as an independent state, and U.S. missile defense development, and increasingly tried to reassert dominance over post-Soviet states.<sup>366</sup> The Russo-Georgian War further jeopardized the already tense relations as the "most serious clash between Russia and the United States since the end of the Cold War."<sup>367</sup> President George W. Bush stated that Russia's "bullying and intimidation" damaged its credibility as a responsible member of the international community.<sup>368</sup> The administration quickly stated its

**RIGHT**

US senators  
Joseph Lieberman  
(C) Lindsey  
Graham (R) visit  
Georgian refugees  
in Tbilisi,  
August 20, 2008.



support for Georgian sovereignty, called for an immediate ceasefire on August 8, and signaled its intention to provide humanitarian aid on August 13.<sup>369</sup> The Bush administration admonished Russia and withdrew the “123” nuclear fuel agreement it had previously submitted to Congress just three months prior to the Russo-Georgian War. When Russia recognized South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states, President Bush called on Russia to stand down: “Georgia’s sovereignty and territorial integrity must be respected.”<sup>370</sup> The Bush administration remained deeply concerned with the prospects of further Russian adventurism. Accordingly, the administration staunchly defended Georgia’s budding democracy by providing significantly increased assistance, particularly military assistance.

At the time of the conflict, the 110th Congress was controlled by a Democratic majority in both chambers. In the House, there were 233 Democrats and 202 Republicans led by

Democratic Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (D-CA).<sup>371</sup> House Republicans were led by Minority Leader John Boehner (R-OH). In the Senate there were 49 Democrats, 2 independents who caucused with the Democrats, and 49 Republicans. Leadership in the Senate included Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) and Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY).<sup>372</sup> Even during a period of divided government with a Republican executive and Democratic Congress, U.S. political leadership exhibited overwhelming bipartisan alignment in response to Russia’s encroachment into Georgia.

### **Congressional Reactions to the Crisis: August–September 2008**

In responding to the crisis, Congress demonstrated its support for defending the liberal international order against revisionist powers like Russia, who seek to contest the post-Cold War status quo to remake the international order in their favor. Even prior

to the August 2008 Russian invasion, the country had begun to meddle in Georgian territory. At the time, congressional action focused on repudiating Russia's actions. In March 2008, Georgia submitted its bid for NATO membership, but NATO announced in April that consideration for the bid would be deferred to December 2008.<sup>373</sup> Although Georgia's NATO bid would ultimately prove unsuccessful, it aggravated Russian fears of further NATO enlargement.<sup>374</sup> On April 20, Russian forces shot down a Georgian reconnaissance drone over Abkhazia; and in early May, Russia suspiciously increased the number of peacekeepers deployed to the contested Georgian territories.<sup>375</sup> In response, both the House and Senate passed separate resolutions condemning Russia's attempt to undermine Georgia's territorial integrity. The House resolution had 34 co-sponsors and passed with a vote of 390–23.<sup>376</sup> Despite the resounding bipartisan passage, some of those who voted against it questioned whether the United States should be so quick to come to Georgia's aid. Representative Ed Royce (R-CA) criticized President Saakashvili's "bad judgment," arguing that it should undermine Georgia's ability to join Western institutions.<sup>377</sup> Bill Delahunt (D-MA) worried about Saakashvili's effect on Georgian democracy and whether the nation embodied the liberal democratic values other leaders claimed the United States ought to be defending.<sup>378</sup> A similar Senate resolution championed by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joe Biden (D-DE) passed unanimously with bipartisan support.<sup>379</sup> Both resolutions condemned Russia's decision to establish official ties with Abkhazia and South Ossetia, arguing that it hampered the reconciliation process between the breakaway regions and Georgia. As Russia's actions escalated tensions, Congress passed several resolutions to advance their support for Georgia.<sup>380</sup>

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**“We are all Georgians.”<sup>381</sup>**

**SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN**

*August 12, 2008*

By the time the Russo-Georgian War began in August, members of Congress had returned to their state districts for the August recess.<sup>382</sup> Nonetheless, many representatives released statements about the hostilities. House leadership made varied statements, mostly criticizing Russia. House Speaker Pelosi called for Russia to respect Georgia's borders, withdraw its forces, cease military action, and allow the Georgian people to settle their own internal disputes.<sup>383</sup> Others made statements emphasizing that Russia was acting as a revisionist power, seeking to expand its sphere of influence. House Minority Leader John Boehner worried that Russia's actions demonstrated its intention to reestablish regional hegemony comparable to its Soviet past.<sup>384</sup> In response to Russian hostilities, Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, called for a complete reappraisal of U.S.-Russian relations and advocated for President Bush to withdraw a previously submitted civilian nuclear cooperation deal with Russia—a step the president would ultimately take.<sup>385</sup>

Others took a more cautious stance. Representative Mike Pence (R-IN) worried about the impact of a harsh response on the oil trade with Russia.<sup>386</sup> Representative Howard Berman (D-CA), House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, suggested that although Russia's behavior was troubling, rebuilding the bilateral relationship between the United States and Russia was critical.<sup>387</sup> Despite the need to cooperate with Russia on a range of other issues, such as preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, he further stated that “the situation in Georgia cannot be ignored” in the broader context of the relationship.<sup>388</sup> Ultimately, most members wanted to push forward with some degree of congressional action to support Georgia.

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**“The bipartisan leadership of the U.S. House of Representatives stands united in condemning—in the strongest possible terms—the recent Russian invasion of the sovereign state of Georgia. The United States is committed to Georgia’s absolute sovereignty, and we reject the Russian Foreign Minister’s reported assertion that democratically elected President Mikheil Saakashvili ‘must go.’”<sup>389</sup>**

**SPEAKER NANCY PELOSI (D-CA), HOUSE MAJORITY LEADER STENY HOYER (D-MD), HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER JOHN BOEHNER (R-OH), AND HOUSE REPUBLICAN WHIP ROY BLUNT (R-MO)**

*August 12, 2008*

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On August 12, House leadership signaled bipartisan resolve on the conflict and issued a joint statement condemning the Russian invasion. When the House reconvened in September, two Florida Democrats introduced legislation aimed at stabilizing the humanitarian and economic situation in Georgia. On September 9, 2008, then-Chairman of the Helsinki Commission Representative Alcee Hastings (D-FL) introduced the Republic of Georgia Enhanced Trade Assistance, Economic Recovery, and Reconstruction Act of 2008. The bill sought to improve Georgia’s trade prospects with its Eastern European and Eurasian neighbors and directed the secretary of state to provide assistance for Georgia’s economic recovery and infrastructure reconstruction.<sup>390</sup> Representative Berman introduced the Stability and Democracy for Georgia Act of 2008 on September 16, 2008. The bill authorized the president to provide Georgia with humanitarian, infrastructure, economic development, and governance assistance. Although the bills did not move forward independently, both became building blocks for provisions of an appropriations bill Congress later enacted.

Similar criticism of Russian military aggression emerged in the Senate. In a press release on August 8, Senator Jim Inhofe (R-OK) stated that “actions taken by Russia are not ‘peacekeeping’ in nature and risk expanding the conflict.”<sup>391</sup> Members of the Armed Services and Foreign Relations committees made consistent statements. Recognizing the role of Russia as a UN Security Council (UNSC) member, Senator Biden declared that “Moscow has a particular obligation to avoid further escalation of the situation,” as he called for the United States and the UNSC to facilitate negotiations.<sup>392</sup> Senate Armed Services Chairman Carl Levin (D-MI) called upon the administration to “stand together with European allies” in condemning Russian aggression.<sup>393</sup> Senators Lindsey Graham (R-SC) and Joe Lieberman (I-CT) released a joint press statement that argued that Russia’s aggression was a challenge to the liberal world order. Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) indicated support for the United Nations Security Council taking a lead in mediating the crisis.<sup>394</sup> Several members also made statements in support of Georgia after visiting the region. After his trip to Georgia in August, Senator Corker declared it is, “vitally important for the U.S. to play an appropriate role in supporting emerging democracies like Georgia.”<sup>395</sup> Senator John McCain (R-AZ), who was also running for president, was a leading critic of Russian actions in Georgia. Senator McCain compared Russian actions to Soviet interventions during the Cold War, saying, “We’ve seen this movie before in Prague and Budapest . . . this is an act of aggression in which we didn’t think we’d see in the 21st century.”<sup>396</sup>

Not all policymakers opted for such a strong stance against Russia. Senator Chuck Schumer (D-NY) advocated for a more moderate approach to Russia’s recent aggression. He argued that the United States should leverage the economic benefits that Russia would gain from reconciliation with the West to discourage further Russian aggression. Schumer further cautioned his fellow lawmakers that the current approach could only destabilize the already tense relationship and that the United States “must find a way to step back from the path of confrontation.”<sup>397</sup> Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT) strayed even further from the consensus viewpoint. Noting that Georgia initiated the assault and



launched the first military strike to regain control of the separatist South Ossetia region, Senator Sanders noted, “we seem to have forgotten who started the conflict.”<sup>398</sup> Worried that an overreaction by the United States might risk the start of another Cold War, he further stated that the United States, “denounced, not the invaders but the Russian response.” Despite Senator Sanders’s critical statements, the Senate unanimously passed S.Res.690 condemning the Russian military intervention on September 27.<sup>399</sup> Some noteworthy provisions of the resolution include defining Russia’s military aggression as a violation of international law, urging Russia to comply with the ceasefire agreement and refrain from future use of force to resolve the status of the breakaway regions, and declaring that the United States should provide assistance to Georgia.

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**“What is happening in Georgia today, therefore, is not simply a territorial dispute. It is a struggle about whether a new dividing line is drawn across Europe: between nations that are free to determine their own destinies, and nations that are consigned to the Kremlin’s autocratic orbit.”<sup>400</sup>**

**SENATOR LINDSEY GRAHAM (R-SC)  
AND SENATOR JOE LIEBERMAN (I-CT)**

*August 26, 2008*

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## The Role of the 2008 Presidential Campaign

The Russo-Georgian War was a high-profile opportunity for then-presidential candidates Senator John McCain (R-AZ) and Senator Barack Obama (D-IL) to respond to an international crisis on the campaign trail and demonstrate policy distinctions on Russia. Senator Obama released a statement almost immediately after the breakout of the conflict urging for an immediate end to the conflict and emphasizing the need to respect Georgia’s territorial integrity.<sup>401</sup> He also advocated for strong international engagement to help facilitate a political solution in the region and supported President Bush’s announcement to provide aid to Georgia. Similarly, Senator McCain also called for a diplomatic approach to Georgia. In his first response, he called for U.S. leadership in the United Nations to reverse Russian aggression and NATO support for Georgia to aid in stabilizing the region and to establish neutral peacekeeping missions in South Ossetia.<sup>402</sup> He also addressed the crisis in a town hall in Pennsylvania on August 12, underscoring his relationship with President Mikheil Saakashvili of Georgia. Perhaps most notably, he asserted that

although few U.S. citizens may be familiar with Georgia, it is important that they do not stand idly by and let “aggression against free nations to go unchecked.”<sup>403</sup> McCain was consistently a strong advocate for tougher measures against Russia.<sup>404</sup>

Senator McCain received some criticism for being too hawkish: he wanted a stronger a response from the Bush administration, to remove Russia from the Group of 8, and to expedite NATO membership for Ukraine. Ultimately, he did not believe that Putin could be trusted.<sup>405</sup> Senator Obama’s approach was more reserved, which some critics attributed to his lack of foreign policy experience. He emphasized the need for cooperation, a position he promised to further pursue during his presidency.<sup>406</sup> The Russo-Georgian war elevated the debates surrounding U.S.-Russian relations to a national platform. Not only were Senators McCain and Obama speaking publicly about the conflict, but it also became a topic of discussion in the presidential debates. Georgia was mentioned 16 times in the first debate on September 26 and 9 times in the second debate on October 7. Not since the end of the Cold War had “the relationship between Washington and Moscow been an important issue in American politics.”<sup>407</sup>

**RIGHT**

Democratic presidential candidate U.S. Sen. Barack Obama (L) (D-IL) and Republican presidential candidate U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) take part in the first of three presidential debates before the 2008 election in the Gertrude Castellow Ford Center at the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Mississippi, September 26, 2008.



In addition to statements and resolutions, relevant congressional committees held several hearings on the conflict. On September 9, the Senate Armed Services Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee each held hearings about the conflict and its implications for U.S.-Russian policy. The next day, the Helsinki Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe held a hearing on “Georgia and the Return of Power Politics.” The following week, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a hearing on “Russia’s Aggression against Georgia: Consequences and Response.” As is evident in most of the individual statements, the hearings tended to depict Russia as the aggressor that necessitated a punitive response, but they were not unilaterally critical of Russia without acknowledging faults elsewhere. Though he also chastised Russia for its actions in Georgia, Representative Hastings did stop

short of assigning it the entirety of the blame. After lamenting antidemocratic restrictions on the free press in Georgia and criticizing Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice for failing to visit Moscow to discuss the situation with Russia head on, Hastings remarked that there were still “opportunities for discussions between Russia and Georgia.”<sup>408</sup>

Ultimately the statements, resolutions, and hearings in both chambers not only signaled congressional support for Georgia but also paved the way for the passage of bipartisan legislation. On September 24, the Senate passed the Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, and provided \$365 million in additional assistance for Georgia.<sup>409</sup> The House then passed the legislation with a roll call vote of 370

in favor and 58 against.<sup>410</sup> Ultimately the bill was signed into law by the president on September 30, 2008. After the supplemental appropriations for foreign assistance to Georgia were enacted, much of the discussion on the Russo-Georgian War diminished in Congress, while discussions on broader U.S.-Russian relations persisted. Support for Georgia and condemnation of Russia continued in the executive branch in 2009, since key members that were vocal in the 110th Congress were now administration leaders—particularly President Obama, Vice President Biden, and Secretary of State Clinton. Tensions may have reached a near-breaking point with the Russo-Georgian War, but the Obama administration entered the White House with the goal of “resetting” relations with Russia.

## **2. 2010: New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty)**

President Obama’s push for a successor to the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) with Russia originated from the convergence of two major foreign policy goals. First, after years of deteriorating relations under the Bush administration, President Obama sought to “reset” relations with the Russian Federation.<sup>411</sup> The reset, which had national security and economic components, aimed to improve diplomatic relations with Russia to foster U.S.-Russian cooperation on shared issues, like nuclear weapons and Iran. Relations had been tested when President Bush announced plans for a ballistic missile defense system in Poland and the Czech Republic to detect and intercept ballistic missiles launched from rogue states, such as Iran.<sup>412</sup> Another source of tension centered upon NATO enlargement in Central and Eastern Europe, including Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Russia also opposed U.S. interventionism in the Middle East and was especially critical of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003.<sup>413</sup> Russia’s invasion of Georgia brought relations to a post-Cold War low.<sup>414</sup> Second, President Obama held the lofty foreign policy goal of transitioning to a world without nuclear weapons. Speaking in Prague on April 5, 2009, President Obama laid out a vision for complete nuclear disarmament.<sup>415</sup> Known as “Global Zero,” the idea

had already secured high-profile support from former Secretaries of State George Shultz and Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of Defense William Perry, and former Senator Sam Nunn.<sup>416</sup> President Obama made it clear that a new nuclear treaty with Russia was an essential first step.<sup>417</sup> This treaty would become New START, the centerpiece of the Obama administration’s attempts to rebuild ties with Russia during his first term.

Negotiations for the treaty began in April 2009. President Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev met in London on the sidelines of the G-20 Summit, where they declared their intentions to pursue an agreement to further limit nuclear arms. Both presidents acknowledged the strained ties between the two states, but pledged to forge closer relations based on shared security concerns, including nuclear weapon reductions.<sup>418</sup> A later meeting in Moscow on July 6, 2009, set the parameters for negotiations between the United States and Russia.<sup>419</sup> The two countries reached a final deal—signed by President Obama and President Medvedev in Prague—on April 8, 2010.<sup>420</sup> New START, which replaced the expired 1991–2009 START 1 treaty, limited each state to 1,550 deployed strategic nuclear warheads, 700 deployed delivery vehicles—including intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and nuclear-equipped bombers—and no more than 800 total deployed and non-deployed delivery vehicles.<sup>421</sup> After the treaty was signed, it was quickly submitted to the U.S. Senate for ratification.

In the 111th Congress, Senate Democrats, led by Democratic Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV), held 58 seats, including two independents caucusing with the Democrats. Senate Republicans, led by Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY), held 42 seats. Over the course of the debate, members of the Senate Foreign Relations and Senate Armed Services committees played particularly visible roles in the consideration of New START. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which holds jurisdiction over treaties, was led by Chairman John Kerry (D-MA) and Ranking Member Richard Lugar (R-IN). The Senate Armed Services Committee was led by Chairman Carl Levin (D-MI) and Ranking Member John McCain (R-AZ).

## Introduction and Committee Debate, May 13, 2010–September 16, 2010

Following the introduction of the formal treaty documents to the U.S. Senate on May 13, 2010, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held its first hearing on New START on May 18. The hearing featured Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen as witnesses. All three administration officials touted their support for New START, with Secretary Clinton and Secretary Gates arguing that the treaty would maintain a strong nuclear deterrent, improve relations with Russia, and would not constrain U.S. missile defense development and deployment. According to Secretary Gates, “the United States will continue to improve our capability to defend ourselves, our deployed forces, and our allies and partners against ballistic missile threats. We made this clear to the Russians in a unilateral statement made in connection with the treaty.”<sup>422</sup>

Missile defense had emerged as a controversial issue over the course of the New START debate. During the negotiations, Russian officials repeatedly requested concessions on missile defense systems, fearing that an expanded U.S. missile defense regime would reduce Russia’s nuclear deterrent. Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov threatened that Russia would pull out of the treaty if the United States decided to deploy strategic missile defense systems in Europe similar to the planned deployments that the Obama administration canceled in 2009.<sup>423</sup> Despite Russian demands, the language in New START pertaining to missile defense systems was limited to a non-binding statement in the preamble and a binding rule against converting old missile silos into missile interceptor silos, a plan the United States was not pursuing.<sup>424</sup>

Although the text related to missile defense was limited, both Russia and the United States issued separate statements on the topic. The preamble of New START states that Russia and the United States recognize “that this interrelationship [between strategic offensive and defensive arms] will become more important as

strategic nuclear arms are reduced, and the current strategic defensive arms do not undermine the viability and effectiveness of the strategic offensive arms of the parties.”<sup>425</sup> The unilateral statements issued by the United States and Russia simply stated the opinion of each state toward strategic missile defense systems and were non-binding. In addition, the United States was under no obligation to inform Russia of existing or planned missile defense systems.<sup>426</sup> The language regarding missile defense became the subject of bitter—and particularly partisan—debate. For those critical of Obama’s foreign policy in general or his stance on Russia, New START ratification became the central battleground, and missile defense became their primary objection to the treaty.<sup>427</sup>

Prominent Republicans took aim at New START, focusing on missile defense issues. Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, a suspected contender for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination, argued that the treaty would require Russia’s permission to deploy missile defenses.<sup>428</sup> In direct response, Senator Kerry wrote an op-ed that rejected Governor Romney’s claims: “The treaty will have no impact on our ability to build ballistic missile defenses against Iran, North Korea or other threats from other regions.”<sup>429</sup> Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ), the Republican Minority Whip, emerged as a leading critic of New START among Senate Republicans. In a July 8, 2010, op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal*, Senator Kyl questioned the Obama administration’s commitment to its promise to spend \$80 billion on the modernization of the U.S. nuclear weapons program and criticized the failure of the treaty to address tactical nuclear weapons, the verification protocols, and language regarding missile defense. Senator Kyl argued that the language tying nuclear disarmament to missile defense systems would help Russia block the development and deployment of U.S. missile defense systems in the future.<sup>430</sup>

Throughout the negotiations, the National Security Working Group (NSWG) emerged as an important forum for senators to debate and follow developments on New START. The NSWG evolved from the Arms Control Observer Group, which was founded in 1985 to consult

and advise U.S. arms control negotiators and report to the Senate on arms negotiations. After the end of the Cold War, the NSWG fell out of use until the Senate revived the group during the New START negotiations. The NSWG was active during the 10-month negotiating period and open to all members of the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees.<sup>431</sup>

During the early stages of the New START debate, Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) was the only Republican who was openly in favor of ratification. Lugar highlighted decades of bipartisan cooperation on arms control agreements and widespread support from past Republican national security officials, including Secretaries of State Kissinger and Baker.<sup>432</sup> Senator Lugar was already deeply respected in the Senate for his work on every major arms control agreement since 1977, including the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Moscow Treaty. Additionally, he and Senator Nunn engineered the Nunn-Lugar Program in 1991 to safely dismantle leftover stocks of nuclear weapons and materials in former Soviet Republics.<sup>433</sup> Consequently, Senator Lugar's support of New START

gave the treaty credibility in the eyes of arms control advocates. Yet, polarization and shifts in the Republican Party meant that the senator's support for arms control left him isolated within his own party on the issue. Still in need of 67 votes to ratify New START, the Obama administration went on the offensive, sending Secretary Gates to convince Senate Republicans on the merits of the treaty while deploying Vice President Joe Biden to negotiate with Senator Kyl.<sup>434</sup>

Despite the limited attention paid to foreign policy by voters as the 2010 midterm election drew near, some interest groups raised the profile of New START in the context of the upcoming election. Heritage Action for America, a lobbying group affiliated with the Heritage Foundation, started a petition drive and began lobbying in the Senate against New START. Former Democratic Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle has stated his belief that the Heritage Foundation's foray into the debate over New START may have repressed Republican Senate support.<sup>436</sup>

Republicans' reservations about New START also emerged from the Senate Armed Services Committee.

**SENATE  
FOREIGN  
RELATIONS  
COMMITTEE**

Vote on New  
START Treaty<sup>435</sup>

September 16, 2012

**Yes**

John Kerry (D-MA)  
Richard Lugar (R-IN)  
Barbara Boxer (D-CA)  
Benjamin Cardin (D-MD)  
Bob Casey (D-PA)  
Russell Feingold (D-WI)  
Johnny Isakson (R-GA)  
Bob Menendez (D-NJ)  
Edward Kaufman (D-DE)  
Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH)  
Tom Udall (D-NM)  
Jim Webb (D-VA)  
Chris Dodd (D-CT)  
Bob Corker (R-TN)

**Democrats: 11  
Republicans: 3  
Total: 14**

**No**

Jim Risch (R-ID)  
James Inhofe (R-OK)  
John Barrasso (R-WY)  
Roger Wicker (R-MS)

**Democrats: -  
Republicans: 4  
Total: 4**

**RIGHT**

Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) (L) and Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN) participate in a news conference following a Cloture vote on New START treaty in Washington, DC, December 21, 2010.



Senator McCain wrote a letter to Senators Kerry and Lugar on September 14, 2010, raising concerns over the national security implications of New START. Senator McCain wrote that “a number of significant flaws must be addressed by the Senate prior to endorsing ratification.”<sup>437</sup> Alongside his fellow Arizonan, Senator Kyl, Senator McCain elaborated concerns about U.S. missile defense, nuclear weapons modernization, U.S. conventional global strike, and verification protocols.<sup>438</sup> Senator Kerry defended his—and the administration’s—positions with the simplistic argument that “the winners are the American people, who are safer with fewer Russian missiles aimed at them.”<sup>439</sup> Similarly, Senator Russ Feingold (D-WI) argued that “It is in the national security interest of the United States

to reach an agreement with Russia to reduce the number of nuclear weapons.”<sup>440</sup>

After significant debate, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee moved to vote on New START on September 16, 2010. Republicans on the committee, led by Senator Lugar, had pressed for stronger language that supported U.S. missile defense programs. However, amending the treaty required reopening negotiations with Russia and potentially derailing the agreement altogether. Instead, Senator Lugar secured amendments to the resolution of ratification, which would impact U.S. implementation of New START without forcing the agreement back into negotiations. These changes convinced Senator Bob Corker (R-TN) and Senator Johnny Isakson (R-GA) to support the treaty, resulting in a bipartisan

14–4 vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.<sup>441</sup> Commenting on the amended version of the resolution of ratification, Senator Corker concluded that “if the Lugar resolution remains strong through Senate consideration and should the Administration make appropriate commitments to modernization, I believe we may be able to move forward with a treaty.”<sup>442</sup> Senators James Risch (R-ID), James Inhofe (R-OK), John Barrasso (R-WY), and Roger Wicker (R-MS) voted against the treaty, while Senator Jim DeMint (R-SC) abstained.<sup>443</sup> Senator Inhofe was particularly critical of the treaty, stating, “Today’s committee vote is an example where liberals are willing to sacrifice America’s national security.”<sup>444</sup>

### **The Midterms and Lame Duck Session, September 16, 2010–December 22, 2010**

The 2010 congressional midterm elections represented a major test for the Obama administration and had the potential to undermine the ratification of New START, as the loss of Democratic Senate seats might imperil the arms control agreement. The Democrats were defending majorities in the Senate and the House amid rising national discontent about healthcare reform, the economy, and the unemployment rate. New START did not capture significant attention in 2010 Senate midterm races, as public opinion polling showed voters overwhelmingly concerned about domestic issues.<sup>445</sup> Heritage Action for America maintained its pressure on senators through the midterm election. The group distributed highly critical mailers to Republicans who had been supportive of the deal, such as Senator Corker, and put pressure on Senator Kyl and other undecided 2010 midterm Senate incumbents. Senator Kyl’s leadership position made his vote especially influential with the potential to pull significant portions of the Republican caucus with him.<sup>446</sup> To this point, Senator Kyl had not indicated his voting decision on New START, but Senate Minority Leader McConnell noted that he would be influenced by Senator Kyl’s vote.<sup>447</sup>

The results of the 2010 congressional midterm elections raised the stakes of the debate in the Senate.<sup>448</sup> Democrats lost six seats, cutting their majority in the Senate down to 53 votes from 58. Democrats now faced a choice: they could

wait until after the new Congress was sworn in, where New START faced a precarious future, or they could bring the deal to a vote in the “lame-duck” session of Congress while Senate Democrats enjoyed a more comfortable majority. In the House, Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) expressed her support for New START passage while speaking at the Nobel Peace Center. Speaker Pelosi emphasized the treaty’s importance and hoped that the Senate would pass the treaty by Christmas.<sup>449</sup> For the most part, however, members of the House chose to avoid commenting on the ongoing START debate in the Senate.

The prospects for ratifying New START in the next congressional session looked grim. Two senators elected in the Tea Party wave, Senator Rand Paul (R-KY) and Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL), voiced their skepticism of New START and were seen as likely “no” votes while newly elected Democratic Senator Joe Manchin (D-WV) was far from a firm “yes.”<sup>450</sup> With Senator Kyl still demanding concessions, the Obama administration promised an additional \$4.1 billion in funding for nuclear modernization. President Obama seemed eager to reach a deal on New START as calls grew in the Senate, including from Senate Minority Leader McConnell (R-KY), to delay voting until the new Congress.<sup>451</sup>

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**“At the moment, the Republican caucus is tied up in a situation where people don’t want to make choices. No one wants to be counted. No one wants to talk about [New START].”<sup>452</sup>**

### **SENATOR RICHARD LUGAR (R-IN)**

*November 17, 2010*

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The debate about delaying a vote on New START led to significant Republican intraparty tension. Preferring to proceed with a vote during the lame duck session, Senator Lugar publicly accused his Republican colleagues of delaying the vote until the new Congress

to give themselves more leverage. Incoming Republicans, including Senators Rob Portman (R-OH), Roy Blunt (R-MO), Ron Johnson (R-WI), Rand Paul (R-KY), and Senator Rubio, wrote a November 18, 2010 letter to Senate Majority Leader Reid demanding that the New START vote take place in the new Congress to allow the newly elected senators to vote on the issue.<sup>453</sup> President Obama, speaking at a meeting on New START, pressed Congress to take up the treaty during the lame duck session, citing national security concerns.<sup>454</sup> Senator Kyl, leading ten other Republican senators, argued that Democrats wanted to tackle too many issues in the lame duck session—including a major immigration bill, Senate action on the military’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy, and passing a funding bill for the remainder of the fiscal year—and that ratification should be delayed.<sup>455</sup>

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**“The ratification also maintains and will build upon the improving relationship between our two countries and our two young presidents.”<sup>456</sup>**

**SENATOR DIANNE FEINSTEIN (D-CA)**

*December 22, 2010*

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The Senate began proceedings on New START on December 14, 2010, but soon hit a snag. On December 15, Senator Kyl and a group of Republican senators held a press conference where they announced their opposition to debating New START in the lame duck session, arguing that Congress did not have enough time to responsibly consider the treaty. Senator Kerry dismissed these claims, responding in a separate press conference that previous arms control agreements took less than one week to debate.<sup>457</sup> The Senate opened floor debate on New START the next day with a significant debate between Senator Kerry and Senator Kyl on December 16, 2010. Senator Kyl outlined over a dozen issues he had with New START, ranging from the perceived lack of commitment from the Obama administration to the modernization of

the nuclear triad to the utility of the Russian reset and Russian trustworthiness.<sup>458</sup> After listening to the speech, Senator Kerry interjected several times and asked for further clarification of Senator Kyl’s objections and any amendments he had to remedy those issues.<sup>459</sup> Senator Kyl expressed a willingness to engage Senator Kerry, noting, “This is the kind of engagement we need on this treaty and on so many other issues in this body. Too many times it is a Senator coming down and giving a speech, and half of us or more are not listening. And this kind of colloquy can develop more useful material for our colleagues and for the record than anything else.”<sup>460</sup>

With concerns lingering about the impact of New START on U.S. missile defense, President Obama wrote a letter to the Senate clarifying his support for U.S. missile defense development and rejecting claims that New START would interfere. The letter was read aloud to the Senate before a December 18 vote on an amendment proposed by Senator McCain. Senator McCain’s amendment sought to remove the language in the preamble that discussed the interrelationship between strategic offensive and defensive missile systems. The change would have sent the treaty back to negotiators and could have derailed Russian agreement, but the amendment was defeated 59 to 37.

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**“[New START] will make sure the United States is not left with a collection of wet matches.”<sup>461</sup>**

**SENATOR LAMAR ALEXANDER (R-TN)**

*December 21, 2010*

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On December 22, 2010, the Senate voted on New START and passed the treaty by a 71 to 26 bipartisan vote. The Senate approved two amendments to the resolution of ratification. Senator McCain’s amendment noted that Congress did not see the preamble of New START, which contained the controversial missile defense language, as legally binding and called upon the president to reject potential Russian claims that the treaty was only valid



**RIGHT**

U.S. President Barack Obama signs the New START Treaty into law as (L-R) Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Adm. Mike Mullen, Secretary of Energy Steven Chu, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Sen. John Kerry (D-MA), and Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN), Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), Sen. Thad Cochran (R-MS), Sen. Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH), and Vice President Joseph Biden look on during an Oval Office ceremony in Washington, DC, February 2, 2011.



when the United States was not pursuing missile defense systems. An amendment from Senator Kyl required the president to produce a plan to fund U.S. nuclear weapons facilities and programs.<sup>462</sup>

Despite the inclusion of their requested amendments, neither Senator Kyl nor Senator McCain voted for the final passage of New START. Both senators questioned the decision to consider New START before the end of the year, arguing that Congress did not have the time to adequately debate and fix lingering issues. They also wished to hold off voting until the swearing in of the new Congress to allow the new members to examine and vote on New START.<sup>463</sup> Senators Kyl and McCain were among the 26 senators who voted down the treaty with three Republican senators abstaining. Senator

Minority Leader McConnell cited consideration in the lame duck session of Congress as the primary reason for his opposition to New START, amid other concerns on national security.<sup>464</sup> All Senate Democrats were joined by 13 Republicans to approve the treaty.<sup>465</sup> Several moderate Republicans supported the treaty, including Senators Susan Collins (R-ME), Olympia Snowe (R-ME), and Scott Brown (R-MA). Senator Thad Cochran (R-MI), who voted for New START, noted his hesitancy in considering the treaty in the lame duck session but argued that national security considerations necessitated quick passage of the treaty.<sup>466</sup> On the Democratic side, Senator Bob Casey (D-PA) suggested that the treaty would improve U.S. national security, stating, “a world without New START is one in which more nuclear missiles are pointed at Americans. This treaty reduces

that number.”<sup>467</sup> Senator Michael Bennet echoed Senator Casey’s sentiment, saying the treaty “helps lay the groundwork for future work against rogue nuclear threats and global terrorism.”<sup>468</sup> On February 5, 2011, New START officially entered into force.<sup>469</sup>

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**“I wish to thank the chairman and the ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee for the accommodating process from day one in April until today, where the treaty will ultimately pass on the floor of the Senate. . . .**

**I want to let everyone who is listening and those who will read the reports of this debate know that this has been a 7-month process, not a 9-day process, and it has been a detailed process.”<sup>470</sup>**

**SENATOR JOHNNY ISAKSON (R-GA)**

*December 22, 2010*

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### **3. 2012: Permanent Normal Trade Relations and the Magnitsky Act**

The Russia “reset” policy President Obama pursued in his first term included a substantial economic element. After making progress on national security issues, such as nuclear nonproliferation, arms control, and international sanctions, President Obama and Russian President Medvedev turned to pursuing efforts at economic integration.<sup>471</sup> Chief among them was Russia’s bid for membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), a process that began in 1993 when Russia applied for membership in the WTO’s predecessor, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. Russia’s accession would require the United States to adhere to WTO rules on tariffs and nondiscriminatory trade practices. In other words, U.S. obligations to the WTO would be in conflict with existing

sanctions against Russia. However, U.S. companies would not immediately gain access to the Russian market due to preexisting U.S. law. The Jackson-Vanik amendment to the U.S. Trade Act of 1974 placed market restrictions on states that did not allow freedom of emigration, which included the Soviet Union and still applied to Russia and Moldova, to which the United States would offer permanent normalization of trade relations (PNTR) if the amendment was repealed.<sup>472</sup> Congress would have to repeal this amendment to normalize trade.<sup>473</sup> The Jackson-Vanik amendment had not been enforced since the end of the Cold War in 1991, as subsequent U.S. presidents chose to waive the restrictions. However, WTO rules, which stipulate that two states must maintain permanent normal trade relations, did not recognize the annual waiver renewals as legitimate.<sup>474</sup> Repealing the Jackson-Vanik amendment to expand economic ties to Russia became a top priority of the Obama administration.

The goal of establishing broader economic ties with Russia became intertwined with another major debate on Russia’s poor human rights record. Hermitage Capital Management, an investment fund founded in part and headed by Bill Browder, hired Sergei Magnitsky, a Russian tax lawyer at the Moscow-based law firm Firestone Duncan, to investigate the filing of \$230 million in fraudulent tax returns by affiliated companies.<sup>475</sup> After Magnitsky’s investigation uncovered a connection between members of the Russian security services and the fraudulent activity, he was arrested by Russian authorities in November 2008 and charged with helping Hermitage evade Russian taxes. The arrest was carried out by some of the same officers of the Russian Ministry of the Interior that Magnitsky identified as taking part in the theft.<sup>476</sup> Magnitsky was held in Russian pretrial detention until his death on November 18, 2009, spending 358 days in custody.<sup>477</sup> During his detention, Magnitsky suffered in abhorrent conditions. Before he died, Magnitsky was tied to a bed by jail officials and beaten severely with batons. His death led to international outcry and the stated commitment of Bill Browder, a former U.S. citizen, to seek punishment of the Russian officials responsible for the theft and subsequent death of Magnitsky.<sup>478</sup> Retaliatory

sanctions legislation was eventually proposed in the form of the Magnitsky Act in 2011.

The juxtaposition of the Magnitsky Act and the repeal of the Jackson-Vanik amendment put the Obama administration in an awkward position. Still dedicated to the Russian reset, President Obama was eager to bring Russia into the WTO and normalize trade ties even amid reported human rights abuses. But the growing support for the Magnitsky Act in Congress signaled an unwillingness to reward Russia's poor human rights record with expanded economic access to U.S. markets. Russian leaders repeatedly criticized the legislation during the debate and threatened to halt cooperation on a range of issues if it were passed. The Obama administration contended that passing the Magnitsky Act would derail efforts to improve relations with Russia and pushed for the legislation to be shelved. Throughout the debate, the central source of friction was between the Obama administration and Congress, as bipartisan majorities supported establishing permanent normal trade relations with Russia only if action was linked with efforts to punish Russian human rights abusers.

The Russia and Moldova Jackson-Vanik Repeal and Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2012 would pass during the 112th Congress. For the debate leading to the bill's passage, the composition of the Senate favored the Democrats, while the House was majority Republican. In the Senate, Democrats, led by Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV), held a narrow majority with 53 seats, including two independents caucusing with Democrats. Senate Republicans, led by Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, held 47 seats. In the House of Representatives, Republicans retained the majority won in the 2010 midterm elections, with Speaker of the House John Boehner, leading a caucus of 242 Republicans. The 193 House Democrats were led by Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi.

### **Origins of the Magnitsky Act, March 2010–May 2011**

Bill Browder first turned to the U.S. Department of State for assistance in prosecuting Russian officials tied to Magnitsky's death in 2009 and then to Congress when his outreach to the State Department faltered. In meetings with

State Department officials, Browder pushed for the use of Proclamation 7750, an executive order by President George W. Bush that allowed the United States to place sanctions on corrupt foreign officials.<sup>479</sup> The suggestion elicited pushback from State as the Obama administration was still pursuing the "reset" with the Russian government that included initiatives such as New START and joint sanctions on Iran.<sup>480</sup> Browder then turned to staff members working for Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD), a fierce advocate of human rights causes. At the time, Cardin was the head of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, an organization within the U.S. government that monitors and promotes human rights, democracy, and military cooperation. Browder had testified to the U.S. Helsinki Commission before Magnitsky died in 2009 and returned to Cardin looking for a powerful ally to press his case.<sup>481</sup> Senator Cardin decided to act, urging the State Department to enact sanctions against officials tied to Magnitsky's death. On April 26, 2010, Senator Cardin sent a letter to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton with a list of 60 officials from the Russian Ministry of the Interior, security services, and Russian courts, urging Secretary Clinton to "immediately cancel and permanently withdraw the U.S. visa privileges of all those involved in this crime, along with their dependents and family members."<sup>482</sup> Browder then testified before the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, a bipartisan House caucus that advocates for human rights causes, which was co-chaired by Representatives Jim McGovern (D-MA) and Frank Wolf (R-VA). Following the testimony, Representative McGovern suggested that the commission send a letter to Secretary Clinton to pressure the State Department to enact sanctions and introduce legislation to codify them.<sup>483</sup>

Support for Browder's cause and the Magnitsky Act quickly picked up steam in Congress. Aware of the need for bipartisan support, Browder met with Senator McCain on September 21, 2010. As a former prisoner-of-war during the Vietnam War and an established Russia hawk, Browder correctly believed that Senator McCain would be sympathetic to the Magnitsky case. Senator McCain agreed to co-sponsor the bill. The Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2011 was introduced to the Senate on May 19, 2011.<sup>484</sup>

SENATOR

## Ben Cardin (D-MD)

Human Rights Champion



Throughout his tenure in the U.S. Senate, Senator Cardin has consistently argued on the basis of defending human rights. Since 1993, he has served as commissioner of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, and was the chairman of the commission in both the 111th and 113th Congress. Previously, he served as of the Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy Subcommittee, and chaired the International Development and Foreign Assistance Subcommittee.<sup>485</sup> Illustrating his commitment to human rights, Senator Cardin introduced and helped pass S. Res. 214, which called on Iran to release a dual U.S.-Iranian citizen named Dr. Haleh Esfandiari who was harassed, interrogated, and detained when she attempted to leave Iran in May 2007.<sup>486</sup> In November 2009, introduced S. Res. 341, a resolution supporting peace, security, and innocent civilians affected by conflict

in Yemen.<sup>487</sup> Motivated by his strong commitment to human rights, Senator Cardin spearheaded the effort to pass the Magnitsky Act. When he introduced S. 1039, the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2012, the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously approved the legislation as part of U.S. trade normalization with Russia in July 2012. Immediately following, Senator Cardin lauded these actions in a press release, stating that this approval “Sends a strong message to the world that visiting the United States and having access to our financial system, including U.S. dollars, are privileges that should not be extended to those who violate internationally recognized human rights.” He strongly believed that including the Magnitsky Act in PNTR, “assures that the United State will continue to be a world leader in respecting human rights and punishing violators of those rights.”<sup>488</sup>

### **Building Support for PNTR with Russia, June 2010–May 2011**

In bilateral meetings held on June 24, 2010, President Obama and President Medvedev reaffirmed their commitment to resolving persistent trade issues between the United States and Russia. President Obama promised to continue backing Russia's bid for WTO membership with technical assistance from the United States.<sup>489</sup> As of 2011, Russia was the only country in the Group of 20 yet to join the WTO. President Obama promised Medvedev that the United States, with the largest and most influential economy in the world, would support Russian membership in the WTO as part of an expanded effort to build trade ties between the two countries.<sup>490</sup>

To many U.S. companies and investors, Russia represented a significant economic opportunity. From 2000 to 2008, U.S. exports to Russia grew from \$2.1 billion to \$9.3 billion, only to decline with the onset of the recession in 2009, as Russia raised tariffs on many goods.<sup>491</sup> Several industries in the United States stood to gain from Russian WTO membership and the tariff reforms that would follow, particularly in agriculture and manufacturing. Russia was already a major importer of U.S. meat products, and the normalization of trade relations would smooth over regulatory issues that blocked U.S. poultry imports for a period. Aging Russian aircraft and the expansion of Russian mineral exploitation also improved the prospects for U.S. aircraft, parts, and heavy machinery exports.<sup>492</sup> Additionally, Russian WTO membership would ensure stronger intellectual property protections and allow greater foreign investment, two indicators that would raise confidence among prospective U.S. investors in the Russian economy.<sup>493</sup>

From a geopolitical perspective, foreign policy experts argued that Russia's accession into the WTO would be critical in integrating Russia into the rules-based international order. It would encourage Russia to undergo internal reforms that would make it a more attractive business environment and would improve Russian relations with the United States on a bilateral basis.<sup>494</sup> Some experts further argued that diversification of the Russian economy away from the energy sector would

improve the resiliency of the nation against economic downturns from energy price volatility and potentially mitigate the nation's authoritarian tendencies.<sup>495</sup> After Russia joined the WTO and realized the economic benefits of integration into the global economy, some argued that Russia would be more likely to comply with other international norms and bodies, improving Russian democracy and rule of law on the whole. For these reasons, Nikolas Gvosdev, a Russia scholar, argued, "The fate of the Jackson-Vanik amendment . . . is the canary in the coal mine for U.S.-Russia relations."<sup>496</sup>

Initial congressional reactions to Russia's accession to the WTO and the administration's push to repeal Jackson-Vanik were mixed. Representative Gregory Meeks (D-NY), co-chair of the newly established Caucus on U.S.-Russian Trade and Economic Relations, expressed support for Russian accession to the WTO, touting the potential economic benefits for U.S. businesses.<sup>497</sup> Some members criticized Russia's existing trade policies and called for reforms before the United States could support accession. Senator Grassley (R-IA) criticized Russia's agricultural trade practices: "Russia is taking advantage of not being in the WTO to use non-tariff trade barriers to build up their own industry of agriculture."<sup>498</sup> In a letter to U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk, Senator Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) focused her criticism on Russian trade barriers to U.S. automobiles: "Because Russia's discriminatory production requirements would be illegal if Russia is bound by normal WTO rules, Russia should not be allowed to maintain this practice while negotiations continue or during any transition period should Russia join the WTO. Therefore, in the ongoing negotiations, I urge your office to demand that Russia end its barriers to American-made automobiles."<sup>499</sup>

Intellectual property security emerged as another major concern among members of Congress, with Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT), Senator Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), Representative Adam Schiff (D-CA), and Representative Bob Goodlatte (R-VA) pressing Vice President Joe Biden in a letter to address the issue during a 2011 visit to Russia.<sup>500</sup> In response, the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) encouraged Russia to work more closely with

the United States on intellectual property issues as it moved toward WTO membership and praised its existing progress in its 2011 Special 301 Report.<sup>501</sup> In November 2011, the bipartisan leadership of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees—Representatives Lamar Smith (R-TX) and John Conyers (D-MI) and Senators Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Chuck Grassley (R-IA)—raised the issue of IP protections in a letter to USTR Kirk, arguing, “Not only is the credibility of the rules-based system of international trade at stake, but should Russia fail to conform to its obligations in a thorough and timely manner, the adverse consequences for U.S. innovators and their workers will continue to be significant.”<sup>502</sup> In a letter to USTR Kirk, Senator Chuck Schumer (D-NY) called for a Russian commitment to join the Information Technology Agreement (ITA), which he argued would be critical to protecting the U.S. IT market.<sup>503</sup> In November 2011, Russia committed to joining the ITA, ameliorating Senator Schumer’s concerns.<sup>504</sup>

Other members who held reservations regarding the Obama administration’s reset strategy called for caution in negotiating Russia’s WTO accession and argued for placing the debate in the broader context of a U.S. strategy toward Russia. In a December 2010 speech, Senator McCain argued, “We need a national debate about the real nature of this Russian government, about what kind of relationship is possible with this government, and about the place that Russia should realistically occupy in U.S. foreign policy. Russia’s WTO accession offers a chance to have that debate. Some may want to avoid it, but Congress should use its power to force that debate to happen.”<sup>505</sup> In an October 2011 letter to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and USTR Kirk, Senators Roy Blunt (R-MO) and James Inhofe (R-OK) expressed concern that the “United States may endorse Russian membership in the [WTO] in spite of larger strategic challenges in the U.S.-Russia relationship.” Arguing that “trade policies must always respect broad national strategic considerations,” Senators Blunt and Inhofe declared that their support for PNTR with Russia would be contingent upon a resolution of territorial disputes between Russia and Georgia that protects Georgian sovereignty.<sup>506</sup>

### **Committee Debates, May 19, 2011–June 25, 2012**

Even were Russia to join the WTO, U.S. companies trading with Russia would still face restrictions due to the Jackson-Vanik amendment. The Jackson-Vanik amendment was named for former Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-WA) and former Representative Charles Vanik (D-OH). Senator Jackson was a fierce anti-Communist and staunch human rights advocate.<sup>507</sup> Representative Vanik was an outspoken liberal who championed social issues.<sup>508</sup> The amendment was originally drafted as a response to human rights abuses committed by communist countries, such as the Soviet Union, and their refusal to allow Soviet Jews to emigrate to the United States and Israel in particular.<sup>509</sup> The Jackson-Vanik amendment still applied to the post-Soviet Russian Federation.

To achieve PNTR with Russia, President Obama would need Congress to repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment. At the same time, the Magnitsky Act was gaining support in Congress, as Majority Whip Dick Durbin (D-IL) and Minority Whip Kyl announced their support for the legislation.<sup>510</sup> Kyl, however, opposed PNTR without the Magnitsky Act, stating, “Human rights cannot be divorced from the discussion of our economic relationship with Russia, particularly since some of the most egregious cases of abuse involve citizens exercising their economic and commercial rights.”<sup>511</sup> Bipartisan advocacy from key Senate leadership galvanized support for linking both measures legislatively. To stem the push for the Magnitsky Act, the Obama administration placed Russians with alleged connections to Magnitsky’s death on a visa blacklist in July 2011, arguing that further punitive actions were unnecessary.<sup>512</sup>

The growing support for the Magnitsky Act caught the Russian government’s attention and, as the legislation progressed, it increased pressure on the Obama administration to block the law. Russian officials warned that several areas of U.S.-Russia cooperation could be compromised by the Magnitsky Act, including the supply of NATO forces in Afghanistan. Due to worsening tensions with Pakistan, the United States had negotiated an agreement with Russia that allowed NATO to transport

supplies through Russian territory, through Central Asia into Afghanistan, as part of an effort known as the Northern Distribution Network, which was critical to the war effort.<sup>513</sup> The Obama administration was similarly concerned that placing extensive sanctions on Russian officials would impact joint efforts with Russia to enforce sanctions on Iran, North Korea, and Libya.<sup>514</sup> Despite these tensions, Russia's application for WTO membership continued to progress. However, Congress remained apprehensive. Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee Chairman Kevin Brady (R-TX), speaking on international trade, said, "Even among our pro-trade members there is skepticism about Russia."<sup>515</sup> On November 9, 2011, Russia and Georgia reached an agreement on regulating trade flows through shared borders. Georgia had been blocking Russian WTO membership, partly an aftereffect of the 2008 war. The next day, Russia cleared a key procedural motion to send its bid to the WTO for final membership acceptance by the end of the year.<sup>516</sup>

Opposition from the Obama administration and Russia did not deter the Senate from pressing forward with the Magnitsky Act. On December 14, 2011, the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs held a hearing on the state of human rights in Russia featuring speakers from organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Freedom House. The hearing was organized and led by Subcommittee Chairwoman Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH), who co-sponsored the Magnitsky Act.<sup>517</sup> In her opening statement, Senator Shaheen drew attention to the Magnitsky Act, which had 25 bipartisan Senate co-sponsors at that point, arguing, "even as we work with Russia on areas of mutual interest through the Obama administration's 'reset' policy, we need new tools to press its leaders on areas where we disagree."<sup>518</sup> Senator Cardin took an even firmer stance, declaring that the legislation "makes it clear that if you violate basic human rights, don't ask for the privilege to visit the United States . . . but because the United States acted, the international community is now acting. . . . That's leadership."<sup>519</sup>

As momentum grew for the Magnitsky Act, Russia was granted admission to the WTO. On December 16, 2011, the WTO approved Russia for membership in the organization, though formal accession would take months.

As the Jackson-Vanik amendment was still in effect, U.S. businesses could trade with Russia per WTO rules but were still subject to special restrictions.<sup>520</sup> Senator Max Baucus (D-MT), the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, visited Russia to meet with President Medvedev in February 2012 to begin discussing the opening of trade relations between the United States and Russia.<sup>521</sup>

The Obama administration tried to derail momentum of the Magnitsky Act by applying pressure to Congress. Chairman John Kerry (D-MA) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) was subject to intense lobbying by the Obama administration to delay the consideration of the Magnitsky Act in committee. Senator Kerry had said in March that the committee would start proceedings on the Magnitsky Act at its April 26, 2012, business meeting, but succumbed to pressure from the Obama administration and announced that the committee would delay consideration until May at the earliest.<sup>522</sup> Browder, who was still advocating on behalf of Magnitsky, pressed Senator Joe Lieberman (I-CT) on the administration's decision to stall the Magnitsky Act while working to repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment.<sup>523</sup> Senator Lieberman penned a letter alongside other Magnitsky Act advocates, Senators McCain, Cardin, and Roger Wicker (R-MS), to Chairman Baucus making clear that there would be no support for a repeal of the Jackson-Vanik amendment without the passage of the Magnitsky Act.

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**“Bipartisan approval of the Sergei Magnitsky Act by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee sends a message to the world that visiting the United States and having access to our financial system, including U.S. dollars, are privileges that should not be extended to those who violate basic human rights and the rule of law.”<sup>524</sup>**

**SENATOR BEN CARDIN (D-MD)**

*June 26, 2012*

While initially supportive of the Obama administration's interest to consider the Magnitsky Act and PNTR separately, Senator Baucus would eventually agree to the linkage of the bills to obtain support from the growing group of senators calling for simultaneous passage.<sup>525</sup> In a response letter to the Lieberman-led group, Chairman Baucus wrote, "the Magnitsky Act enjoys overwhelming support in the Senate and growing support in the House. It is equally clear that many of our colleagues are rallying around the position . . . that the repeal of Jackson-Vanik for Russia must be accompanied by passage of the Magnitsky Act."<sup>526</sup> Criticism emerged from within the Senate Foreign Relations Committee over efforts to stall the legislation, with Ranking Member Richard Lugar's staff emailing several Democratic members, including Senator Cardin, to make clear that "Senator Lugar supports immediate consideration of the Magnitsky bill next week. If Senators Kerry and/or Cardin do not wish to have it taken up then, that is prerogative of the SFRC Majority, but it is not the position of Senator Lugar."<sup>527</sup> Amid bipartisan pressure, Chairman Kerry relented and allowed the bill to be brought to a vote in committee. On June 25, 2012, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed the Magnitsky Act by unanimous consent.

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**“The Magnitsky case is not about one of the many courageous human rights protestors in Russia. It is directly linked to trade. It involves an attorney who found that, in one of the largest investment funds in Russia, that the kleptocracy there, the Interior Ministry and the Police, stole \$230 million. It is important not only from a human rights standpoint, but it is important from a commerce and trade standpoint and why it should be involved in this case.”<sup>528</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE LLOYD DOGGETT (D-TX)**

*June 20, 2012*

Chairwoman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) originally opposed linking the Magnitsky Act to the repeal of the Jackson-Vanik amendment because she did not support rewarding Russia's behavior with increased access to trade.<sup>529</sup> She also felt that the two pieces of legislation dealt with fundamentally distinct issues and should be considered on different tracks.<sup>530</sup> Ultimately, the House Foreign Affairs Committee passed the Magnitsky Act by unanimous consent on June 7, 2012.<sup>531</sup> Support for the Magnitsky Act and criticism of the Obama administration was especially strong among Republican members of the committee. Representative Ed Royce (R-CA) lambasted the Obama administration, saying, "Shame on the White House for vigorously opposing such straightforward legislation. The human rights situation isn't getting any better in Russia."<sup>532</sup>

Efforts to repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment progressed rapidly over the summer of 2012. In the Senate, Finance Chairman Baucus, International Trade Subcommittee Ranking Member John Thune (R-SD), Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Kerry, and Senate Armed Services Committee Ranking Member McCain released their Jackson-Vanik repeal bill on June 12.<sup>533</sup> The Senate Finance Committee unanimously approved a bill that combined the Magnitsky Act with the repeal of the Jackson-Vanik amendment on July 18, 2012.<sup>534</sup> Unanimous approval came only after the inclusion of the Magnitsky Act language, as some members of the Senate Finance Committee voiced concerns about passing a standalone repeal with Russia's history of human rights abuses. Senator Baucus praised the economic benefits of the bill, since it would "boost U.S. exports, support jobs in the U.S., and help American businesses, workers, ranchers and farmers take advantage of Russia's growing economy."<sup>535</sup> Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT), on the other hand, praised the legislation's punitive role as it "includes strong enforcement tools to ensure Russia lives up to its international trade obligations, and provisions to help advance human rights and the rule of law in Russia."<sup>536</sup> Also notable, Senators Brown (D-OH), Schumer (D-NY), Stabenow (D-MI), and Rockefeller (D-WV)



introduced a bill aimed at strengthening enforcement of provisions for Russia's WTO accession—particularly to avoid membership abuses similar to those that occurred after China's WTO accession—but the bill never made it out of committee.<sup>537</sup>

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**“I am a strong supporter of increasing trade opportunities, I’m not ready to do that without including Jackson-Vanik in a new form.”<sup>538</sup>**

**SENATOR MARIA CANTWELL (D-WA)**

*July 18, 2012*

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In the House Ways and Means Committee, members praised the Senate action on Russian trade relations and the inclusion of the Magnitsky Act in the legislation. Ranking Member Sandy Levin (D-MI) released a statement saying, “I fully expect the Magnitsky bill will be part of the House consideration of the Russia PNTR bill.”<sup>539</sup> Representative Levin added that Congress should “use the opportunity of action on Russia PNTR to send a clear message to Russia that it needs to work with the other nations of the world to address the violence against civilians in Syria.” Ranking Member Jim McDermott (D-WA) of the Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee echoed Levin’s sentiment, noting that the bill “makes progress on longstanding issues with Russia.”<sup>540</sup> On July 19, Chairman Dave Camp (R-MI) and Ranking Member Levin announced a bipartisan deal to advance the Magnitsky Act and the repeal of Jackson-Vanik that would combine the two measures on the floor of the House.<sup>541</sup> Following the passage of the combined legislative package, Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee Chairman Kevin Brady (R-TX) touted the economic benefits of the trade bill, including for his state’s economy.<sup>542</sup> The Magnitsky Act and the normalization of trade relations with Russia were now intrinsically tied in each chamber.

However, the bill’s consideration on the House and Senate floor was delayed until after the 2012 elections. Republicans criticized President Obama for insufficient outreach to build support for passage among Democrats, while Democrats argued that Republicans sought to stymie passage before the election to make the president look ineffectual. As Russia blocked United Nations Security Council resolutions aimed at punishing Syria for human rights abuses in its ongoing civil war, hawks were reticent to reward Russia for its bad behavior with broadening trade ties. On August 22, Russia officially joined the WTO. As the Russian economy began to expand economic ties with other WTO members, the U.S. business community and supportive legislators ramped up calls for action on the Jackson-Vanik repeal to ensure U.S. businesses were not locked out of a lucrative new market while other nations gained a foothold in Russia.<sup>543</sup> This viewpoint ultimately prevailed in the lame duck period after the 2012 election.

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**“We need the Magnitsky Act to fill the gaps in President Obama’s policy.”<sup>544</sup>**

**SENATOR ORRIN HATCH (R-UT)**

*December 7, 2012*

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**Final Debate and Passage,  
July 26, 2012–December 14, 2012**

As support for the combined Russia and Moldova Jackson-Vanik Repeal and Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2012 solidified in Congress, President Obama faced pressure from inside and outside government to allow the legislation to proceed. In September 2012, at the height of the 2012 presidential campaign, the Republican presidential nominee, Governor Mitt Romney, released a statement that criticized the Obama administration for opposing the Magnitsky Act. Romney panned the apparent reticence of the Obama administration to examine or address human rights abuses in Russia while pursuing expanded ties.<sup>545</sup>

Despite lobbying from the Obama administration, Congress passed the combined legislation by significant margins in the lame duck period after the 2012 elections. On November 16, 2012, with a bipartisan vote of 365 to 43, the House passed the Magnitsky Act and normalized trade ties with Russia.<sup>546</sup> Supporters highlighted the economic benefits of expanding trade relations with Russia while also emphasizing the positive impact passage would have on the U.S.-Russia relationship. Representative Ed Royce (R-CA) expressed his hope that the legislation would support “a mutually beneficial relationship with Russia, based on the rule of law, based on human rights.”<sup>547</sup> Representative Keith Ellison (D-MN) noted, “This bill will be a useful tool to compel Russia to clean up its human rights record.”<sup>548</sup> Representative Adrian Smith (R-NE) hailed the economic benefits of the passage, since it gives U.S. “exporters . . . a level playing field in the Russian market and provide[s] a forum in the WTO to hold Russia accountable for unfair trading practices.”<sup>549</sup> Given the Magnitsky Act’s inclusion and strong trade enforcement provisions in the final bill, traditionally trade-skeptic Democrats, such as Representative Michael Michaud (D-ME), supported the bill.

Of the 43 no votes, only 6 came from Republicans while the remaining 37 came from Democrats.<sup>550</sup> Most Democratic opponents tended to be critical of free trade liberalization efforts in general and drew comparisons to the debate over China’s accession to the WTO. Representative Peter DeFazio (D-OR) concluded, “All the same abuses that we have seen in China will be replicated by the regime in Russia, and it will become, yet again, another large addition to the deficit side of our ledger on trade.”<sup>551</sup> On the Republican side, Representative Ron Paul (R-TX) criticized the inclusion of the Magnitsky Act in the PNTR legislation, arguing that its inclusion risked unnecessarily souring relations with Russia.<sup>552</sup>

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**“This bill will not fix everything in our relationship with Russia. I have strong concerns about Russia’s involvement in the continuing Syrian conflict and have watched with alarm as Russia used its veto power to prevent the imposition of tough sanctions on the Assad regime while arming his dictatorship with weapons used to terrorize Syrian citizens. This bill does not condone these actions and is certainly not a gift for Russia. On the contrary, this bill has teeth and brings Russia into a rules-based trading system.”<sup>553</sup>**

**SENATOR ROB PORTMAN (R-OH)**

*December 6, 2012*

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The Senate followed suit on December 6, 2012, with a 92 to 4 vote in favor of the combined legislation.<sup>554</sup> Democrats and Republicans alike praised the positive economic, geopolitical, and human rights effects of the legislation. Frequent critic of U.S. trade policy Senator Sherrod Brown (D-OH) argued that the agreement “learns from some of the mistakes of China PNTR and includes enhanced compliance and accountability measures to ensure that Russia meets its commitments.”<sup>555</sup> Senator John Boozman (R-AR) cited the economic benefits of normalizing trade with Russia, saying, “This bill is a job creator and the President needs to sign it right away. Each day that we wait to increase engagement in the Russian market, other nations increase their foothold.”<sup>556</sup> Senator Rob Portman (R-OH) echoed Senator Boozman’s sentiment: “We need to do all we can that we make sure our farmers and workers have access to the 95 percent of consumers that are outside of the U.S. borders.”<sup>557</sup>

Republican Minority Whip Jon Kyl had hoped that the same penalties and restrictions in the legislation could have applied to perpetrators of human rights abuses globally, rather than specifically targeting Russia, but voted for passage nonetheless. Senator Wicker concluded that “PNTR with Russia is an important vehicle for American trade, and it should serve as a reminder of our country’s role in promoting the advancement of human rights.”<sup>558</sup> Senator Orrin Hatch, in casting his vote in favor of PNTR paired with the Magnitsky Act, reaffirmed an earlier criticism of the administration: “The Obama Administration has not articulated a clear and coherent strategy regarding Russia. Instead, they ask Congress to simply pass permanent normal trade relations and remove Russia from longstanding human rights law, while ignoring Russia’s rampant corruption, theft of U.S. intellectual property, poor human rights record and adversarial foreign policies.”<sup>559</sup>

The four no votes against the measures all came from members of the Democratic caucus including Senators Bernie Sanders (I-VT), Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), Jack Reed (D-RI), and Carl Levin (D-MI).<sup>560</sup> Senators Sanders, Whitehouse, and Reed, frequent opponents of free trade liberalization, were not vocal in their opposition. However, Senator Levin criticized the decision not to take up the Senate version of the legislation, which would have expanded the Magnitsky Act to apply to human rights abusers beyond Russia.<sup>561</sup>

The overwhelming support for the measures gave Congress veto-proof majorities, and President Obama was forced to acquiesce; he signed the legislation into law on December 14, 2012.<sup>562</sup>

#### **4. 2014: Russian Annexation of Crimea and the Conflict in Ukraine**

In November 2013, a deadly crisis erupted in Ukraine when Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich abandoned an agreement set to deepen trade ties with the European Union (EU) and instead chose to pursue closer cooperation with Russia. By December 2013, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were occupying Kiev’s city hall

and Independence Square.<sup>563</sup> Under pressure from Russia to resist a Western pivot, President Yanukovich agreed to a deal in which Russia would purchase \$15 billion of Ukraine’s national debt and reduce the price of Russian natural gas.<sup>564</sup> These attempts to leverage economic and political influence to prevent Ukraine from aligning with the West not only sparked massive protests, but also inspired debates within the U.S. Congress.

As the crisis escalated, members of Congress demonstrated strong bipartisan support for Ukraine’s democratic aspirations. Before protests and violent clashes erupted, both the House and Senate put forward legislation expressing support for the Western ambitions of the Ukrainian people after President Yanukovich’s decision to forego the signing of an Association Agreement with the EU. This legislation included support for the broader group of Eastern Partnership countries in the form of a House resolution in November 2013, as well as more Ukraine-specific House and Senate resolutions in December 2013.<sup>565</sup> Throughout the upheaval in Ukraine, both chambers of Congress and the Obama administration called for Ukrainian protestors and Ukrainian government leaders to seek a peaceful, democratic solution.<sup>566</sup>

While there was broad agreement over the provision of aid and the implementation of sanctions, debates emerged over whether the United States should provide lethal assistance to Ukrainian fighters seeking to combat the pro-Russian forces in Eastern Ukraine and Crimea. A large faction of members led by Senators McCain and Corker, among others, favored providing lethal assistance. They found allies across a bipartisan majority of Congress.<sup>567</sup> Those opposed to providing lethal assistance included a mix—on both the right and the left—of restrained, non-interventionist members, steadfast fiscal conservatives, and risk-averse members fearing the potential for escalation with Moscow. The debate reached its peak in 2014 and 2015 during the 113th Congress. Republicans held a majority in the House of Representatives with 234 seats, while the Democrats controlled 201 seats.<sup>568</sup> Representative John Boehner served as Speaker of the House; House Democrats were

led by Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi. In the Senate, Democrats commanded the majority with 53 seats to Republicans' 45, with 2 independents caucusing with the Democrats.<sup>569</sup> Senator Harry Reid served as Majority Leader and Senator Mitch McConnell was Minority Leader.

### **Initial Reactions to the Crisis: January–March 2014**

Much of the early policy movement on the Ukraine crisis began in the Senate. While hosting a roundtable discussion with representatives from prominent Ukrainian-American organizations on January 3, 2014, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Senator Bob Menendez (D-NJ) called Russia's "coercive trade, treatment and economic tactics against Ukraine reprehensible."<sup>570</sup> By January 7, the Senate agreed to a resolution, "expressing support for the Ukrainian people in light of President Yanukovich's decision not to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union." The simple resolution was initially introduced in December 2013 and supported the peaceful protests against the Ukrainian government's decision to pull away from the EU. Authored by Senator Chris Murphy (D-CT), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs, and with co-sponsors Senator Ron Johnson (R-WI), ranking member on the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs, and Senators Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH), Dick Durbin (D-IL), Bob Menendez (D-NJ), Richard Blumenthal (D-CT), Ben Cardin (D-MD), Ted Cruz (R-TX), Marco Rubio (R-FL), Ed Markey (D-MA), and James Risch (R-ID), the resolution was agreed to by unanimous consent. The measure urged President Yanukovich to continue on the path toward European integration by signing the Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with the EU, while calling for U.S. sanctions.<sup>571</sup> Senator Bob Corker, ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, criticized U.S. policy toward Ukraine as "weak when it needed to be decisive and forceful."<sup>572</sup> As a result, he argued that the United States faced setbacks in taking

advantage of the opportunity to, "seek change in Russia through Ukraine."<sup>573</sup>

On January 17, Yanukovich signed new anti-protest laws, effectively banning the ongoing anti-government demonstrations in central Kiev.<sup>574</sup> In defiance of the ban, thousands of Ukrainians in Kiev responded with further protests, resulting in clashes with riot police and multiple deaths.<sup>575</sup> Talks between Yanukovich and the opposition failed, and both the EU and the United States threatened action in response to the violence and mishandling of the crisis.<sup>576</sup> Senators John McCain and Chris Murphy expressed concerns about the ability of a Yanukovich-controlled Ukrainian Parliament to uphold democratic standards and protect personal freedoms.<sup>577</sup> Similarly, Representative Sandy Levin and his fellow co-chairs of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, Representatives Jim Gerlach (R-PA) and Marcy Kaptur (D-OH), released a joint statement condemning the use of violence by government authorities in the Kiev protests. The representatives stated that they were "gravely alarmed" by the reports of deaths and injuries and called on the Obama administration to continue to impose the appropriate sanctions.<sup>578</sup> On January 26, 2014, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, a non-partisan organization advocating for Ukrainian-American interests, issued a news release calling for President Yanukovich's removal.<sup>579</sup>

As the situation in Ukraine escalated during February 2014, Congress became far more vocal. On February 10, the House overwhelmingly passed a resolution in support of the "democratic and European aspirations of the people of Ukraine, and their right to choose their own future free of intimidation and fear," originally introduced by Representative Eliot Engel (D-NY), ranking member on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.<sup>580</sup> On February 12, Senator Menendez introduced a resolution "expressing concern of undemocratic governance and the abuse of the rights of individuals in Ukraine."<sup>581</sup>

From February 14 to 16, over 200 previously arrested protestors were released from prison and Kiev city hall was abandoned by demonstrators for the first time since

December 1, 2013. However, violent clashes broke out again two days later, resulting in as many as 21 deaths.<sup>582</sup> The clashes continued into February 20, marking Kiev's worst day of violence in 70 years with 88 deaths in 48 hours. On February 21, President Yanukovich signed a compromise deal with opposition leaders, only to flee to Russia the next day.<sup>583</sup> This was the same day that Ukraine's former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko was released from prison.<sup>584</sup> With Yanukovich in Russia, the Ukrainian parliament voted to remove him from power, and protestors took control of presidential administration buildings.<sup>585</sup>

After the storming of the main protest camp in The Maidan—or Independence Square—in Kiev, Senator Rob Portman condemned the Ukrainian government's violent crackdown, called for Yanukovich to engage with the opposition, and expressed his continued support for a “more open, transparent, and democratic future.”<sup>586</sup> Representative Chris Smith (R-NJ), co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission, urged the U.S. government to do everything in its power to support a settlement between protestors and Yanukovich and support the Ukrainian transition towards a more transparent democracy.<sup>587</sup>

Over the course of the following week, Ukrainian authorities issued a warrant for Yanukovich's arrest, Olexander Turchynov was named interim president, Arseniy Yatsenyuk was nominated to be prime minister, the Ukrainian parliament banned Russian as the second official language—a measure that would later be overturned—and the notorious Berkut special police unit was disbanded.<sup>588</sup> Viewing the chaotic environment as a moment of opportunity, Russia deployed covert operatives to Crimea in late February.<sup>589</sup> Russia's decision to invade and subsequently annex Crimea would prove the catalyst for harsher measures from the West.

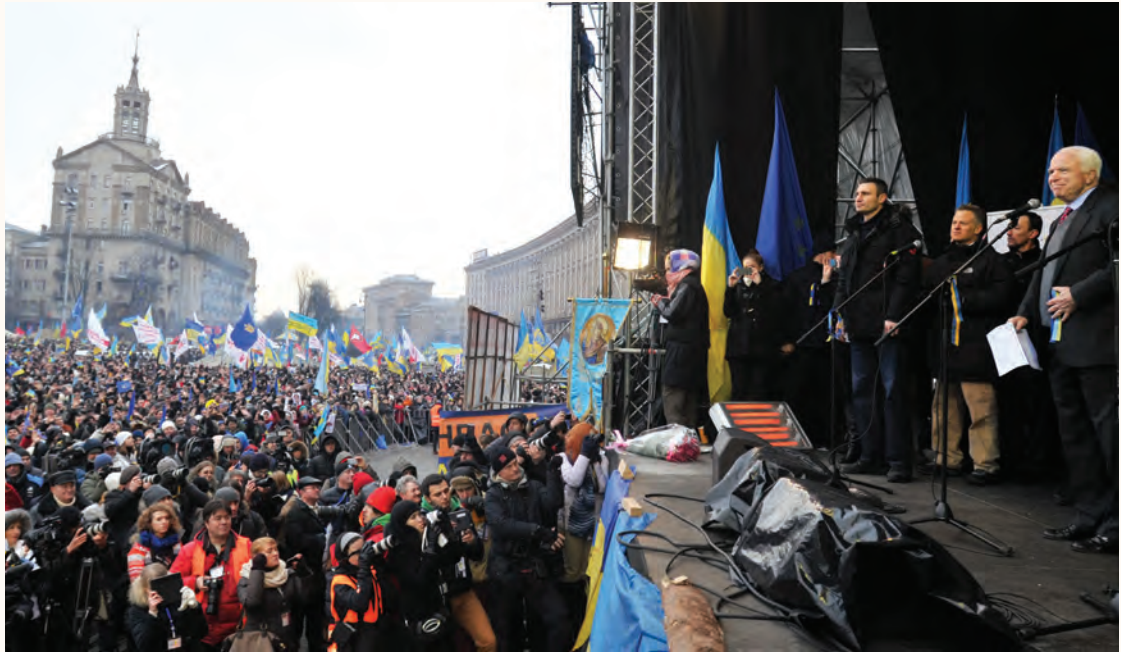
Following Yanukovich's departure, Congress began discussing a Ukraine aid package, with members such as Senators Menendez, Corker, McCain, and Murphy expressing support. The purported goal was not only to provide Ukraine with economic aid but also to send a message to Russian president Vladimir Putin

that the United States would strongly oppose Russian meddling in Ukrainian internal affairs. House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) also hoped to secure U.S. assistance to Ukraine to stabilize the economy, restore sovereignty, and promote political reconciliation.<sup>590</sup> The House Foreign Affairs Committee, led by Chairman Ed Royce, announced a March 6, 2014, hearing, in which the committee would examine the recent events in Ukraine in the context of U.S. foreign policy interests in the region.<sup>591</sup>

In March, Russia's parliament approved the use of force in Ukraine to protect Russian interests. In a secession referendum condemned by Congress and other Western governments for its irregularities, Crimean citizens voted 97 percent in favor of joining Russia, leading President Putin to sign a bill annexing Crimea into the Russian Federation. In response, the Obama administration, joined by the EU, imposed sanctions on Russian and Ukrainian officials.<sup>592</sup> President Obama continued to advocate for a diplomatic outcome, with White House spokesman Jay Carney stating that the administration did not see a military solution for the crisis.<sup>593</sup> In the first week of March, Secretary of State John Kerry traveled to Ukraine for meetings in response to Russia's deployment of 6,000 airborne and ground troops to Crimea.<sup>594</sup> Russian forces made significant efforts to mask their affiliation. Russian soldiers operated without military insignia or patches and removed license plates and other identifying marks from vehicles that would show either the soldiers or vehicles originated in Russia. President Putin suggested that the forces were spontaneous groups that acquired their uniforms in military surplus stores, further adding to the disinformation and confusion surrounding the Russian forces.<sup>595</sup> On March 28, President Obama called on Russia to remove its troops and ease tensions in the region.<sup>596</sup> Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle supported President Obama's announcement of additional sanctions against Russia for its aggression, but some—especially Republicans—used it as an opportunity to call for more decisive action. Senator Bob Corker's press statement called the sanctions “a step in the right direction, but won't

**RIGHT**

US Senator John McCain (2R) speaks as US Senator Chris Murphy (R) attends during a mass rally of the opposition in Independence Square in Kiev, December 15, 2013.



do enough to modify Russian behavior.”<sup>597</sup> Similarly, Representative Royce told the press that the sanctions “will be heard in Moscow,” but called for harsher measures to help Europe break free from Russia’s “energy grip,” demonstrating the overwhelming bipartisan support on Ukraine.<sup>598</sup> In retaliation, the Kremlin released a list of Westerners banned from Russia. Among those blacklisted were Speaker of the House Boehner, Senate Majority Leader Reid, Majority Whip Durbin, and Senator McCain.<sup>599</sup>

As the crisis in Ukraine unfolded, legislators introduced measures throughout March aimed at supporting Ukrainian independence and sovereignty by providing U.S. assistance and sanctioning Russia, the most notable of which were H.Res. 499, a resolution condemning Russian moves to undermine Ukrainian sovereignty, and H.R. 4278, the Ukraine Support Act.<sup>600</sup> The first of the two,

H.Res. 499, was adopted by a vote of 402-7 on March 11.<sup>601</sup> Sponsored by Representative Royce, the resolution criticized Russia’s moves in Ukraine, arguing that “Russia’s military intervention is in breach of its United Nations (U.N.) obligations . . . and (2) poses a threat to international peace and security.”<sup>602</sup> The resolution also called on Russia to remove its military forces from the Crimean Peninsula and “to refrain from interference in all regions of Ukraine, including ending support of separatist and paramilitary forces in Crimea.”<sup>603</sup> The second piece of legislation, H.R. 4278: The Ukraine Support Act, also sponsored by Royce, was agreed to by a vote of 399-19 on March 27, 2014. Supporters included 210 Republicans and 189 Democrats, with 17 Republicans and 2 Democrats voting against it.<sup>604</sup> Thirteen members refrained from voting. The bill authorized \$70 million in aid to Ukraine, including \$50 million for democracy

and civil society efforts, as well as expanded sanctions against Russian officials.<sup>605</sup> Although the bill called for assistance and support for Ukraine, it fell short of authorizing the provision of lethal assistance.

A similar bill—S.2183, which eventually became law—was sponsored by Senator McConnell in the Senate.<sup>606</sup> While debating whether Department of Defense funds should be provided to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for their subsequent use as economic and development aid to Ukraine, Senator Ted Cruz accused Senate Majority Leader Reid of holding Ukraine aid “hostage to politics.”<sup>607</sup> The bill passed 98–2 in the Senate, with only Senator Dean Heller (R-NV) and Senator Rand Paul (R-KY) voting against.<sup>608</sup> Both Heller and Paul raised concerns that IMF-backed aid would be used to pay off Russian debts. Paul released a statement explaining that while he supported the sanctions against Russia and the idea of providing technical and security assistance, he “cannot support the bill because it will have the perverse impact of using American tax dollars to reward Russia.”<sup>609</sup> The bill went on to pass in the House by a vote of 399–12 on April 1.

On the House side, those who opposed the bill were primarily fiscal conservatives, including Representatives Justin Amash (R-MI) and Thomas Massie (R-KY).<sup>610</sup> Representative Amash had previously voiced support for Ukraine’s sovereignty, but specified that he was “not persuaded at this time that U.S.-guaranteed financial assistance for Ukraine’s interim government will produce good outcomes for the United States or Ukraine.”<sup>611</sup> Representative Walter B. Jones (R-NC) voted against the aid package, citing the United States’ growing debt and fiscal irresponsibility.<sup>612</sup> Representative Martha Roby (R-AL) called upon the Senate to provide assistance to Ukraine by redirecting existing funds within the State Department, not by appropriating additional funds or siphoning them from the Department of Defense.<sup>613</sup> Others, such as Representative John Duncan (R-TN), a conservative, anti-interventionist, argued in an impassioned floor speech that the United States “cannot be the policeman of the world,” and should instead “start taking better care of our own country and our own people.”<sup>614</sup>

## The Aftermath of the Russian Annexation of Crimea: April–August 2014

In early April 2014, the crisis in Ukraine continued to escalate as separatist movements proliferated in the Donbass, a region of eastern Ukraine. Although Russia denied any involvement, many observers believed otherwise, concluding that Russia unofficially deployed troops to the region to recruit and supply volunteers, and even engage militarily when necessary.<sup>619</sup> Congress stood united in its support for Ukraine, with many members publicly stating that the sovereignty of Ukraine must be protected and that the United States cannot recognize Russia’s annexation of Crimea, or any other Russian incursion into Ukraine’s territory.<sup>620</sup> The House and Senate each passed additional legislation—H.R. 4433 and S. 2238—calling for peace through strength in Ukraine and formally refusing to acknowledge Russia’s annexation of Crimea. Additionally, Senator Corker called for increased sanctions against Russia to show U.S. resolve against further Russian interventionism.<sup>621</sup> The House Foreign Affairs Committee also arranged for a bipartisan delegation, led by Chairman Royce and Ranking Member Engel, to travel to Ukraine from April 21 to April 23 to speak with senior Ukrainian officials—specifically acting President Oleksandr Turchynov and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk—in Kiev.<sup>622</sup>

The debate continued into May, prompting the Senate to introduce three measures (S. 2277, S.2352, S.Res. 448) regarding sanctions against Russia and stabilizing the currency in Ukraine and the House to introduce a resolution (H.Res. 592) calling for free and fair elections later in the month. On May 11, pro-Russian separatists in Donetsk and Luhansk held referendums declaring independence. These referendums went unrecognized in the West and were condemned throughout Congress by outspoken members such as Representative Ed Royce and Senator Bob Menendez. Senator Kelly Ayotte (R-NH), a member of the Armed Services Committee, called the Ukrainian referendums “unconstitutional and an illegal farce.”<sup>623</sup> However, after the election of Petro Poroshenko as president, numerous members expressed support and hope that Ukraine might move toward becoming a more transparent, Western-oriented democracy.<sup>624</sup> Further,

REPRESENTATIVE

## John Duncan (R-TN)

Libertarian Restrainer



Representative John Duncan (R-TN) has served in the House of Representatives for Tennessee's 2nd congressional district since 1988. Designated by Roll Call as a member of the so-called Obscure Caucus, Representative Duncan often avoids the political spotlight, tending to focus on policy work for the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and constituent service.<sup>615</sup> His libertarian perspective and frequent willingness to buck Republican Party orthodoxy has led him to periodically stand out from his colleagues.<sup>616</sup> He is also notable for being one of just six Republicans to vote against the authorization of the Iraq War in 2002, and one of 17 Republicans to oppose President Bush's decision to send more nearly 21,000 additional U.S. troops to Iraq in 2007. Representative Duncan was also one of five Republican House members to vote against an Iraqi war-funding bill, because the Bush administration

did not push the Iraqi government to contribute funding to its own reconstruction. His notable opposition to this war, in defiance of the beliefs of most of his colleagues and constituents, stems from the outcome of the first Gulf War. Representative Duncan believed, like many of his House colleagues, that Saddam Hussein posed an immediate threat to the U.S. However, after the war started and Hussein's elite troops quickly surrendered, he doubted that U.S. involvement in the war was truly vital to protecting national security interests.<sup>617</sup> In August 2017, Duncan made waves in conservative media for criticizing the Trump administration's Afghanistan policy in August 2017 as a departure from his campaign promises for a "non-interventionist, anti-nation-building, America First" foreign policy, despite being one of President Trump's earliest supporters in Congress.<sup>618</sup>



Senator Ed Markey introduced legislation that would reduce Ukraine's dependence on Russian energy (S. 2433), one of Russia's greatest non-military tools of influence.

When Ukraine signed an association agreement with the European Union in June, Congress remained uncharacteristically silent, with neither side expressing substantial support for or disapproval of the agreement. This dynamic changed dramatically less than a month later, following the downing of Malaysia Airlines flight MH17. The flight was shot down over eastern Ukraine on July 17, and evidence later revealed that the missile that brought down the plane and killed 298 people was launched from territory held by Russian-backed separatists.<sup>625</sup> The House and Senate moved quickly to introduce and agree to resolutions that condemned the downing of the flight and expressed condolences for the grieving families (S.Res 520 and H.Res 679). Soon after, President Obama broadened U.S. sanctions against Russia, targeting the country's financial, energy, and defense sectors, and moved to restrict companies such as Gazprom and Rosneft from accessing U.S. markets.<sup>626</sup> Senator McCain said that while this latest round of sanctions was helpful, he claimed it was time for the United States to provide lethal aid to Ukrainians, stating that if Russia were at fault, there would be "hell to pay."

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**“[T]he administration’s response to this crisis has been tepid at best. . . . Ukrainian forces cannot match the advanced equipment that Russia is pouring into eastern Ukraine. There is no shortage of the will to fight, only a shortage of defensive weapons. . . . Unfortunately for Ukrainians and for international security, President Obama has chosen inaction in the guise of endless deliberation.”<sup>627</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN (R-FL)**

March 23, 2015

After additional reports of Russian convoys entering Ukraine, Senator Corker attributed Putin's continued encroachment into Ukraine to the United States' "constant dithering," and argued that the United States must meet Russian aggression with "broader, more crippling sanctions, appropriate lethal assistance, and long-requested intelligence support."<sup>628</sup> The Obama administration was reluctant to provide lethal assistance, such as Javelin antitank weapons systems, man-portable air-defense systems, and ammunition in addition to fuel, reconnaissance support, and encrypted radio communication systems, fearing the move could provoke further aggression.<sup>629</sup> There was also concern that providing increased military assistance to Ukraine might further fuel suspicions within the Kremlin that the protests in Ukraine were orchestrated by the United States.<sup>630</sup>

Senator Corker, along with Senators McCain, Levin, Menendez, and Representative Adam Smith would prove to be the leading voices in favor of lethal assistance. Senator Levin and Senator Menendez chaired the Senate's Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees, respectively, and Representative Smith served as the ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee.<sup>631</sup> A few days following Senator Corker's statement, Senator Rubio released a statement in support of providing lethal assistance to Ukraine, along with Senators Portman, McCain, and Graham.<sup>632</sup> Senator Menendez proposed sending Javelin antitank and Firefinder counter-mortar radar systems.<sup>633</sup> Senator Corker's tone also struck a chord among House members, and Representative Mike Coffman (R-CO), House Armed Services Committee Chairman Buck McKeon, and five other colleagues sent a bipartisan letter to President Obama urging him to act.<sup>634</sup> Representative Steve Israel (D-NY) joined members of the Ukrainian-American community to call for more robust military aid, proving that there was overwhelming bipartisan agreement to support Ukraine with measures beyond sanctioning Russia.<sup>635</sup>

While Senator Corker was clear with his desire to provide Ukraine with lethal assistance, other members of Congress from both chambers, such as House Democratic Whip Steny Hoyer (D-MD), were more hesitant, opting for more

vague language calling for “a strong and clear message.”<sup>636</sup> Opponents of providing Ukraine with lethal assistance, such as Senator Angus King (I-ME), argued that doing so could provoke an attack, or further aggression from Russia: “If you’re playing chess with Russia, you have to think two moves ahead. I am afraid this could provoke a major East-West confrontation.”<sup>637</sup> King, among others, argued that the United States could never send enough supplies or weaponry for Ukraine to force Russia to back down and abandon core geopolitical interests in the region. Nevertheless, with bipartisan support in Congress, Senators McCain and Graham argued that the events taking place in Ukraine could only be categorized as a cross-border attack.<sup>638</sup> With the levels of Russian aggression that Ukraine was facing, the lethal aid proponents argued that the only way to protect democratic ideals in Ukraine would be to provide intelligence support and defensive weapons, as well as imposing severe sanctions on Russia primarily in the country’s defense, financial, and energy sectors.<sup>639</sup>

### **The Minsk Agreements and Lethal Assistance Debate: September–December 2014**

In September 2014, French, German, Russian, and Ukrainian leaders, with the help of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), negotiated the Minsk Protocol with separatist representatives. This was intended to be a ceasefire agreement and included the removal of illegal weaponry and monitoring of the Russia-Ukraine border. However, it failed to end the violence or bring about a political solution, as both sides accused the other of ceasefire violations.<sup>644</sup> The failure of the Minsk Protocol would ultimately result in the Minsk II Agreement. Soon after the negotiations surrounding the Minsk Protocol, violence broke out again at the Donetsk airport, and the Ukrainian government accused Russia of sending 9,000 soldiers and 500 tanks and armored vehicles into Ukraine. Separatist forces eventually took control of the airport in January 2015.<sup>645</sup>

The U.S. Congress hosted Ukrainian president Petro Poroshenko in October 2014, during which Poroshenko pled for increased assistance and support. President Obama assured the support and commitment of the United States

to Ukraine’s sovereignty and independence during a speech in Warsaw, Poland, when he said, “We stand together because we believe that people and nations have the right to determine their own destiny—that includes the people of Ukraine. . . . Our free nations will stand united so that further Russian provocations will only mean more isolation and costs for Russia.”<sup>646</sup> However, the administration continued to fuel debate within Congress by maintaining its position to hold back lethal assistance. As a result, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved legislation that would provide \$350 million to Ukraine in military aid in 2015. The legislation also included the provision of the military aid that members of Congress had pressed the administration to provide, including body armor, helmets, armored personnel carriers, night and thermal vision, encrypted radio communication systems, patrol boats, Firefinder counter-mortar radars, rations, tents, and uniforms.<sup>647</sup> The legislation strongly urged President Obama to provide lethal assistance in yet another attempt to force his hand, but it ultimately stopped short of circumventing his authority. The buck for supplying anti-Russia Ukrainian forces with lethal assistance still stopped with the president.

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**“Thousands of Ukrainian soldiers are in the line of fire right now. Speaking in the United States Congress, from this high beacon of freedom, I want to thank them for their sacrifice! I urge the world to recognize and endorse their fight! They need more political support! And they need more military equipment—both non-lethal and lethal. Blankets and night-vision goggles are important. But one cannot win a war with blankets!”<sup>648</sup>**

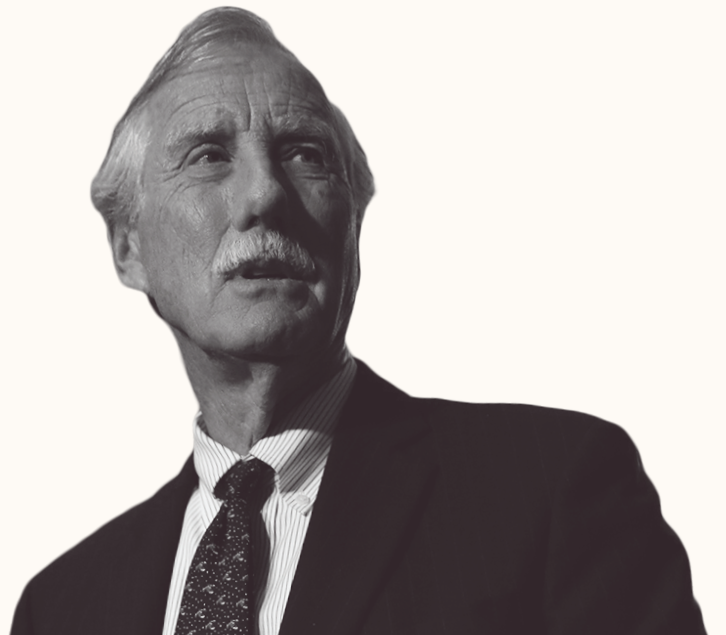
**UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT  
PETRO POROSHENKO**

*September 18, 2014*

SENATOR

## Angus King (I-ME)

Independent Foreign Policy



After previously serving as governor of the state, Senator Angus King was sworn in as Maine's first independent senator in January 2013. In 2014, he simultaneously endorsed Republican and Democratic colleagues, Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) and Senator Susan Collins of Maine (R-ME), in the 2014 midterm elections.<sup>640</sup> Given his independence from both parties in a period of razor-thin majority margins and openness to caucus with either party based on political calculations at hand, Senator King has wielded outsized influence for a first-term senator.<sup>641</sup> As an independent, not facing the same political pressures from party leadership, he came to nearly the same position in the Ukraine policy debate as the Obama administration. He argued that sending lethal aid to Ukraine would increase the likelihood of a disastrous escalation and would fail to deter Russia from abandoning its geopolitical interests

in Ukraine.<sup>642</sup> In this position, Senator King remained largely divergent from many of his Senate colleagues from both parties. However, Senator King did advocate for a comprehensive, coordinated international response to "Russia's clear violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity" in the form of financial assistance. Prior to Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk's meeting with President Obama and congressional leaders in March 2014, Senator King called on Congress to quickly pass a financial assistance package, including "U.S. loan guarantees, as well an authorization for targeted sanctions to deter Russian abuses." Senator King contended, "Not only would this move help stabilize the country's economy, but it would also demonstrate to Prime Minister Yatsenyuk that the United States is committed to preventing Russia from further challenging his country's sovereignty."<sup>643</sup>

**RIGHT**

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko addresses a joint session of the US Congress at the Capitol in Washington, DC, September 18, 2014.



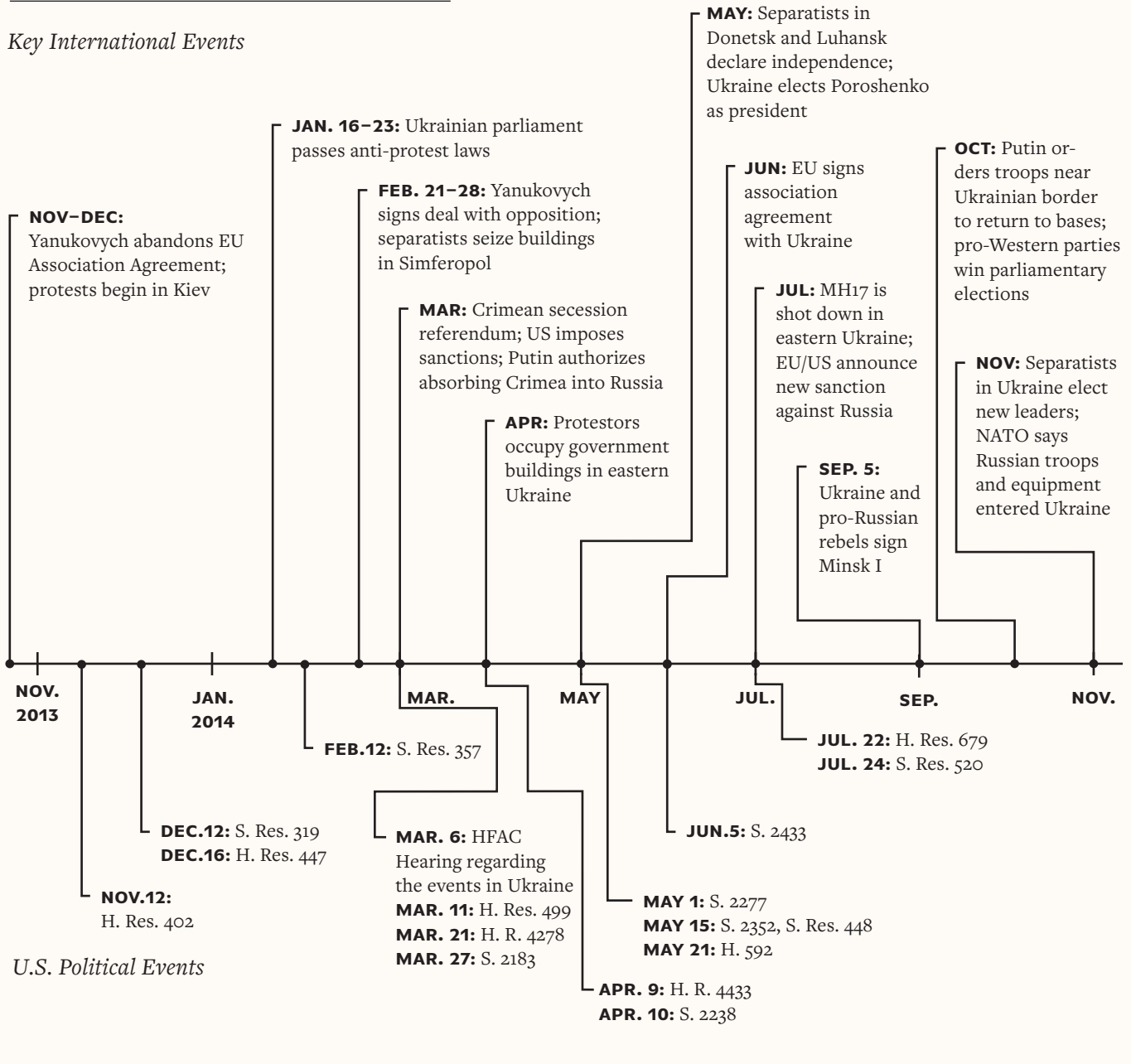
Amid reports that Russian tanks, troops, and other weapons were pouring into Ukraine, Obama refrained from revealing whether his administration would approve lethal aid, stating only that it was being considered and reinforcing that the president had 60 days to detail how the bill would be enacted once signed.<sup>649</sup> In response, Poroshenko stated that the package was “urgently needed” and “the most effective way to support Ukraine.”<sup>650</sup> Adding to the proliferation of congressional pressure on the administration, Senators Levin and Inhofe argued that the United States needed to act immediately in support of the protection of peace, freedom, territorial integrity, and democracy—all values that the United States has historically fought to uphold.<sup>651</sup> Senator

Inhofe went further, stating that Ukraine’s parliamentary elections in October, which saw the success of pro-Western parties, could serve as an opportunity for reform if the United States would meet the Ukrainian request to provide military support. In an exchange with Ukrainian President Poroshenko, Senator Inhofe included that many of his colleagues in Congress who supported the request for military assistance were working to make it a reality.<sup>652</sup>

### **The Debate Continues: 2015–2017**

By the end of 2014, with the crisis still in full force, the debate on lethal assistance to Ukraine continued between Congress and the Obama administration. Bipartisan consensus remains an elusive goal in Washington’s highly partisan

FIGURE TWENTY-TWO Ukraine Crisis 2013–2014



political climate, but arming Ukraine drew overwhelming bipartisan calls for action in an otherwise divided Congress. Although Congress strongly voiced its desire to provide Ukraine with lethal assistance, the Obama administration was hesitant to take action and chose not to include lethal assistance in its aid package to Ukraine the following year.<sup>653</sup> This sparked renewed allegations

that the Obama administration’s foreign policy approach was weak and indecisive, undermining the credibility of U.S. foreign policy abroad among partners, allies, and enemies alike. The decision to forego providing Ukraine with non-offensive lethal weapons and instead hold to a policy focused on sanctions increased tensions between the administration and a Republican-majority Congress.<sup>654</sup>

In 2015, the Obama administration was faced with another bill that increased the pressure to act. This bill authorized Obama to send weapons but did not require or compel the administration to do so.<sup>655</sup> As with previous efforts, voices from the president's own party—not only Republicans—encouraged President Obama to act. Speaking on the floor of the House in March 2015, Representative Engel pled, “This cannot stand. The United States cannot turn a blind eye to it. The United States cannot put its head in the sand and act like any other country and pretend that maybe this will all go away.”<sup>656</sup> The same day, Representative David Scott (D-GA) went a step further, returning to the classic Reagan quote about the United States as a ‘shining city upon a hill’: “What is happening in the world? The world now is a very dark, a very dangerous, and a very evil place. And when those three things get together, there must be that shining light on the hill that shows the way out of the darkness, and throughout history that light has been the United States of America. We must act here. Let us hope that President Obama will hear our plea. As Democrats and Republicans, we’ve got to help save Ukraine from Russia.”<sup>657</sup>

Despite this pressure, the Obama administration refrained from sending lethal aid, falling back on its fear that arming Ukraine's forces would cause a rift between the United States and key allies, such as France and Germany, and risk escalation with Russia. This came at a time when the Obama administration was working to demonstrate unified support for European allies and for extending European economic sanctions against Russia, which were set to expire in July 2015.<sup>658</sup> While the Ukraine crisis continued through 2015, the rhetoric surrounding the lethal weapons debate between Congress and the Obama administration remained. Although the debate to provide lethal assistance found bipartisan support in an otherwise gridlocked Congress, this issue served as a vivid example of the executive branch ultimately maintaining primacy over U.S. foreign policy decisions.

The events in Ukraine that unfolded in 2014, and the slow pace with which the United States responded at each turn due to disagreements between the executive and

legislative branches on the correct policy approach, shed light on a multitude of difficulties and shortcomings in executing unified policies and reconciling the differing roles the two branches have in formulating U.S. foreign policy. Furthermore, many Eastern European allies began sharing their own concerns regarding Russian aggression and U.S. support.<sup>659</sup> The crisis in Ukraine has remained a frozen conflict, with numerous questions still looming about the United States' best course of action. In November 2017, the Trump administration approved the largest U.S. commercial sale of lethal defensive weapons to Ukraine since 2014.<sup>660</sup> Senator Bob Corker (R-TN) praised the decision, saying it “reflects our country's longstanding commitment to Ukraine in the face of ongoing Russian aggression.”<sup>661</sup>

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## 2014 Legislative Action on Ukraine (113th Congress).

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### Bills

**H.R. 4155:** Fight Russian Energy Exploitation (FREE) Act; Introduced 3/5/14

**H.R. 4154:** Russia Visa Sanctions Act; Introduced 3/5/14

**H.R. 4152:** Support for the Sovereignty, Integrity, Democracy, and Economic Stability of Ukraine Act of 2014; Enacted 4/3/14

**S. 2124:** Support for the Sovereignty, Integrity, Democracy, and Economic Stability of Ukraine Act of 2014; Introduced 3/12/14 (Enacted via H.R. 4152)

**H.R. 4278:** Ukraine Support Act; Introduced 3/21/14

**S. 2183:** United States International Programming to Ukraine and Neighboring Regions; Enacted 4/3/14

**H.R. 3979:** Carl Levin and Howard P. “Buck” McKeon National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015; Enacted 12/19/14

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### Resolutions

**S. Res. 357:** A resolution expressing concern of undemocratic governance and the abuse of the rights of individuals in Ukraine; Introduced 2/12/14

**S. Res. 370:** A resolution supporting the territorial integrity of Ukraine and condemning Russian military aggression in Ukraine; Introduced 3/5/14

**H. Res. 499:** Condemning the violation of Ukrainian sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity by military forces of the Russian Federation; Introduced 3/5/14

**S. Res. 378:** A resolution condemning illegal Russian aggression in Ukraine; Introduced 3/11/14

**H. Res. 562:** Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to enhanced relations with the Republic of Moldova and support for Moldova’s territorial integrity; Introduced 5/1/14

**S. Res. 447:** A resolution recognizing the threats to freedom of the press and expression around the world and reaffirming freedom of the press as a priority in the efforts of the United States Government to promote democracy and good governance; Introduced 5/15/14

**S. Res. 448:** A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate on the policy of the United States regarding stabilizing the currency of Ukraine; Introduced 5/15/14

**H. Res. 592:** Calling for free and fair elections in Ukraine, and for other purposes; Introduced 5/21/14

**S. Res. 478:** A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate with respect to enhanced relations with the Republic of Moldova and support for the Republic of Moldova’s territorial integrity; Introduced 6/18/14

**S. Res. 500:** A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate with respect to enhanced relations with the Republic of Moldova and support for the Republic of Moldova’s territorial integrity; Introduced 7/10/14

**H. Res. 679:** Condemning the Ukrainian separatists illegally occupying the Ukrainian city of Donetsk, and the surrounding territory, as terrorists for shooting down a civilian passenger airliner, Malaysian Airlines Flight MH17; Introduced 7/22/14

**H. Res. 124:** Continuing Appropriations Resolution, 2015; Enacted 9/19/14

**H. Res. 726:** Strongly supporting the right of the people of Ukraine to freely determine their future, including their country’s relationship with other nations and international organizations, without interference, intimidation, or coercion by other countries; Introduced 9/16/14

**H. Res. 758:** Strongly condemning the actions of the Russian Federation, under President Vladimir Putin, which has carried out a policy of aggression against neighboring countries aimed at political and economic domination; Introduced 11/18/14

## C. Conclusion.

Over the period studied, U.S. policymakers' perspectives on Russia generally hardened. Some initially viewed the nation as a potential strategic partner, if it could be integrated into the international order, while others consistently saw Russia as a strategic competitor, warranting cautious engagement. By 2014, most member perspectives had converged. Despite these changes over time, members of Congress tend to reconcile optimism with reality in calibrating Russia policy to seek cooperation where feasible and punitive measures where necessary.

Although variations in the subjects of the debates covered by this case study existed, two consistent themes emerged. First, the case study illustrates that many members of Congress began to view Russia as a strategic competitor between 2008 and 2014. The end of the Cold War and Vladimir Putin's apparent olive branch in the aftermath of 9/11 arguably created a sense of security and optimism among substantial portions of the U.S. government and public. The Russian intervention into Georgia in 2008 marked the beginning of a new era in the U.S.-Russia relationship. The veneer of Putin leading a Western-facing, liberalizing democracy in Russia dissipated, with each passing crisis. Although some members remained interested throughout this period in building stronger diplomatic and economic relations with Russia, congressional debates typically centered on the best response options, not on disparate beliefs over Russian intentions. Many members were critical of President Obama's Russia policy, including his decisions to press forward with New START and PNTR, as well as his hesitation on the Magnitsky Act and refusal to provide lethal assistance to Ukraine. Congressional critics of President Bush and President Obama's policies toward Russia equated the temperate responses to each president being "too soft" on Russia.

Second, human rights concerns were central to debates over the U.S.-Russia bilateral relationship throughout this period. Both in cases of advocacy and opposition, Republicans and Democrats invoked human rights to

justify their positions regarding Russia. A coalition of vocal critics of Moscow on the right and left cited human rights concerns as the basis for greater U.S. involvement in Ukraine and Georgia, as well as to criticize inaction by the Obama administration on accepting the Magnitsky Act.

Members with different motivations were usually able to forge united approaches through compromise (such as on PNTR and Magnitsky) or by realizing that their priorities could both be met with one policy (such as in the case of Georgia). The result was a series of bipartisan efforts within Congress on U.S.-Russia policy, even at times in opposition to the executive branch. Despite the current political divide over Russian influence in U.S. elections, there is evidence that this common ground remains. In 2017, Congress imposed sanctions on Russia by a vote of 419 to 3 in the House and 98 to 2 in the Senate, sending a clear, universal bipartisan message to both Putin and other adversaries who might consider interfering with U.S. democratic institutions.<sup>662</sup>



**Appendix C:  
Case Study—  
The Politics of Trade  
Policy, 2007–2016.**

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## A. Overview.

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Setting the conditions for U.S. international economic engagement has been a perennially controversial proposition and a defining element of the U.S. role in the world. Relative to other international affairs issues such as foreign aid or diplomacy, in which the impact of foreign policy decisions is rarely felt by the average citizen, trade agreements often have a direct impact on one's economic livelihood. From the cost of milk at the grocery store to the number of jobs supported by the local steel mill, the impacts of policymakers' decisions on trade policy loom large in modern politics. Since the 1993 passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the politics of U.S. free trade have grown increasingly polarized even while bipartisan compromises have enabled greater trade liberalization. While public opinion remains in favor of liberalized free trade, the politicization of trade during the 2016 presidential campaign cycle and failure to pass the Trans-Pacific Partnership demonstrate a complex political environment worthy of study.<sup>663</sup>

To examine the evolution of U.S. trade politics in recent years, this case study focuses on three periods of legislative activity on free trade: (1) the May 10 Agreement and Peru Free Trade Agreement passage in 2007; (2) the South Korea, Colombia, and Panama Free Trade Agreements passed in 2011; and (3) the Trade Promotion Authority and Trans-Pacific Partnership debates of 2013–2016. Across these time periods, political dynamics varied tremendously. Each of the legislative debates came during periods of mixed government, though with varying political alignments. Members made decisions amid great politicization. At some points during this period, trade legislation was subject to intense public scrutiny; at other points, relative obscurity. Tracking how members' positions on free trade issues at both ends of this spectrum evolved can provide insight into the personal views of policymakers and the impact of political pressure.

## B. Background.

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Throughout the Cold War, free trade was seen as a bipartisan area of accord. The emergent consensus flowed from a shared appreciation among U.S. policymakers of the disastrous effects of the protectionist trade policies of the 1930s that many believed contributed to the Great Depression and World War II.<sup>664</sup> Relative political stability created the conditions for sustained bipartisanship as Republican presidents found willing partners in Democratic congresses for liberalizing international trade. Tending to represent agricultural and financial interests that benefited from fewer trade barriers, conservative Republicans often supported agreements with minimal regulations, in-line with traditional free market ideology. Alternatively, Democrats historically drew support from labor unions, human rights organizations and environmental groups, each of which express concern over the potential collateral damage created by free trade agreements for domestic and foreign workers and the environment. Congressional committees with the purview of U.S. trade policy—the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee—hashed out policy differences among the parties before bills were sent to the floor and wielded considerable influence over the direction of policy.<sup>665</sup> The committees established a level of procedural bipartisanship that created opportunities for compromise and enabled U.S. leadership in global economic liberalization.<sup>666</sup>

In the early 1990s, the bipartisan consensus on trade began to crack with the passage of NAFTA. After the deal had been negotiated and signed under the George H.W. Bush administration, President Clinton supported passage of NAFTA in 1993, even after railing against the agreement as a candidate. Labor unions, including the AFL-CIO, coalesced in opposition to NAFTA, fearing greater trade with Mexico might threaten U.S. jobs, especially in manufacturing.<sup>667</sup> Unions contended that greater exposure to Mexican industry, with lower wage rates and less cumbersome labor regulations, would harm the economy. Further, green groups decried the

weak environmental regulations in Mexico.<sup>668</sup> Democratic support for Clinton's NAFTA push has since been remembered as the apogee of Democratic backing of trade liberalization. The caustic debate over NAFTA served as a defining moment in U.S. trade policy, ingraining many of the political cleavages that exist today.

After 1993, political debates over U.S. trade policy steadily grew more polarized. First, the fringes on the left and right of both parties gained strength. After the NAFTA vote, labor groups punished Democrats that supported the agreement by withholding financial support for reelection campaigns and, in some cases, supporting primary challengers. Over the next 20 years, moderate Blue Dog Democrats—a group that tended to support free trade—were replaced by more liberal and progressive members with greater skepticism of free trade.<sup>669</sup> The primary defeats of Representative Marty Martinez (D-CA) in 2000, who supported Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China and signaled support for trade promotion authority, and Representative Tom Sawyer (D-OH) in 2002, who voted for NAFTA, by labor-backed Democratic challengers sent a message to the caucus.<sup>670</sup> Four years after the passage of NAFTA, President Clinton failed to garner enough Democratic support for a fast-track trade bill in 1998, due to disagreements over the degree to which labor and environmental regulations should be included in future trade deals, marking a rare instance in which Congress balked at a president's appeal for the authority.<sup>671</sup> Second, the stakes of trade politics grew as trade's share of the U.S. economy expanded from around 20 percent in 1990 to nearly 30 percent by 2008.<sup>672</sup> Third, Republicans retook the House in 1994 for the first time in 40 years, further disrupting the bipartisan balance on free trade. At the same time as these trends were disrupting bipartisanship in the realm of trade policy, U.S. politics was growing more partisan on the whole. By the 2000s, I.M. Destler, an expert on U.S. trade politics, concluded, "This partisan polarization was relatively new to trade policy. But it reflected, and was reinforced by, broader trends in American politics."<sup>673</sup>

By 2001, buoyed by Republican control of the House and Senate, President George W. Bush was afforded

the opportunity to pursue an aggressive free trade agenda with little need for bipartisan compromise. As free trade was a key tenet of the administration's 2002 National Security Strategy, it quickly became a priority of the new administration.<sup>674</sup> In 2002, the Republican-controlled Congress passed a bill conferring trade promotion authority (TPA) to President Bush, which allowed the administration to negotiate a torrent of new trade deals. From 2002 through 2006, the United States passed trade agreements with Australia, Chile, Singapore, Bahrain, Morocco, Oman, and several Central American nations. Although the TPA legislation itself was not seen as necessarily partisan, the legislative process by which Republican committee leadership, including House Ways and Means Chairman Bill Thomas (R-CA), crafted the bill left many Democrats alienated.<sup>675</sup> Both parties braced for the wave midterm elections of 2006, as the path for bipartisan trade compromise narrowed.



REPRESENTATIVE

## Tim Ryan (D-OH)

NAFTA's Rust Belt Legacy

A decade after his vote for NAFTA, Representative Tom Sawyer (D-OH) was still paying the political cost for his vote. After a redistricting process in 2002, Sawyer's district was expanded beyond Akron to include parts of Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley area in eastern Ohio. Once a dynamic region powered by a hub of manufacturing activity, the area had descended into a state of economic disrepair.<sup>676</sup> Representative Jim Traficant (D-OH), who had previously represented the Mahoning Valley, had been convicted on ten felony counts and bowed out of the Democratic primary. As an eight-term incumbent and former mayor of Akron, Sawyer's victory was widely viewed as a foregone conclusion. John Nichols recounts, "Sawyer and his Democratic challengers agreed on most issues. But trade was the dividing line. . . . Though Sawyer had voted with labor on some trade issues—including the December Fast Track test—he is known in Ohio as the Democrat who backed NAFTA, and for unemployed steelworkers and their families NAFTA invokes the bitterest of memories."<sup>677</sup> Despite being outspent in the

primary campaign 6 to 1, Sawyer's 29-year-old challenger, Tim Ryan, emerged victorious.<sup>678</sup> Since entering Congress in 2003, Ryan has established a strong reputation as a defender of the working class and an ardent opponent of the Bush and Obama administration trade agendas. Ryan voted against all of the major trade liberalization deals included in this study from 2006–2016. Ryan's career voting score from the AFL-CIO is 98 percent, while his U.S. Chamber of Commerce score is 40 percent.<sup>679</sup> He co-founded the Manufacturing Caucus in 2003. Ryan has defended his position by arguing that he "is not an isolationist—but there has got to be a level playing field."<sup>680</sup> In particular, Ryan has often criticized what he views as unfair trade practices adopted by China and has introduced legislation to counter Chinese currency manipulation.<sup>681</sup> In line with his position on international economics, Ryan has criticized the Democratic Party for ignoring middle America and the working class, while focusing on serving coastal and urban elites.

## C. Legislative Debates.

### 1. 2007–2008:

#### The May 10 Agreement and Peru FTA

Driven by widespread public backlash over the wars in Iraq, the Democrats retook control of the House and Senate in the 2006 midterm elections. In the Senate, Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) became Majority Leader with Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL) as Majority Whip; Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) served as Minority Leader with Senator Trent Lott (R-MI) as Minority Whip.<sup>682</sup> Although Democrats and Republicans each held 49 seats, 2 independent Senators—Joe Lieberman (I-CT) and Bernie Sanders (I-VT)—caucused with the Democrats, giving them control of the chamber. On the House side, Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) took the position of House Speaker, Representative Steny Hoyer (D-MD) was elevated to Majority Leader and Representative James Clyburn (D-SC) was named House Majority Whip. GOP House leadership included Minority Leader John Boehner (R-OH) and Minority Whip Roy Blunt (R-MO). The House comprised 233 Democrats and 202 Republicans.

The Bush administration's ambitious trade agenda, which included the passage of four additional bilateral trade agreements, extension of trade promotion authority, and conclusion of the Doha round of multilateral WTO negotiations, now faced a stark new political reality.<sup>683</sup> Pessimism over the prospects for free trade in the new Congress grew. For some, the loss of pro-trade Republicans to populist, "trade-skeptic" Democrats in the 2006 meant the collapse of the existing trade agenda and risked a congressional turn to protectionism.<sup>684</sup> Although this political realignment did not spell doom for President Bush's trade agenda, it did necessitate greater bipartisan cooperation on free trade than during the administration's previous six years. President Bush could no longer rely on GOP majorities muscling through FTAs with limited support from Democrats. Legislators would also need to compartmentalize trade from other political

issues that threatened to poison the water for bipartisan cooperation, including vitriolic debates over the war in Iraq, the Alberto Gonzalez scandal, and government funding fights.

The incoming Democratic leadership on the trade committees—Senate Finance Committee Chairman Max Baucus (D-MT) and House Ways and Means Chairman Charlie Rangel (D-NY)—prioritized inserting strong labor and environmental protections into the already negotiated deals with Peru and Colombia, while seeking similar provisions to be included in the ongoing negotiations with South Korea and Panama.<sup>685</sup> Their Republican counterparts—Senator Chuck Grassley (R-IA) and Representative Jim McCrery (R-LA)—and the Bush administration were open to negotiation. Since the Democratic majority was narrower in the Senate and trade bills were perceived as an easier sell in the upper chamber based on historical precedent, House legislators led the way in finding common ground on trade among the parties.<sup>686</sup> In order to craft a new political framework for bipartisan compromise on trade, U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) Susan C. Schwab, Rangel, and McCrery began negotiations in January 2007.<sup>687</sup>

Determined to demonstrate that the Democratic Party was not "the party of protectionism," House Democratic leadership supported the negotiations.<sup>688</sup> Yet the leadership, Rangel and Representative Sandy Levin (D-MI), chairman of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade, faced a complex set of pressures from within their party. Although the pro-trade New Democrat and Blue Dog caucuses had gained strength in the 2006 midterm elections, conservative and progressive factions of the party were divided on a litany of issues, including trade.<sup>689</sup> First, many traditional and progressive Democrats would be a tough sell on trade liberalization due to campaign support from labor unions and gloomy memories of NAFTA. Strong labor and environmental protections would need to be included in the bill to assuage the concerns of these members and build support for trade among moderates. Still, many Democrats questioned the Bush administration's intention to enforce protections

included in trade deals. Entering the negotiations, Rangel and Levin held substantial leverage over the administration and their Republican counterparts given their control of both chambers of Congress and the reality that any new trade deal would require significant Democratic backing to pass.

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**“I have a prepared statement, but as you might suspect, I will be deviating from it because it is my desire to be your new best friend in terms of trying to share with the American people and especially the Congress how important trade is to the United States of America and most recently the impact that it has on democracy throughout the world.”<sup>690</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE CHARLIE RANGEL  
TO USTR SCHWAB**

*at February 14, 2007, Hearing on the U.S. Trade Agenda.*

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As opposed to his predecessor as committee chairman, Rangel was viewed as a “conciliator,” open to negotiation and optimistic on prospects for compromise.<sup>691</sup> While Rangel often highlighted the opportunity for compromise, Destler notes, “Levin, by contrast, spoke out regularly, using words that highlighted substantive demands and suggested that the administration had a long way to go before it could pass congressional muster.”<sup>692</sup> Throughout the negotiations, Rangel and Levin hailed the goal of crafting a compromise on free trade that would appeal broadly to Democrats. In March, Rangel predicted, “We are not going to have an appeal to the extremes like we’ve had in the past. I think the moderates are going to give a larger vote than ever for trade.”<sup>693</sup> Outlining his goal for finding ground for party unity, Levin noted, “We’re building a Democratic trade policy.”<sup>694</sup> On March 27, 2007, Rangel and Levin released a set of Democratic trade

principles entitled “A New Trade Policy for America,” which elaborated standards for future trade agreements including, labor and environmental regulations, calls for greater trade enforcement, and an expansion of TAA, among other items.<sup>695</sup> Fearful that Rangel may offer too many concessions to Republicans, 70 House Democrats sent a letter to the House Ways and Means chairman in support of the “New Trade Policy with America” framework and urging that it should be “a firm bottom line from which you build in your negotiations with the administration.”<sup>696</sup> Pelosi and Hoyer supported the negotiations by sending a February letter to President Bush calling for efforts to compromise on trade and later meeting with the president on the Peru and Colombia deals in early March, stressing the need for labor and environmental provisions to be included in the final deals.

REPRESENTATIVE

## Sandy Levin (D-MI)

“Using Trade as a Tool to Shape Globalization”



As a Democrat representing the northern suburbs of Detroit, Sandy Levin held a unique perspective on the externalities of free trade policy. Since first being elected to the House of Representatives in 1983, Levin has burnished his reputation as a pragmatic, yet cautious, Democratic advocate for free and fair trade. Although he voted against NAFTA in 1993, he supported other elements of President Clinton’s trade agenda, including Chinese accession to the WTO in 2000. During the 2000 Chinese permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) debate, he explained by stating, “[T]he only course is to actively shape globalization. We cannot escape it, we cannot ignore it.”<sup>697</sup> In his view, the consequences of hypothetical free trade agreements are not foregone conclusions; trade agreements can be shaped to benefit the U.S. economy more holistically. “You have to bring about an expansion of trade so it works better for many more

people,” Levin has said.<sup>698</sup> To do so, Levin has consistently called upon trading partners to open a “two-way street” on trade negotiations.<sup>699</sup> In addition to spreading the benefits of globalization more equitably in a domestic context, Levin has supported the use of trade deals as a means to improve human rights, the quality of life, and environmental conditions in trading partner nations around the world.<sup>700</sup> In voicing support for stronger enforcement of existing deals, Levin criticized the Bush administration for being “far too passive in enforcing trade agreements, in breaking down unfair barriers to U.S. products, and in establishing rules that raise standards of living in the U.S. and around the globe.”<sup>701</sup> Given his numerous reservations with unregulated free trade, Destler argued, “Levin’s toughness added credibility to the final product,” of the May 10 Agreement.<sup>702</sup>

Negotiators reached an agreement on May 10.<sup>703</sup> What came to be known as the May 10 agreement was welcomed by Democratic House leadership as a “bipartisan breakthrough for fair trade.”<sup>704</sup> USTR Schwab hailed, “We have seized a historic opportunity to restore the bipartisan consensus on trade with a clear and reasonable path forward for congressional consideration of Free Trade Agreements with Peru, Colombia, Panama and Korea.”<sup>705</sup> On the Senate side, Finance Committee Chairman Baucus called it a “landmark deal,” praising the bipartisan process.<sup>706</sup> Serving as a conceptual template for future trade agreements, it included provisions requiring the enforcement of the five international labor principles outlined in the International Labor Organization’s 1998 Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, compliance with a number of multilateral environmental agreements and intellectual property protections, among other provisions.<sup>707</sup> According to the *New York Times*’ Steven Weisman, the deal demonstrated that, “on trade, a coalition of lawmakers from states that stand to gain more from increased exports than they lose from increased imports can come together if each side’s interests are accommodated.”<sup>708</sup> However, some observers argued that the agreement set a pernicious precedent that deals negotiated under TPA rules could still be altered by the Congress.<sup>709</sup> Although the deal was a major victory for moderate and pro-trade Democrats, it remained to be seen how many Democrats would eventually support a Bush trade deal that included the May 10 provisions. The Peru FTA served as the test case.

Although the original agreement had been concluded in 2005, after the May 10 Agreement among congressional Democrats and Republicans and the White House, negotiators attached amendments to include the new labor and environmental standards by June 2007.<sup>710</sup> On the deal’s merits alone, there was little controversy. As of 2006, the United States conducted a relatively insignificant amount of trade with Peru, and Peruvian exporters faced few tariffs in bringing goods to market in the United States.<sup>711</sup> The deal would reduce Peruvian tariffs on U.S. goods, leading to a projected increase of \$1.1 billion in trade to the South American nation, according to the U.S. International Trade Commission.<sup>712</sup> Rather

than seeking large economic gains, the deal was advanced as a strategically important signal to send in support of a burgeoning Latin American democracy and to bolster positive perceptions of the United States in the region.

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**“Peru, Colombia, and Panama will also benefit from implementing our trade agreements. . . . If we don’t, we’ll be turning our backs on allies in the region. We’ll be sending a signal to Latin America that we don’t really care about opening markets and enhancing the rule of law. Instead, we’d help build the clout of Chavez and other leaders in the region who see the failed policy of statism as Latin America’s future.”<sup>713</sup>**

**SENATOR CHUCK GRASSLEY (R-IA)**

*January 30, 2007, Floor Statement*

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After the deal was amended to include the May 10 provisions, President Bush once again called for its passage in a July 9 speech.<sup>714</sup> Before passage of the Peru FTA, Democrats sought reauthorization of Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA), a number of programs that serve as a safety net for workers whose jobs are displaced by trade deals, which was set to expire at the end of the September. Republican members and the administration initially viewed TAA as part of a necessary compromise for TPA reauthorization and were reluctant to reauthorize the program without extending TPA.<sup>715</sup> However, after House Democrats linked passage of the Peru FTA with a reauthorization of TAA, Republicans compromised to a short-term extension while continuing negotiations on a longer-term extension.<sup>716</sup> An extension for TAA through the end of the calendar year passed the House and Senate in September 2007 and was signed on September 28, clearing the way for consideration of the Peru FTA.



In September 2007, before the White House submitted the final trade deal for congressional consideration, the committees of jurisdiction held advisory markup sessions and briefings from the administration.<sup>717</sup> During the House Ways and Means advisory markup, Representative Bill Pascrell's (D-NJ) views epitomized those of many moderate Democrats: "America's trade policy is not perfect, and I rarely find myself supporting trade agreements, but I believe this FTA marks significant progress towards a more responsible trade philosophy."<sup>718</sup> The measure passed by a voice vote. On the Senate side, several pro-trade Republicans voted "no" due to the additional labor regulations included in the deal and concerns over the deal's intellectual property regulations, including Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and Senator John Kyl (R-AZ). Senator Grassley, the ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, concluded, "I don't agree with a lot of these things that were negotiated. . . . But they're kind of minor compared to the goal of the agreement with Peru."<sup>719</sup> Senator Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) was the Finance Committee's only Democrat to vote against the bill, after highlighting other trade priorities she argued the committee should address prior to the Peru deal, including TAA reform and currency manipulation.<sup>720</sup>

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**"Our global trading partners are paying close attention because how we as policy makers handle this first of four trade agreements will either have a profound [e]ffect on the U.S.'s role as a leader in the global economy, or relegate us as observers. . . . The United States should not be warming the bench in the global economic arena."<sup>721</sup>**

**SENATOR PAT ROBERTS (R-KS)**

*September 11, 2007,  
Statement at Senate Finance Committee Hearing*

On September 27, the Peru FTA bill was formally submitted to Congress, initiating a 45-day clock to consider the deal under TPA rules. In October, both committees held formal markups of the bill. It passed both committees with a unanimous vote on the Ways and Means Committee and overwhelming support on the Senate side. In November, the FTA passed the full House by a 285-132 margin. The Senate later passed the Peru deal in December on a 77-18 vote. President Bush signed the agreement on December 14.

In spite of the inclusion of the hard-fought May 10 Agreement labor and environmental provisions sought to broaden the base of Democratic support for this and future agreements, the majority of House Democrats voted against the bill with a final count of 116-109. House Republicans overwhelmingly supported the measure 176-16. Both Democratic and Republican House leadership voted in favor the deal. Many Democrats' concerns over free trade were ameliorated by the labor and environmental provisions included in the deal. Representative Levin hailed the deal as a "meaningful first step" toward improving the structure of free trade deals.<sup>722</sup> "Sometimes our party can't take yes for an answer," said Representative Jane Harman (D-CA), who added, "This is what we have defined as fair trade for years. So I think we should be declaring victory."<sup>723</sup> Other Democrats found the strategic arguments in favor of the deal persuasive. For instance, Representative David Dreier (D-CA) explained his support by stating, "This is a battle for hearts and minds; it is a struggle to ensure that liberty and the rule of law prevail over tyranny."

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**"I feel like I'm at a used-car lot, and the dealer is trying to sell the American people a beat-up old NAFTA lemon with a new paint job."<sup>724</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE LINDA SANCHEZ (D-CA)**

*November 7, 2007, Floor Statement*

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**“We have cut development assistance, eliminated programs, and repeatedly overlooked our neighbors to the south. In the place of a robust and comprehensive policy of engagement, exchange, aid, and a variety of trade tools, we have a simplistic, singular policy of free trade agreements. . . . I support engagement with Latin America; I strongly support being a better neighbor, but I do not support this narrow policy tool that the Bush administration has fixated on.”<sup>725</sup>**

**SENATOR HARRY REID**

*December 4, 2007, Floor Statement.*

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House Democratic opponents generally argued that the May 10 provisions included in the deal failed to go far enough. Citing the economic externalities of free trade, Representative Phil Hare (D-IL) stated, “Weary of more bad trade deals, last November voters swept fair-trade Democrats into office—sending a clear mandate for a new direction on trade. And yet here we are, voting on another one-sided, so-called free-trade agreement.” While stating that the deal was an improvement over previous deals such as NAFTA, Representative Linda T. Sanchez (D-CA) felt, “the agreement is still not good enough.”<sup>726</sup> Representative Raul Grivalja (D-AZ) commended Ways and Means negotiators for their efforts in reaching the May 10 Agreement, but he concluded, “their efforts are like putting a roof on a crumbling house.”<sup>727</sup> Voicing another prevalent concern held by many fellow House Democrats, Representative Bart Stupak (D-MI) asked, “Who will enforce these labor standards? Who will enforce these environmental standards? The Bush administration? I don’t think so.”<sup>728</sup>

In the Senate, Democrats supported the bill by a 30–17 margin, while Senator Jon Kyl was the only Republican to oppose the agreement. Although Minority Leader McConnell joined the majority of Republicans in supporting the deal, Majority Leader Reid dissented from the majority of Democrats, opposing it. In addition to criticizing the administration’s trade-heavy approach to the region, Reid highlighted the economic costs of previous trade agreements, his perception of enforcement failures, and the need for a broader TAA expansion.<sup>729</sup> In voicing his support for the deal, McConnell highlighted the strategic value of the agreement, stating, “It’s critical for America to remain engaged in that part of the world, and it’s vitally important for us to build strong ties with countries that have made a commitment to freedom and democracy. Peru is such an ally.”<sup>730</sup> Senator Baucus called the Peru pact a “groundbreaking achievement” that includes “exactly what many of us in Congress and the labor and environmental movements have been seeking to include in trade agreements for decades.”<sup>731</sup>

Opponents of the deal in the Senate spoke out against free trade deals in general, including the enforcement of the standards included in agreements, and argued that the May 10 provisions had not gone far enough. “Why would we do another trade agreement when NAFTA didn’t work?” remarked Senator Sherrod Brown (D-OH).<sup>732</sup> Senator Bernie Sanders claimed, “The Peru Free Trade Agreement is a continuation of failed agreements such as the [NAFTA]. . . . Instead of enacting yet another job-destroying, unfettered free trade agreement, it is time for us to fix our broken trade policies.”<sup>733</sup> Questioning the follow-through of the Bush administration to enforce the newly added labor and environmental regulations in the deal, Senator Stabenow concluded, “The right words on paper are just not enough.”<sup>734</sup> Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, took issue with the drafting of the intellectual property provisions included in the deal.<sup>735</sup> Senator Kyl, the only Republican to vote against the agreement and normally a staunch supporter of free trade, came out against the deal due to the inclusion of the labor and environmental standards hammered out in the May 10 Agreement along with intellectual property concerns. Several senators in the midst of presidential campaigning

**RIGHT**

U.S. President George W. Bush (R) signs H.R. 3688, the United States-Peru Trade Promotion Agreement Implementation Act, as the President of Peru, Alan Garcia (L) and Representative Jim McCrery, a Republican from Louisiana, look on in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building next to the White House in Washington, DC, on December 14, 2007.



abstained from the vote, including Senators Biden, Clinton, Dodd, McCain, and Obama.

Progress on President Bush's free trade agenda came to a halt in 2008. Even though House negotiators had found a compromise over standards included in future FTAs in the form of the May 10 Agreement, Congress failed to extend trade promotion authority, which lapsed on July 1, 2007, curtailing the administration's latitude to successfully negotiate additional trade deals. For House Speaker Pelosi, voting on another controversial trade bill that divided her caucus in a presidential election year was too politically risky. President Bush, who had already squandered any

political capital remaining with the Democratic Congress, was widely perceived as a lame duck.<sup>736</sup>

In spring 2008, growing impatient with Congress, President Bush sent the Colombia agreement to the Hill, initiating the 90-day clock for an up or down vote on the deal under TPA rules. According to Destler, Pelosi "responded by exploiting fast-track's Achilles' heel, its foundation on the rules of each chamber."<sup>737</sup> Two days after the president had submitted the agreement to Congress for consideration, the House, led by Pelosi, voted to suspend the TPA rules for consideration of the Colombia deal, squashing any chance the agreement might pass in the 110th Congress.

## 2. 2011: The Panama, Colombia, and South Korea FTAs

President Barack Obama entered office in 2009 amid the most significant economic crisis since the Great Depression. In the aftermath of the recession, free trade advocates turned attention toward thwarting populist impulses to push protectionist trade policies.<sup>738</sup> For the most part, global trade advocates succeeded, as the United States and the international economic order weathered the shock of the 2008 financial crisis without any major uptick in global protectionism.<sup>739</sup> After the immediate legislative focus on stabilizing the economy, President Obama's agenda turned to health care reform and financial regulation. Not only were these legislative priorities time consuming, sapping most of the legislative bandwidth until mid-2010, the Democrats' hard-fought wins were politically costly. Tea Party Republicans swept the 2010 midterm elections with a populist mandate to cut deficits and reduce government regulation, carrying the GOP to control of the House. Republicans outnumbered Democrats in the House 242–193, as the GOP flipped 63 seats. Representative Boehner was named House Speaker, with Representative Eric Cantor (R-VA) serving as Majority Leader and Representative Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) taking on the role of Majority Whip. For House Democrats, Representatives Pelosi and Hoyer took the leadership positions as Minority Leader and Minority Whip, respectively. On the Senate side, the Democrats retained control with 51 members and 2 Independents caucusing with the Democratic Party to the Republicans 47 members. Senate leadership was unchanged, with Senators Reid and Durbin serving on the Democratic side and Senators McConnell and Kyl for the Republicans. On the committees that oversee U.S. trade policy, leadership now included: Representative Dave Camp (R-MI) as the House Ways and Means chairman, Representative Levin as ranking member, Senator Baucus as Senate Finance Committee chairman, and Senator Grassley as ranking member.

The collapse of Democratic control of the House and the party's shrinking majority in the Senate dramatically shifted the congressional landscape for 2011. The Tea Party

movement coalesced around a populist, small-government message in opposition to expansion of federal spending and authority. The stimulus bill and the Affordable Care Act were particular Tea Party targets. Given the group's primary focus on domestic issues, members did not share a consistent set of foreign policy views.<sup>740</sup> Although many Tea Party members ran on a populist message seemingly antithetical to trade liberalization, others' staunch free market ideology provided a basis for pro-trade views.<sup>741</sup> Even so, many new GOP members were distrustful of the Obama administration and reluctant to hand the president major bipartisan accomplishments. On the Democratic side, the appetite for potentially controversial trade deals all but evaporated, as pro-trade moderate Democrats suffered major losses in the 2010 election.<sup>742</sup> Even prior to the midterm losses, trade policy expert Jeffrey Schott argued, "Obama's main trade policy challenge will be working with members of his own party in Congress."<sup>743</sup> Democratic leadership on the House Ways and Means Committee had also shifted since 2007 as Representative Sandy Levin took over for Representative Charlie Rangel after an ethics scandal had forced Rangel to step down. Defying simple labels such as "free trader" or "protectionist," Representative Levin was more supportive of free trade than much of the Democratic caucus but held a reputation as a tough negotiator when it came to market access issues and labor and environmental protections included in deals.<sup>744</sup> To garner a deal on trade policy, the administration would have to first succeed in negotiations with the newly empowered Republican majority in the House and then convince moderate Democrats to support the agenda. Seeing few other opportunities for legislative progress with the House and spurred by Republican pressure, President Obama turned toward trade policy as an area of potential bipartisan compromise in 2011.

Three trade agreements had been negotiated during the Bush administration under TPA authorization—Panama, Colombia, and South Korea—but none had passed due to a variety of political and economic concerns. The Panama FTA was the least economically significant of the three. The extent of the U.S. trading relationship with the small

Latin American nation was relatively minimal, so the agreement itself generated little controversy. Viewed similarly to the Peru agreement, proponents supported the deal as a means to advance U.S. interests by bolstering a regional partner and leveling the playing field between both nations' economies. The Bush administration completed negotiations with the Panamanian government in June 2007, after the May 10 Agreement set a new baseline for labor and environmental provisions to be included in future FTAs. However, the FTA hit a political roadblock months later with the September 2007 election of Pedro Miguel González Pinzón as president of Panama's National Assembly, shifting the political spotlight to his alleged role in the 1992 murder of a U.S. Army sergeant in Panama.<sup>745</sup> Although he had been acquitted by a Panamanian court in 1997, the United States government did not consider the decision legitimate, maintaining a warrant for Pinzón's arrest. Along with other members of Congress, Senator Grassley warned that Pinzón's election could complicate U.S.-Panama relations and called for his resignation.<sup>746</sup> This delayed consideration of the Panama FTA for a year, until Pinzón chose not to run for reelection as president of the National Assembly in 2008.<sup>747</sup> Another stumbling block that had held up consideration of the FTA were concerns associated with the transparency of Panama's tax regulations, since it was on the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's "Gray List" for failing to meet international tax standards. To address these concerns, the United States and Panama reached a Tax Information and Exchange Agreement in April 2011, while the Panamanian government agreed to other steps to increase transparency in the nation's tax regulation. Subsequently, Panama was removed from the OECD's "Gray List" in July 2011, clearing the final hurdle for Congress to consider the FTA.<sup>748</sup>

The Bush administration had also negotiated a trade deal with Colombia. Given the small existing bilateral economic relationship, the deal would not have a major impact on the U.S. economy. However, proponents believed it could support the goals of PLAN Colombia, a U.S. strategy to bolster political and economic stability after decades of bloodshed from narcoterrorism and

war with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). By supporting Colombia, some argued, U.S. policymakers would also create a beacon of stability in the region along the border with the Venezuelan regime of Hugo Chavez.<sup>749</sup> The deal was initially struck in 2006 and was amended in 2007 to reflect the bipartisan May 10 Agreement. When the Bush administration submitted the Colombia FTA, it met its initial demise. Qualms over the agreement centered on human rights concerns related to Colombia's labor unions. Labor and human rights advocates cited troubling statistics and stories of the murders of Colombian labor leaders and the government's failure to prosecute suspects.<sup>750</sup> To address these concerns, in April 2011, U.S. negotiators struck a deal with the Colombian government to increase protections for labor leaders and prosecute those who target them with violence.<sup>751</sup> Although some Democrats questioned the feasibility of enforcing the "action plan" without mandating it in the FTA and doubted the Colombian government's commitment to progress in handling the issue, the deal earned the support of some Democrats.<sup>752</sup>

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**“[T]he Administration has missed easy opportunities to stand with our allies, for instance, through free trade agreements. We cannot continue to ignore or be complacent about Latin America, nor can we relegate our friends in the region to anything less than high priority partnerships for us to continue nurturing.”<sup>753</sup>**

**SENATOR MARCO RUBIO (R-FL)**

*September 14, 2011*

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The Korea-United States Free Trade Agreement (KORUS) was by far the most economically impactful of the three deals and arguably the most significant since NAFTA. Proponents pointed out that South Korea was not only

one of the United States' largest trading partners, it was a key U.S. ally in a critical region facing off against a bellicose North Korea. President Bush originally signed the KORUS deal with Korea in 2007 but chose not to submit it for congressional consideration due to legislative bandwidth concerns and controversial provisions in the deal relating to the automotive and agricultural sectors.

When the Obama administration initially began signaling its desire to complete the FTA in 2010, the administration came under significant pressure from Democrats to renegotiate elements of the deal. In July 2010, a group of 109 House Democrats, led by Representative Michael Michaud (D-ME), sent President Obama a letter calling for "major changes" to the Korea deal; on the Senate side, Senators Stabenow and Brown likewise urged the administration against submitting the deal as negotiated.<sup>754</sup> Later that month, a competing group of ten senators, including nine Democrats and one independent led by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry (D-MA), sent a letter expressing support for the deal, arguing, "Failure to bring the KORUS FTA to a swift resolution could have wide-ranging repercussions for U.S. engagement and influence in the Asia Pacific, as well as our leadership position on open markets and mutually beneficial trade."<sup>755</sup> In response to pressure from Democrats, such as Representative Levin, to alter elements of the deal but determined to press forward, the administration renegotiated several sections of the agreement, including those pertaining to the auto sector, and presented the new agreement in December 2010.<sup>756</sup> These changes eventually won the support of the "Big 3" U.S. auto manufacturers and the United Automobile Workers union. A second major hurdle to compromise came from the cattle industry. Senator Max Baucus of Montana was "deeply disappointed" with the deal's failure to address Korean barriers to U.S. beef exports.<sup>757</sup> On May 4, 2011, the administration announced a number of steps to address Senator Baucus's concerns without amending the deal, including consulting with South Korea on implementation of a health protocol related to beef imports to encourage greater acceptance of U.S. products and U.S. Department of Agriculture funding for

the U.S. Meat Export Federation to expand marketing in South Korea for U.S. beef.<sup>758</sup>

With the most challenging issues related to each of the three deals resolved by spring 2011, President Obama called for extension of the Trade Adjustment Assistance Act prior to their consideration.<sup>759</sup> Senator Baucus, Representative Camp, and the administration reached an agreement to extend TAA in June 2011.<sup>760</sup> However, the process for TAA passage in the Senate stalled as Republicans and Democrats diverged over the sequencing of the two measures. Democrats feared Republicans would abandon support for TAA, which required Republican votes to pass, after passage of the trade deals; Republicans distrusted Democratic support for the trade agreements and were afraid Democrats would pocket TAA reauthorization without simultaneous trade liberalization.<sup>761</sup> In July 2011, Republicans Senators Blunt and Portman wrote a letter to President Obama alongside ten of their Senate Republican colleagues pledging support for TAA in an effort to resolve the partisan trust deficit.<sup>762</sup> The Senate then passed TAA in September, as an amendment to another piece of trade-related legislation, clearing the way for House passage of the bill and both chambers to proceed with consideration of the FTAs.<sup>763</sup>

Over the summer of 2011, the congressional trade committees held advisory markups of the three deals prior to President Obama submitting them to Congress. The Senate Finance Committee approved legislation containing the South Korea deal and TAA authorization by a 13–11 party-line vote, with Democrats supporting and Republicans opposing. Republicans argued that TAA should be considered separately. Senator John Thune (R-SD) offered an amendment to include trade promotion authority reauthorization, which was defeated. The Colombia and Panama agreements advanced on 18–6 and 22–2 votes, respectively. An amendment to the Colombia deal from Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD) requiring follow-through on the negotiated protections for labor leaders prior to FTA implementation was also defeated. The House Ways and Means Committee voted to approve the South Korea FTA along party lines with Republicans supporting the House measure that had not included

TAA reauthorization. The committee voted in favor of the Colombia deal, 22–14, and the Panama deal, 22–15. Just as the Cardin amendment had failed in the Senate, Representative Levin’s similar provision for Colombian labor leader protections was defeated, 13–22.<sup>764</sup>

Formal committee markups began in early October with the House Ways and Means Committee approving the three agreements on October 5 and the Senate following on October 11. On October 12, 2011, all three trade deals passed both chambers. Across the three deals, staunchly pro-trade conservatives and moderate Democrats consistently voted for each of the three agreements; trade-skeptic Democrats along with a small bloc of conservative Republicans voted against the deals. During consideration of the FTAs, two notable debates unfolded over floor amendments. First, Senate Republicans moved to reauthorize trade promotion authority to grant President Obama the authority to negotiate new agreements as an amendment to the legislative vehicle for TAA reauthorization. Senator McConnell had proposed the measure even though the administration had not requested the authority. Officially,

the administration felt pursuing TPA in tandem with the three FTAs would slow the process down. Democrats were also determined to renegotiate the standards in TPA rather than simply extending the lapsed authority. Democrats blocked the proposal with a final vote tally of 55–45.<sup>765</sup> Second, House Democrats attempted to attach an amendment to combat Chinese currency manipulation to the Colombia FTA. Ways and Means Chairman Camp called out the provision for being a “true poison pill” since it was inserted into a bill that had already been dually negotiated among the administration and trade committees and risked disqualifying the bill from consideration under trade promotion other rules.<sup>766</sup> The measure was defeated 192–236 in a vote cast primarily along party lines.<sup>767</sup> Although vote counts varied considerably across the three FTAs due to each deal’s particular characteristics, each passed both chambers by substantial margins. (See Figure 21 for a breakdown of the congressional vote counts in both houses by party). President Obama signed the TAA legislation and three FTAs into law on October 21, 2011.

**FIGURE TWENTY-THREE** Vote Counts for October 2011 Trade Legislation

		House			Senate		
		Yea	Nay	Abstain	Yea	Nay	Abstain
<b>Colombia FTA</b>	Democrats	31	158	3	21	30	0
	Republicans	231	9	1	44	2	1
	Independents	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	1	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Panama FTA</b>	Democrats	66	123	3	30	21	0
	Republicans	234	6	1	46	0	1
	Independents	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	1	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>South Korea FTA</b>	Democrats	59	130	3	37	14	0
	Republicans	219	21	1	45	1	1
	Independents	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	0	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Trade Adjustment Assistance</b>	Democrats	189	0	3	51	0	0
	Republicans	118	122	1	17	27	3
	Independents	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>3</b>

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**“This is not some type of blinded protectionism, that somehow we need to close our shores. I’m very aware of the global impact of our modern economy. And it’s not based upon any type of ignorance of the potential good that these so-called free trade agreements can present to us. Indeed, I have lived in a part of the country that has suffered immensely from free trade agreements.”<sup>768</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE LARRY KISSELL (D-NC)**

*October 12, 2011*

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House and Senate Republican leadership uniformly voted for the trade agreements. Democratic congressional leadership split their votes. Senate Majority Leader Reid voted against all three FTAs but for TAA, expressing his long-held reservations over trade policy.<sup>769</sup> Senate Majority Whip Durbin voted for each of the bills except the Colombia FTA, citing the importance of trade policy in keeping the United States “engaged in the world,” but expressing the belief that the Colombian government needed to take additional steps to address violence against union members before he could support the deal.<sup>770</sup> Senate Minority Leader McConnell hailed the passage of the three deals as a major bipartisan accomplishment.<sup>771</sup> House Speaker Boehner commended the passage of the FTAs, stating, “These job-creating bills show that, despite our differences, there is meaningful common ground among the two parties in Washington.”<sup>772</sup> House Minority Leader Pelosi voted for all of the deals except the Colombia FTA, given the failure to include a requirement to implement of the labor leader protection plan in the final deal. House Minority Whip Hoyer voted for all the agreements.

The FTA with Colombia was the most controversial of the three deals, passing both chambers by the narrowest margin. Many House and Senate Democrats felt the Colombian government had made insufficient progress in dealing with violence against union members and questioned the feasibility of enforcing the April 2011 action plan without mandating it as a requirement in the FTA. Representative Levin, ranking member on House Ways and Means, argued, “Explicitly linking the action plan to entry into force of the Colombia FTA was necessary as a vital step to ensure effective, meaningful implementation of the action plan. Without such a linkage, we have no leverage to ensure that Colombia lives up to the commitments it has made.”<sup>773</sup> Representative Jim McDermott (D-WA), ranking member on the Trade Subcommittee of Ways and Means, summarized much of his caucus’s opposition to the Colombia agreement by criticizing congressional Republican’s unwillingness to require the Obama administration’s labor action plan standards to be written into the deal.<sup>774</sup> Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA), chairwoman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, Transnational Crime, Civilian Security, Democracy, Human Rights, and Global Women’s Issues, opposed the deal, noting, “Colombia’s human rights record is appalling.”<sup>775</sup> In support of the agreement, Chairman Camp defended the progress made by Colombia, claiming, “The homicide rate since 2002 against union members has declined 85 percent.”<sup>776</sup> On the Senate side, Finance Committee Chairman Baucus challenged opponents’ concerns, arguing that, on the whole, the deal would improve U.S. leverage over the Colombian government to improve labor rights.<sup>777</sup> Acknowledging the progress made by the Colombian government at addressing the violence, Senator Tom Carper (D-DE) supported the deal and implored his colleagues, “Don’t let the perfect be the enemy of the good.”

The Panama agreement was the most popular deal in the House and the second-most popular deal in the Senate, behind the Korea FTA. On the whole, moderate Democrats, including Representative Levin and Representative Lloyd Doggett (D-TX), who had concerns about Panama’s tax haven status, were assuaged by the steps taken by the nation’s government to increase financial transparency.<sup>778</sup>



For some members, the modest economic impact of the deal decreased political pressure to vote against the agreement for fear of domestic job loss. Representative Dennis Kucinich (D-OH) felt the economic impact of the FTA was so insignificant that concerns regarding the labor and environmental provisions of the May 10 agreement not going far enough outweighed any positive gains. Representative Kevin Brady (R-TX), chair of the Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee, argued, “Critics will say, Panama is too small an economy. Why do we bother? In this dismal economy in America, every sale, every job counts.”<sup>779</sup>

The Korea FTA passed both houses easily, including by the most overwhelming margin of the three deals in the Senate. Most supporters touted the economic benefits of the deal and the need to shore up relations with a key ally in a strategically important region. On the controversy surrounding the automotive sector, Representative Levin’s support for the auto sector revisions included in the deal was notable given his district’s location in Detroit’s northern suburbs. Some Democrats, including Representative Rosa DeLauro (D-CT), feared that the deal may risk incentivizing Chinese products to be sent to U.S. markets through South Korea, to avoid tariffs.

### 3. 2013–2016: Trade Promotion Authority and the Trans-Pacific Partnership

After several years of minimal legislative attention on trade policy, President Obama turned back to trade in his second term as an area for potential bipartisan compromise as a part of his administration’s initiative to reorient U.S. grand strategic focus on the Asia-Pacific.<sup>783</sup> The Asia-Pacific rebalance would strengthen the U.S. leadership role in the region by increasing military deployments, expanding regional partnerships, and intensifying U.S. economic ties in the region.<sup>784</sup> As the economic component of the initiative, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)—an expansive multilateral free trade agreement—was touted as the strategy’s backbone, critical to cementing U.S. leadership in the world’s most economically vibrant region.<sup>785</sup> Although discussions between regional actors had been ongoing since 2006, the United States formally

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**“We hear a lot of statistics about job creation. We don’t need statistics. Come to Ohio. Go to Toledo. Go to Pittsburgh. Go to Fayetteville, North Carolina. Go to Youngstown, Ohio. Go to Akron. Go down the Ohio River. All these promises were made before, and it didn’t pan out.”<sup>780</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE TIM RYAN (D-OH)**

*October 12, 2011*

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**“I do want to stress that my opposition to these agreements is not meant to undercut the good work of our partners and allies in Korea, Colombia, and Panama. . . . [A]t this time, I think we should stop and pause and think about our domestic needs and how to get our economy back on track.”<sup>781</sup>**

**SENATOR JACK REED (D-RI)**

*October 12, 2011*

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**“South Korea and its people are true allies of the United States, and I value our diplomatic relations. As a Korean War-era veteran, I have witnessed first-hand how relations between our two great nations have improved dramatically over the years. Unfortunately, I cannot support KORUS because it will do real harm to the North Carolina textile industry.”<sup>782</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD COBLE (R-NC)**

*October 12, 2011*

**RIGHT**

Longshoremen work next to a container ship at Port Everglades on the day that the United States Congress is scheduled to vote on free trade deals in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on October 12, 2011



joined negotiations in 2008. By 2013, the trade framework included 12 nations: Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the United States, and Vietnam. Since the economies of the negotiating parties comprised 40 percent of the world's gross domestic product (GDP), the potential gains from trade liberalization for the U.S. economy were great.<sup>786</sup> With the failure of the WTO's Doha round and lack of any other substantive progress for multilateral trade liberalization, the administration also viewed TPP as an opportunity to set domestic and international standards for twenty-first-century trade deals. For Obama, TPP would not only be the cornerstone of a defining foreign policy achievement, but it would also serve to update U.S. trade policy standards. Akin to the rationale behind the May 10 agreement a decade

prior, "TPP represented the effort of the Obama administration to find a new formula, attuned to Democratic political constraints, to move trade forward on a basis pinpointed by region and particular economic considerations," according to Peter Cowhey.<sup>787</sup>

To secure TPP, the Obama administration calculated that it would first need trade promotion authority. Without TPA, the administration feared, foreign negotiators would not have confidence in the U.S. Congress's willingness to pass the final agreement as negotiated without reworking it substantially through the domestic legislative process.<sup>788</sup> However, the politics surrounding TPA is often more arduous than passing an actual trade agreement, as the benefits associated with the authority are indeterminate in the absence of finalized deals.

### False Starts: 2013–2014

The administration's first calls for a TPA bill came in the form of U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk's presentation of the president's annual trade agenda report to Congress in the spring of 2013.<sup>789</sup> This initial push was met with a lukewarm response from the Hill. House Ways and Means Chairman Camp questioned President Obama's commitment to push TPA and called for serious discussions to "demonstrate his commitment to a vigorous and productive trade policy," along with "nominating a qualified and committed U.S. trade representative," since Kirk was slated to retire in the first half of 2013.<sup>790</sup> Both liberal Democrats and Tea Party Republicans expressed qualms over granting the administration TPA. House Democrats feared that TPP compliance might undermine U.S. sovereignty by changing domestic laws, felt the negotiations had been too secretive, and expressed general opposition to new trade deals for fear of replicating the failings of NAFTA on a larger scale.<sup>791</sup> In a November 2013 letter to President Obama spearheaded by Representative Delauro and George Miller (D-CA), 151 House Democrats relayed their concerns over TPP and opposition to TPA.<sup>792</sup> A separate group of 13 Democrats also sent the administration a letter in November calling for TAA renewal and expressing openness to TPA if it "reflect[s] the changing nature of international trade and ensure[s] Congress plays a more meaningful role in the negotiating process" than in 2002.<sup>793</sup> Tea Party and isolationist Republicans either feared granting additional authorities to a president they did not trust or simply opposed free trade deals on principle.<sup>794</sup> In parallel to the Democratic letters, libertarian Representative Walter Jones (R-NC) organized a letter signed by 23 House Republicans declaring opposition to TPA.<sup>795</sup> Growing impatient, pro-trade GOP leaders blamed Obama for lack of momentum on TPA during 2013, arguing his prioritization of TPA had not yet manifested in the legislative outreach necessary to craft a deal. "Any president who doesn't want that [TPA] is nuts. But yet, they haven't pushed that, and I suspect that it's because the unions don't want them to do it," according to Senate Finance Ranking Member Hatch.<sup>796</sup>

Throughout 2013, Senate Finance and House Ways and Means leadership negotiated an agreement on TPA. By early 2014, House and Senate negotiators had struck an accord on TPA. House Ways and Means Chairman Camp, Senate Finance Chairman Baucus, and Ranking Member Hatch introduced identical TPA bills in the House and Senate in January 2014.<sup>797</sup> However, any momentum trade advocates built came to an abrupt halt in January 2014. The day after President Obama's call for TPA in his 2014 State of the Union Address, Senate Majority Leader Reid poured cold water on the idea by publicly stating, "Everyone would be well-advised to not push this right now."<sup>798</sup> Although Reid had previously allowed votes on trade bills he personally opposed, his statement implied he was unwilling to allow a floor vote in 2014, prompting widespread Republican backlash.<sup>799</sup> Most observers speculated that Reid, in addition to being personally opposed to the legislation, wanted to avoid a politically charged vote on an issue that deeply divided Democrats in an election year.<sup>800</sup> On the House side, Representative Sandy Levin, House Ways and Means ranking member, criticized the deal for failing to innovate upon the antiquated 2002 TPA model, arguing for a more "meaningful role" for Congress in the negotiating process.<sup>801</sup>

If Reid and Levin's opposition were not sufficient to extinguish hopes of TPA passage in 2014, President Obama's nomination of Senate Finance Chairman Baucus to become the U.S. ambassador to China ironically scuttled TPA's chances.<sup>802</sup> Senator Ron Wyden (D-OR) replaced Baucus as the Senate Finance chairman and sought to pause consideration of the existing TPA legislation for an opportunity to renegotiate the terms of the deals to earn broader Democratic support.<sup>803</sup> As the 2014 election approached, TPA's chances grew slimmer as some believed passage would only be possible in the lame duck session after November. However, the Republicans regained control of the Senate after the election, setting the stage for a new set of negotiations over TPA in spring 2015.

SENATOR

## Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)

Consumer Advocate



During her first term in the U.S. Senate, Senator Elizabeth Warren emerged as a leading progressive voice on economics and trade policy within the Democratic Party.<sup>804</sup> Having previously served as a lawyer specializing in bankruptcy law and a law professor at Harvard, Warren first entered the national political spotlight as a prominent advocate for financial regulatory reform and improved protections for consumers in the wake of the 2008 recession. She notably advocated for the creation of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau and had been considered by President Obama to serve as the organization's first director before strong Republican opposition scuttled her nomination. In 2015, Warren distinguished herself as one of the Democratic party's most vocal opponents of President Obama's trade agenda, criticizing both TPA and TPP as harmful to working-class

citizens and dangerous to U.S. sovereignty.<sup>805</sup> In May 2015 at the height of the TPA debate, Warren co-introduced legislation to challenge the ability of fast-track authority to be used on deals that include Investor-State Dispute Settlements (ISDS).<sup>806</sup> Warren expressed concern that ISDS undermines U.S. sovereignty and rigged the economic system in favor of multinational corporations, a common target of her public criticism. Warren also frequently criticized the TPP negotiation process as too secretive.<sup>807</sup> Her office also produced and publicized a report detailing "more than two decades of failed enforcement by the United States of labor and environmental standards included in past free trade agreements (FTAs), including the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), and agreements with Peru, Colombia, and Panama."<sup>808</sup>

### Finding Compromise: 2015

After the 2014 midterm elections, the Republican Party regained control of the Senate while maintaining its majority in the House. Senator McConnell was elevated to Senate Majority Leader, and Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) was set to serve as Majority Whip; Senator Reid became the Senate Minority Leader and Senator Durbin was named Minority Whip. On the House side, the Republican leadership included House Speaker Boehner, Majority Leader McCarthy, and Majority Whip Steve Scalise (R-LA). Representative Pelosi and Representative Hoyer remained the Democratic Leadership team, serving as Minority Leader and Minority Whip, respectively. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) became Senate Finance Committee chairman, swapping positions with Senator Wyden, who became the committee's ranking member. After Representative Camp retired in 2014, Representative Paul Ryan (R-WI) became House Ways and Means chairman, while Representative Levin remained ranking member.

Obama accelerated efforts to negotiate a congressional deal on TPA, realizing the administration would have to rely on Republican majorities in both chambers while persuading a portion of Democrats to support TPA.<sup>809</sup> As it had done in prior years, the Obama administration reiterated its support to securing a deal on TPA in 2015 in its annual trade agenda testimony before Congress.<sup>810</sup> In Obama's January 20 State of the Union Address, Obama announced, "I'm asking both parties to give me trade promotion authority to protect American workers, with strong new trade deals from Asia to Europe that aren't just free, but are also fair."<sup>811</sup> Although some Republicans bristled at the president's choice of rhetoric ("give me") the administration found willing Republican partners in his push for TPA.<sup>812</sup>

In early 2015, Senator Hatch, Senator Wyden, and Representative Ryan held negotiations over TPA. On the Senate side, friction grew between Senators Hatch and Wyden. Among other issues, Wyden had called for the inclusion of a provision that would allow legislators to strip fast-track rules from consideration of a future trade deal if it were determined that Congress had been

insufficiently consulted during trade negotiations or a deal did not reflect the negotiating priorities outlined by TPA. Although Wyden believed the provision was an important compromise for Democrats concerned with TPP, Hatch and other Republicans felt the provision, if crafted poorly, would defeat the purpose of TPA. During a February impasse, Hatch called upon President Obama to intervene with Wyden, suggesting he "get off his duff and tell [Wyden] what he needs and go from there."<sup>813</sup> Through the course of negotiations, Wyden became the "public face of the Democrats' division over trade policy," according to Doug Palmer.<sup>814</sup> His position was keenly watched by fellow Senate and House Democrats, as his influence on trade within his party grew with Representative Levin not participating in the negotiations.<sup>815</sup> Eventually, Wyden was successful in negotiating for the inclusion of the controversial TPA off-ramp provision along with transparency standards for future trade deals and other measures. On April 16, 2015, House and Senate negotiators announced that they had struck an accord on TPA that included reauthorization and expansion of TAA.<sup>816</sup>

The House response was mixed as Republicans overwhelmingly came out in support of the TPA deal while many Democrats opposed the compromise. Pockets of Republican opposition did emerge, however, with some members fearful of the potential negative economic consequences of TPP and skeptical of granting a Democratic president broader negotiating authorities.<sup>817</sup> Having previously outlined concerns with TPP negotiations, Representative Levin argued that TPA "gives up Congressional leverage at the exact wrong time," as TPP nears completion.<sup>818</sup> Among other rust belt Democrats, Ohio Representatives Marcy Kaptur and Tim Ryan each came out in opposition to TPA, citing the economic costs of previous trade deals on the U.S. economy.<sup>819</sup> Representative Rosa DeLauro, who had emerged as a leading voice within the House Democratic caucus against TPA and TPP, criticized the decision to fund portions of TAA through cuts to the Child Tax Credit.<sup>820</sup> Other Democrats, such as Representative Earl Blumenauer (D-OR), while acknowledging that TPA should have been passed prior to the initiation of TPP negotiations, called

**RIGHT**

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Orrin Hatch (R-UT) (R) and ranking member Sen. Ron Wyden (D-OR) talk while hearing testimony from U.S. Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross in the Dirksen Senate Office Building on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC, June 20, 2018.



the proposal a “dramatic improvement over the last fast track bill,” crediting Senator Wyden with the progress.<sup>821</sup>

On the Senate side, some vocal Democratic senators came out against the TPA deal. Minority Leader Reid bluntly stated, “You couldn’t find a person . . . who feels more negatively about it than I do. . . . I have never, ever in my 33 years in Congress ever supported a trade agreement, and I’m not going to start now.”<sup>822</sup> Senator Schumer called for the inclusion of language to address Chinese currency manipulation in the TPA bill.<sup>823</sup> Four Senate Finance Committee Democrats, including Senators Stabenow, Menendez, Brown, and Casey, criticized the process by which the TPA had been drafted and brought to consideration, arguing that the bill should have been made public more than

a week in advance of the scheduled markup.<sup>824</sup> Senator Brown, ranking member on the Senate Banking Committee, and Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) emerged as vocal opponents of TPA, sparking friction with the Obama administration.<sup>825</sup> On an April 24 conference call with reporters, President Obama accused congressional Democratic critics of TPA and TPP for “dishonest” criticisms and spreading “misinformation” about TPP.<sup>826</sup> Senators Brown and Warren fired back a day later calling on the president to release the draft of TPP.<sup>827</sup>

The Senate Finance Committee proceeded with consideration of TPA and TAA legislation in an April markup. Both bills passed the committee on April 22 with vote counts of 20–6 for TPA and 17–9 for TAA.<sup>828</sup> On TPA, 7 of 12 Democrats supported the bill, including Senators Wyden,

Maria Cantwell (D-WA), Bill Nelson (D-FL), Tom Carper (D-DE), Ben Cardin (D-MD), Michael Bennet (D-CO), and Mark Warner (D-VA). Democratic Senators Schumer, Stabenow, Menendez, Brown, and Casey voted against TPA. Senator Richard Burr (R-NC) was the only Republican to vote against TPA. Notable amendments included provisions to address currency manipulation in trade deals, to mandate congressional certification that negotiations objectives are met, and to require labor regulations be implemented prior to trade deals taking effect, all of which were defeated. All nine senators that voted against TAA were Republican, including Senators Hatch, Grassley, Mike Crapo (R-ID), Pat Roberts (R-KS), Mike Enzi (R-WY), Cornyn, John Thune (R-SD), Johnny Isakson (R-GA), and Tim Scott (R-SC). The TAA bill included a six-year reauthorization of the program, an expansion to include service sector workers, and job training for workers displaced by trade.

On the House side, the Ways and Means Committee passed TPA and TAA legislation on April 23. The TPA vote count was 25–13, whereas the TAA bill passed via voice vote.<sup>829</sup> All Republican Ways and Means members voted in favor of TPA, and all but two Democrats—Representatives Blumenauer and Kind—voted against TPA. Committee members voted down a number of amendments including those requiring enforcement provisions against currency manipulation, modifying negotiating objectives, and including transparency measures related to TPP, among other issues.

The Senate moved to bring TPA to the floor first. On May 22, TPA passed the Senate by a 62–37 vote as an attachment to an unrelated bill. All but six Republican senators voted for the bill, including Senators Jeff Sessions (R-AL), Richard Shelby (R-AL), Susan Collins (R-ME), Rand Paul (R-KY), and Mike Lee (R-UT). Senator Mike Enzi (R-WY) abstained. Of the chamber's 44 Democrats, 14 voted in favor of TPA. Both independents—Senators Angus King (I-ME) and Bernie Sanders (I-VT)—opposed TPA. After failing to win support for the amendment in committee, Senators Portman and Stabenow again proposed an amendment to make enforcement against currency manipulation a primary goal in trade negotiations. Arguing the provision

would scuttle TPP negotiations, the White House came out strongly against the amendment, and Treasury Secretary Lew indicated that the president would be forced to veto the bill if it included the measure.<sup>830</sup> Senators defeated the amendment on a 48–51 vote. An alternative amendment offered by Senators Hatch and Wyden that made “a principal negotiating objective of establishing accountability through enforceable rules, transparency, reporting and cooperative mechanisms on currency exchange rate manipulation” was approved.<sup>831</sup> Senator Hatch hailed the passage of the TPA bill as providing a “critical trade tool” to expanding economic opportunity and cementing U.S. global economic leadership.<sup>832</sup> “The Senate now has the opportunity to throw the 1990s NAFTA playbook into the dust bin of history,” proclaimed Senator Wyden.<sup>833</sup>

Legislative progress on TPA climaxed in June 2015. In parallel to the progress made in the Senate, President Obama courted the support of moderate House Democrats while Representative Ryan worked to round up GOP support. President Obama focused on legislative outreach, including even attending the annual congressional baseball game and visiting the Capitol.<sup>834</sup> Representative Ron Kind (D-WI) and several fellow New Democrats expressed support for TPA. Ryan was actively involved in counting and whipping votes among the Republican caucus, a task often left to leadership.<sup>835</sup> Among Republicans, Ryan consistently met with the “trade group”—a loose group of GOP members—that included Representative Peter Sessions (R-TX) and Representative Pat Tiberi (R-OH), who led the House Ways and Means trade subcommittee, to craft a strategy for TPA passage. Ryan made deals to bring along House Republicans, including provisions to garner the support of GOP members of the House Steel Caucus led by Representative Tim Murphy (R-PA), provisions to challenge currency manipulation to bring along several Michigan representatives, and immigration restrictions for Representative Steve King (R-IA). However, Ryan was unsuccessful in garnering support among much of the House Freedom Caucus due to many members' unwillingness to grant President Obama the expansion of authority.<sup>836</sup>

REPRESENTATIVE

## Pat Tiberi (R-OH)

Free Trade Advocate



Representative Pat Tiberi served the 12th district of Ohio in the U.S. House of Representatives from 2000 to 2017. The son of Italian immigrants, Representative Tiberi comes from a blue-collar background in Columbus. A trusted ally of former House Speaker John Boehner, he has been a long-time advocate of free trade.<sup>837</sup> His district is a major area for manufacturing and farming. Newark, the largest city in the district, produces plastics, metals, and building materials. The Central Ohio Aerospace & Technology Center is also located in Representative Tiberi's district, which helps drive a modest aerospace and defense industry. While factories have replaced many farms in the district, it remains one of the state's most productive agricultural areas.<sup>838</sup> Free trade would provide new markets for these goods and benefit his district significantly, leading Representative Tiberi to advocate for free trade agreements on behalf of his constituents. Representative Tiberi took on an important role in passing high-priority trade agreements in the 114th Congress (2015–2016) after he was named as chair of the Ways and Means subcommittee on trade. In the spring of 2015, Representative Tiberi worked to persuade House Republicans to pass the Trade Promotion Authority, which would enable President Obama to fast-track trade legislation with an up or down vote in Congress.

Tiberi's views on trade have been shaped by his personal experiences; when he was in high school, his father's job as a lathe operator for Weinman Pump Manufacturing in Columbus was eliminated. Tiberi has said that his dad "did not lose his job because of NAFTA; the trade deal with Mexico and Canada hadn't yet passed. He lost it because of globalization."<sup>839</sup> He said other countries do not run into problems exporting their products to the United States, but the U.S. encounters issues with exportation. He believes that entering into more trade agreements would rectify these issues. "We're being left behind," he said, noting that 48 trade agreements have been negotiated in Asia in the past ten years, while the United States has only entered into two such agreements. In 2011, he voted for U.S. trade agreements with South Korea, Colombia, and Panama. Most recently, when President Trump placed the fate of the Southern Korean free trade agreement into question, Tiberi stated that this agreement "is vital to our local economy, and I urge the administration not to withdraw from the agreement," Tiberi said. "Rather, the administration should engage in bilateral discussions to ensure KORUS is implemented fairly and continues to benefit farmers and job creators nationwide who need to reach customers abroad to keep their farms running and doors open."<sup>840</sup>



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**“I want to say that the vote today was not a referendum on free trade. It was not a referendum on whether it benefits our country to trade with other countries. We know that. We believe it. We have seen it. Trade is good. But this was a referendum on giving the President more authority; this was a referendum on voting for something we can’t see, we can’t verify; and this was a referendum on a huge, giant document. It reminds me of some of the omnibus bills we are given 2 days to read that come to this body, 1600 pages. But this was a referendum on the process. That is why they couldn’t get the bill passed today.”<sup>841</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS MASSIE (R-KY)**

*House Floor, June 12, 2015*

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The House vote on TPA and TAA was divided to comply with a “division of the question” procedure. For the combined measure to pass, TPA and TAA would each need to attract a simple majority of votes (218) independently.<sup>842</sup> On June 12, the House narrowly passed the TPA measure, voting 219–211. In spite of the administration’s push, however, the TAA section was defeated 126–302 as Democrats opposed cutting Medicare to fund the program. In a stunning defeat for the administration, only 40 Democrats voted in favor of TAA. Democratic leader Pelosi’s “no” vote was especially surprising as she stated, “While I’m a big supporter of TAA, if TAA slows down the fast track I am prepared to vote against TAA.”<sup>843</sup> Traditional Democratic trade opponents concurred with Pelosi’s stance. Co-chairs of the Congressional Progressive Caucus Representatives Grijalva and Ellison hailed the “defeat of The Trade Act”

as a “big step towards stopping the job-killing Trans-Pacific Partnership.”<sup>844</sup> Moderate Democrats feared giving up congressional leverage to amend elements of the finalized TPP deal and were also perturbed with the lack of transparency on the classified TPP, especially considering many of their staffers did not possess sufficient clearances to accompany members while reviewing the negotiating texts. Some Democrats, such as Representative David Price (D-NC), while opposing TPA, voted in favor of TAA, arguing that it would be “irresponsible and reckless to put displaced workers at risk for the sake of a political tactic.”<sup>845</sup>

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**“Ronald Reagan was right: Trust but verify.”<sup>846</sup>**

**SENATOR DEBBIE STABENOW (D-MI)**

*on assurances that TAA would pass the House, Politico, June 22, 2015*

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After the failure of the legislation in the House, President Obama and Republican Leadership had to shift their strategy for passage. The House and Senate would plan to pass TPA alone, with President Obama committing to only signing the bill after accompanying TAA legislation were advanced. On the House side, TAA would be attached to a legislative package that included popular provisions including reauthorization of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, the Haiti HOPE program, the Generalized System of Preferences, and other trade enforcement measures. On June 18, The House passed TPA as a measure attached to a tax bill by a 218–208 vote, with 190 Republicans and 28 Democrats voting in favor; 50 Republicans and 158 Democrats voted against it. On June 24, the Senate passed the TAA measure by voice vote and TPA by a 60–38 vote. On June 25, the House voted 286–138 to pass TAA as a part of the “Trade Preferences Extension Act of 2015.” House Democrats had lost the incentive to block TAA since they could no longer scuttle TPA in the process. Democrats were pressured to reverse their stance on the measure after TPA passed.

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**“The reality is that global trade shows no signs of slowing and will only increase in the years to come. For America to remain the top economy in the world, we must actively shape the rules for global engagement, not stand on the side lines. If we walk away, we leave China to take our seat at the table and none of the values America stands for will be reflected in the global trade regime.”<sup>847</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE JIM COSTA (D-CA)**

*June 12, 2015*

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Most House Democrats abhorred the possibility that TPP might pass under TPA rules without TAA reauthorized to cushion the potential impact of the new trade deal on disadvantaged U.S. workers. In addition, the African Growth and Opportunity Act’s overwhelming popularity made it difficult to oppose the legislative package. In a letter to members of Congress, AFL-CIO President Richard Trumfka wrote, “vote your conscience, and we will respect your decision, whatever it may be,” removing the pressure that labor might support primary challengers for current members in retribution for supporting the president’s trade agenda. Representative Pelosi relented on TAA and brought the vast majority of her caucus along with her.<sup>848</sup> In a major reversal from earlier in June, 175 of the chamber’s 188 Democrats voted in favor of TAA alongside 111 Republicans. House Democrats were frustrated with the situation they had been placed in. Voting in favor of the bill, but expressing her displeasure, Representative Barbara Lee (R-CA) commented, “we are faced with a bill, really, that looks like a Christmas tree. But I will reluctantly vote for this because Africa deserves better.”<sup>849</sup> Representative Levin was also unhappy with the outcome of TPA negotiations, noting, “In order for TPP to gain the support of the American people, it will

need to gain the votes of a much broader coalition of Members of Congress than voted for TPA.”<sup>850</sup>

Carried by the momentum of the U.S. passage of TPA, negotiators reached an agreement on TPP in October 2015.<sup>851</sup> October also brought a major shakeup to House leadership. After nearly five years at the helm of the chamber, Speaker Boehner announced on September 25 his intention to resign from Congress in October.<sup>852</sup> After substantial uncertainty over who would serve as the next leader of the fractured caucus, Representative Ryan emerged as the favorite and was elected to the position of speaker in October 2015.<sup>853</sup>

SENATOR

## Patty Murray (D-WA)

A Coastal Free Trade Democrat



An influential Democratic senator from a coastal state, Patty Murray has a long history of balancing pro-free trade positions with maintaining support from labor unions and progressives. During her time in Congress, she has focused much of her legislative efforts on the budget, education, health policy, and women's and veterans' issues. Known for her aptitude to hammer out deals through bipartisan negotiations, Murray rose through the ranks of Senate Democrats to join leadership in 2007 as secretary of the Senate Democratic Conference.<sup>854</sup> According to the industry group the Washington Council on International Trade, 40 percent of the state's jobs are dependent on exports.<sup>855</sup> Murray often touts Washington as the "most trade dependent state in the country."<sup>856</sup> During the 2008 recession, she warned against a turn to protectionism: "I am deeply worried that if

Americans see our position in the world falling, if they fear their jobs are moving overseas with nothing to replace them this insecurity will begin to affect our trade policies. . . . This would be disastrous to the U.S. economy—and to the global economy—and I will fight any efforts to close our doors to trade. Protectionism helped turn the 1929 stock market crash into the Great Depression."<sup>857</sup> During her time in Congress, Murray has voted for every major trade liberalization measure proposed, including NAFTA and each of the trade bills included in this analysis. She was the only senator in Democratic leadership to vote for TPA in 2015.<sup>858</sup> Murray has maintained the support of her left flank by balancing her pro-trade positions with calls for including strong labor and environmental standards in FTAs and support for TAA as a safety net for workers displaced by trade.<sup>859</sup>

**RIGHT**

US presidential candidate Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT) speaks during an event on the Trans Pacific Partnership on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC, June 3, 2015.



### Trade in an Election Year: 2016

With consideration of TPP pushed to 2016, few were sanguine on the prospects of its passage in an election year. Politicians up for reelection spend less days in office, with more time dedicated to campaigning, narrowing the legislative window of opportunity. Pro-trade Democrats would fear primary challenges from union-backed progressives, while incumbent Republicans were threatened both by protectionist Democrat opponents and hardline populist challengers from their own party. Few legislators would be willing to put their name on the line for a trade deal many in the public negatively associated with NAFTA months before an election. Party leaders would also be incentivized to protect their respective caucuses from controversial votes before an

election. These structural factors combined to reduce the likelihood of TPP's passage in 2016.

TPP's chances were dampened even further by the specific circumstances at play in 2016. Both primaries featured dynamic candidates running on populist messages that gained major traction within both parties. Senator Bernie Sanders's campaign message centered on a critique of modern capitalism with opposition to TPP at its center.<sup>860</sup> At one point calling TPP "a continuing rape of our country," Donald Trump's campaign also coalesced around an anti-free trade message.<sup>861</sup> From Trump's June 2015 announcement that he was running for president to August 2016, support for free trade among Republicans fell from 51 percent to 32 percent.<sup>862</sup> "The primaries created seismic changes," according to Senator Schumer.

“It will never be the same again. Neither Republicans nor Democrats will ever again be unabashed advocates for trade.”<sup>863</sup> Trade politics became unworkable. Even Secretary Clinton, one of the primary proponents of TPP during her time as Secretary of State in the Obama administration, came out against TPP, resulting in awkward explanations of a 2011 quote of hers touting TPP as “the gold standard” for trade deals.<sup>864</sup> The left and the right, each pulled by populist politicians, increasingly demonized trade on the campaign trail, collapsing any political window that may have existed to pass TPP.<sup>865</sup>

Under tremendous political pressure from the national electoral cycle, many pro-trade legislators dialed back their support while moderates on trade increasingly criticized TPP. Senators Rob Portman (R-OH) and Pat Toomey (R-PA), pro-trade Republicans representing Rust Belt states, came out against TPP after each voted in favor of TPA in 2015. Both senators were facing tough reelection challenges from Democratic candidates supported by labor unions. In spite of their strong prior support for trade liberalization—Portman was U.S. Trade Representative under the Bush administration; Toomey served as the president for the Club for Growth—both turned on TPP in response to political pressure.

Obama kept pushing for TPP passage throughout 2016, with a glimmer of hope that Congress might consider the deal in the lame duck period.<sup>866</sup> Yet the shift in politics surrounding trade policy extinguished the chances of TPP. For Democrats, infighting on trade was nothing new, though the prevalence of Senator Sanders in the presidential primary certainly amplified the volume of trade-skeptics within the party. In the waning months of his presidency, President Obama had also lost much of his influence over Democratic legislators. For pro-trade Republicans, turning against TPP in an election was not politically perilous as virtually no voters were single-issue trade liberalization enthusiasts. Republican candidates could also relatively easily argue that while they support free trade deals in the abstract they attribute their opposition to TPP to the Democratic president’s poor negotiating abilities, a message consistent with that of their presidential candidate. Thus, despite the bipartisan

victory on TPA in 2015, attempts to pass TPP eventually failed in 2016 as trade emerged as a highly politicized issue on the campaign trail. Upon entering office in 2017, one of President Trump’s first policy decisions was to extricate the United States from the TPP pact.<sup>867</sup>

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**“On the campaign trail, it’s just too difficult to quantify the gains from free trade and too easy to point at a plant that closed and scapegoat trade.”<sup>868</sup>**

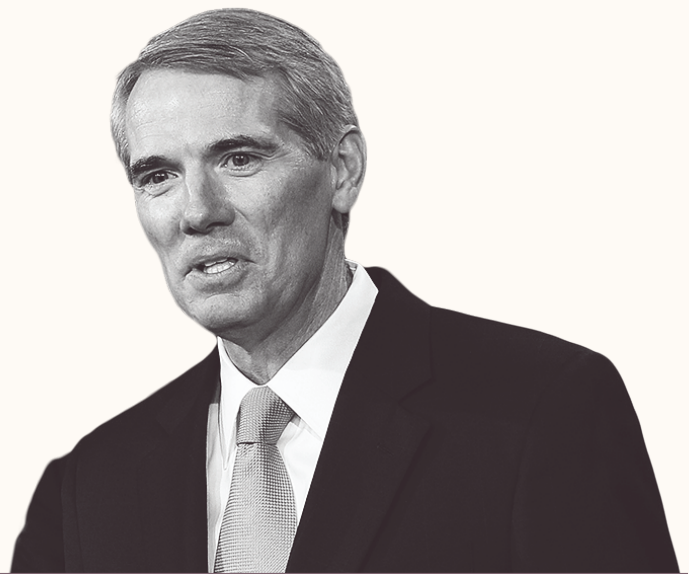
**SENATOR JEFF FLAKE (R-AZ)**

*POLITICO, September 22, 2016*

SENATOR

## Rob Portman (R-OH)

Rust Belt Republican



A native Ohioan, Senator Rob Portman was elected to the Senate in 2010 after having previously served for over a decade in the House and as the U.S. Trade Representative under the George W. Bush administration.<sup>869</sup> Despite free trade's unpopularity in the Rust Belt, Portman was a consistent champion of free trade during his time in the House.<sup>870</sup> "There is probably no one more identified in the Republican Party with free trade than Portman," according to Ohio State political science professor Paul A. Beck, adding that "He has been very consistently in favor of free trade his whole life."<sup>871</sup> For these reasons, the Obama administration viewed Portman as a potentially influential ally on TPP. The administration's optimism was initially rewarded as Portman voted for legislation to grant Obama fast-track trade negotiating authority in 2015, although he had signaled some qualms related to TPP.<sup>872</sup> In an April 2015 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, Portman acknowledged that expanding export

markets would contribute to economic growth but criticized TPP for not addressing currency manipulation.<sup>873</sup> Then, in one of the more remarkable political shifts of the 2016 campaign cycle, Portman came out against the deal in early 2016 as he faced a difficult reelection campaign against the former democratic Governor of Ohio Ted Strickland.<sup>874</sup> In a press release, Portman stated, "I cannot support the TPP in its current form because it doesn't provide a level playing field. I will continue to urge the Obama administration to support American workers and address these issues before any vote on the TPP agreement."<sup>875</sup> Strong state-wide opposition to free trade in tandem with the shift in the broad nationwide conversation over trade policy proved too powerful, pushing Portman to oppose the deal, though he left open the possibility that he could change his position if U.S. workers were given better protections.

## D. Conclusion.

Examining shifts in U.S. trade politics from 2007 to 2016 reveals areas of both change and continuity.<sup>876</sup> Both the Bush and Obama administrations had to rely on bipartisan cooperation among large Republican voting blocks and smaller groupings of moderate Democrats to support their trade agendas. The reliability of both the Republican block and Democratic moderates, however, oscillated over the period examined. Republican support for trade has waned somewhat since 2006 with the rise of the right flank of the Republican Party, often willing to challenge traditional conservative orthodoxy on the benefits of free trade, and especially unwilling to cooperate with a Democratic president, let alone delegate additional authority to negotiate trade deals to President Obama. While Freedom Caucus member opposition to TPA was likely more of a referendum on delegating authority to President Obama than a proxy for support of free trade, cracks in the congressional Republican Party's support for trade did emerge over the period of this case study.

Democratic support was also important for building free trade coalitions in Congress. Although the balance between pro-trade and protectionist Democrats has vacillated across election cycles, the portion of the party willing to support free trade deals has not changed markedly since the 1990s. The recent election and current administration's shift on trade policy loom large in the contemporary context, but the Democratic Party has consistently been divided on trade issues since the end of the Cold War. There has been a marked decline in the number of New Democrat-style moderate Democrats that support trade over the past two decades, but a significant number of Democrats remain open to compromise on trade. Yet the expectations for robust labor, environmental, and other protections included in trade deals have continued to escalate among progressive Democrats, narrowing the window for compromise with free market-minded Republicans.

The recent past examined in the trade case studies highlights not only the divisiveness of trade between

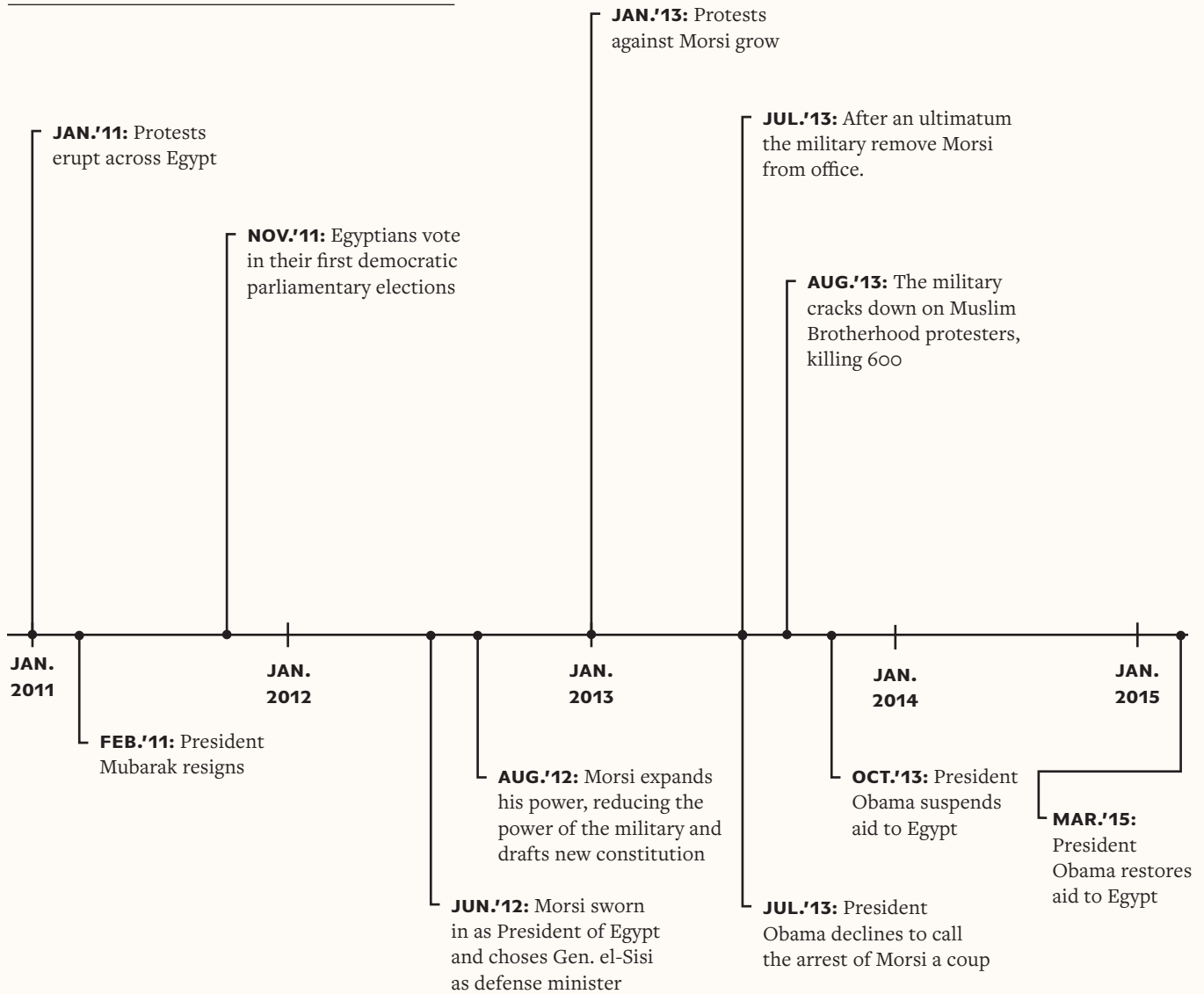
parties, but within them. Protectionist democrats not only clashed with Republicans over the substance of free trade agreements, but also with moderate Democrats. Congress also clashed with the presidency over these issues, with Democrats opposing Bush-era proposals and some Republicans and Democrats opposing Obama-era TPA and TPP. Yet, the timeframe covered in these case studies also demonstrates that compromise was possible, especially when negotiations focused on process rather than substance. When viewed as tools for demonstrating support to both strategically important allies and nations with symbolic importance but minimal economic impact, trade deals also carried the potential to succeed. Lastly, perspectives on U.S. trade policy often hinged on questions of authority, oversight, and the balance of power among the executive and legislative branches. Like the constitutional balance of war powers, many in Congress perceive an unhealthy growth in executive prerogative in trade policy without sufficient or genuine congressional consultation.

**Appendix D:  
Case Study—  
The Politics of  
Foreign Aid, 2013–2016.**

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**FIGURE TWENTY-FOUR** Egypt Study 2011–2015



## A. Overview.

For much of the public, foreign aid often embodies wasteful governments spending. Most tend to chronically overestimate the amount of the federal budget devoted to foreign aid, leading many to the default perception that the United States spends too much.<sup>877</sup> Relative to other foreign policy levers available to legislators,

demonstrating that tangible wealth transfers from U.S. citizens to developing nations is worth the payoff for oft- nebulous U.S. national interests is a uniquely challenging proposition for foreign aid advocates.<sup>878</sup> Congressional critics frequently question the value of foreign assistance and argue that funding would be better spent addressing domestic challenges or cut entirely to reduce the burden on U.S. taxpayers. In spite of all of these factors, foreign aid remains an area of strong bipartisan support in Congress.

A diverse group of champions in the House and Senate have successfully used a mix of altruistic, economic, and geopolitical justifications to garner broad support for foreign aid bills in recent congresses. Examining recent debates over foreign assistance can illuminate the basis for strong congressional support and highlight opportunities for future bipartisan congressional efforts aimed at improved U.S. foreign assistance policy.

This case study seeks to examine congressional perspectives on foreign aid, including security, development, and humanitarian assistance. It tracks debates over: (1) security assistance to Egypt after the country's 2013 coup, (2) the Electrify Africa Act passed in 2016, and (3) the Global Food Security Act of 2016. After the takeover of the Egyptian government by the nation's armed forces in 2013, U.S. congressional reaction did not neatly follow partisan lines; many Democrats vociferously criticized the Obama administration's response, while some Republicans defended the administration's approach to the crisis. The Electrify Africa Act and Global Food Security Act, which each gained momentum over several congresses, are contemporary examples of bipartisan collaboration.

## B. Legislative Debates.

### 1. U.S. Assistance to Egypt after the Arab Spring, 2013–2015

After President Hosni Mubarak's fall during the 2011 Arab Spring, an uneasy balance of power emerged between the new Egyptian parliament and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). In the immediate aftermath of Mubarak's deposition, the SCAF abolished parliament and suspended the constitution, with the promise of democratic elections within six months.<sup>879</sup> In November 2011, Egyptians voted in their first democratic parliamentary elections, overwhelmingly electing Muslim Brotherhood candidates, who gained the majority in parliament. In June 2012, Mohammed Morsi, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, was elected president,

initiating a power struggle with military leaders who were distrustful of the Brotherhood.<sup>880</sup> In August, President Morsi demanded that key members of Egyptian military leadership retire.<sup>881</sup> In a constitutional declaration in November, President Morsi reversed the military's previous consolidation of power by decreeing that "The President may take the necessary actions and measures to protect the country and the goals of the revolution."<sup>882</sup>

Public demonstrations against President Morsi grew in January 2013 over grievances related to poor infrastructure and economic conditions, specifically oil and electricity shortages, and the religious and political affiliations of those drafting the nation's new constitution. By April, 22 million people signed a petition demanding President Morsi leave office, and called for new presidential elections.<sup>883</sup> In reaction to these protests, Defense Minister General Abdul Fattah el-Sisi warned President Morsi that he must find a "solution for the people's demands" within 48 hours or the military will have a "duty to put forward a road map for the future instead."<sup>884</sup> Dissatisfied with President Morsi's response to the protests, the SCAF placed President Morsi under house arrest on July 3 and imprisoned 300 Muslim Brotherhood leaders. General el-Sisi called the military's actions movement toward "national reconciliation." President Morsi called the military's actions a "complete military coup."<sup>885</sup> The military then established an interim government headed by Supreme Court Justice Adly Mansour and vowed to facilitate the drafting of a new constitution and hold new elections for parliament and the president within half a year. During July and August 2013, unrest continued as President Morsi's supporters, primarily Muslim Brotherhood members, protested his ousting. During a violent confrontation with the military on August 14, 600 Morsi supporters, many of whom were members of the Muslim Brotherhood, were killed. Thousands more were injured as the military imposed martial law and a curfew.<sup>886</sup>

U.S. policymakers keenly observed the political situation unfolding in Egypt in 2013. As a critical strategic ally in the Middle East, Egypt manages the economically vital Suez Canal waterway, grants military overflight

rights, upholds the 1979 peace treaty with Israel, and has long been an economic, political, and cultural pillar of the region. Members of Congress have thus long supported the U.S. relationship with Egypt.<sup>887</sup> The United States provided a total of \$71.6 billion in foreign aid to Egypt from 1948 to 2011 with the majority of assistance coming in the form of Foreign Military Financing (FMF).<sup>888</sup> The United States has also provided aid via Economic Support Funds (ESF) and International Military Education and Training (IMET). Amid the crisis, policymakers faced a dilemma over U.S. aid to Egypt. Starting in July 2013 and continuing through December 2014, members of Congress regularly introduced legislation in both the House and the Senate to eliminate or place restrictions on U.S. aid to Egypt. The response among Democrats and Republicans to the situation in Egypt varied, as distinct compositions of members emphasized the importance of human rights, democratic norms, maintaining security in the region, and the importance of the strategic relationship with Egypt. For some, cutting off aid was critical to signal U.S. commitment to the rule of law and democratic values. For others, halting aid threatened the overall U.S.-Egypt relationship in a period of extreme Middle East turbulence. Although some members questioned the degree of leverage foreign aid provided the United States over Egyptian domestic policy, conditioning U.S. aid on the SCAF supporting a democratic transition emerged as a popular middle ground position aimed at ensuring the United States maintained some influence over the situation unfolding.<sup>889</sup> The FY2014 appropriations bill codified this compromise by including language that enabled policymakers to withdraw aid if Egypt violated certain conditions, such as compliance with the 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty and taking steps toward democratization.<sup>890</sup>

The congressional debate over U.S. aid to Egypt after the military takeover came during the 113th Congress. Republicans controlled the House with 234 members led by Speaker John Boehner (R-OH), Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA), and Republican Whip Kevin McCarthy (R-CA). House Democrats were led by Minority Leader

Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and Minority Whip Steny Hoyer (D-MD). The House Committee on Foreign Affairs was led by Chairman Edward R. Royce (R-CA) and Ranking Member Eliot Engel (D-NY). The House Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations was chaired by Representative Kay Granger (R-TX) alongside Ranking Member Nita Lowey (D-NY). In the Senate, Democrats controlled the majority with 53 seats and were led by Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) and Majority Whip Richard Durbin (D-IL). Senate Republicans were led by Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) and Minority Whip John Cornyn (R-TX). Senator Robert Menendez (D-NJ) was the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Bob Corker (R-TN) served as ranking member. The Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations was chaired by Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT) alongside Ranking Member Lindsey Graham (R-SC).

### **The Obama Administration Responds to the “Coups”: July 2013**

In response to the events on July 3, President Obama issued a statement expressing that the administration was “deeply concerned by the decision of the Egyptian Armed Forces to remove President Mors[i] and suspend the Egyptian constitution.” President Obama pressed for the Egyptian military to reinstate the democratically elected government and directed the “relevant departments and agencies to review the implications under U.S. law for our assistance to the Government of Egypt.”<sup>891</sup> However, President Obama chose not to label the political shift in Egypt a coup, a decision with important symbolic and policy ramifications. According to Section 508 of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act, foreign aid shall be halted to any country whose democratically elected head of state is “deposed by military coup or decree.”<sup>892</sup> The administration seemed content with allowing the situation to proceed, refraining from threatening to cut off aid to encourage a democratic transition.<sup>893</sup> By late July, the administration completed a three-week review of U.S. Egypt policy and concluded that it was not required to formally declare Morsi’s deposition a coup.<sup>894</sup>

Congressional opinions diverged over President Obama's decision to refrain from labeling the removal of President Morsi a coup, the decision's impact on U.S. aid to Egypt, and the broader bilateral relationship. Several members advocated cutting all U.S. aid to a regime they argued was responsible for human rights abuses and a tenuous commitment to democratic values. Others took a more moderate position, calling for a review of U.S. policy toward Egypt or advocating for conditions on aid. Some members were vocal in their support of continuing aid to Egypt, underscoring the strategic imperative of the relationship and the leverage the relationship gave the United States to improve the situation in Egypt.

On the House side, Speaker Boehner was initially supportive of the military's actions, noting that the SCAF, "on behalf of the citizens, did what they had to do." He emphasized that the situation, however, was "tenuous" and that he would wait for consultation with the administration before advocating for a policy response.<sup>895</sup> In defending the Egyptian military's partnership with U.S. armed forces and role in stabilizing the region, Majority Leader Cantor argued that "The Egyptian people have made clear that President Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood government has threatened the pluralistic democracy for which they called two years ago."<sup>896</sup> Minority Leader Pelosi called for "the military to expeditiously transfer power to a democratically elected, civilian government."<sup>897</sup> House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Royce supported the removal of Morsi, arguing that his presidency had become "an obstacle to the constitutional democracy most Egyptians wanted."<sup>898</sup> Representative Royce also released a joint statement with Representative Engel on the crisis in which they assigned responsibility for the unrest in Egypt to the Muslim Brotherhood's unwillingness to embrace democratic values of "inclusiveness, compromise, respect for human and minority rights, and a commitment to the rule of law." They urged the military to exercise restraint and quickly work to return the country to democratic rule.<sup>899</sup> In her opening remarks at the FY2014 State and Foreign Operations Appropriations mark up, House Appropriations State and Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chair Kay Granger (R-TX) addressed the

situation in Egypt and stated that the appropriations bill will continue to include aid to Egypt as long as "certain conditions are met." Specifically, she highlighted the importance of "the Egyptian military continuing to uphold security arrangements, including the peace treaty with Israel," and the aspiration that Egypt, "embrace democracy, not just democratic elections."<sup>900</sup>

Initial House rank-and-file reactions tended to express support for the Egyptian military's actions, condemning the Morsi government, and calling for the United States to continue providing security assistance to Egypt. Representative Grace Meng (D-NY) supported the Egyptian military's ultimatum to President Morsi, arguing that the need to maintain "basic security" for the Egyptian populace compelled the military, as opposed to "a desire for power or an aversion to the democratic process."<sup>901</sup> Representative Jeff Fortenberry (R-NE) similarly stated that "The Egyptian military is in the best position to stabilize the country and seek a return to a responsible government that is capable of implementing majority rule while protecting minority rights, guaranteeing an honest and fair ballot in the future."<sup>902</sup> Representative Michael McCaul (R-TX), House Homeland Security Committee chairman, called the military's move a "positive development" and called upon the military to bring stability to Egypt and commit to a democratic transition.<sup>903</sup> Noting the influence U.S. assistance to Egypt provides policymakers, Representative Adam Kinzinger (R-IL) argued, "If the United States abandons a key point of leverage at this critical juncture, it will only increase the likelihood that violence and radicalization will pollute the process."<sup>904</sup> Representative Kinzinger elaborated that "it is important for the people of Egypt to know that the United States has not abandoned them as they continue to fight for freedom."<sup>905</sup>

REPRESENTATIVE

## Kay Granger (R-TX)

Foreign Aid Gatekeeper



Representative Kay Granger has served the 12th district of Texas in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1996. She was first selected to serve as the chairwoman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations during the 112th Congress, a role she continued maintained until the 115th Congress, when she began chairing the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. Representing the Fort Worth area, where Lockheed Martin manufactures the F-35 fight jet, she has long been supportive of fully funding the defense budget and promoting its sale abroad.<sup>906</sup> She has traveled extensively during her time on both subcommittees, also giving her a nuanced perspective on foreign aid. As a former key “gatekeeper” for foreign aid funding, Representative Granger consistently advocates for comprehensive aid programs with clearly articulated goals linked to U.S. national interests.<sup>907</sup> Foreign aid advocate and musician Bono has referred to Representative Granger’s foreign aid approach as “tough love.”<sup>908</sup> Under Representative Granger’s leadership, the Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations advocated for steep foreign aid spending cuts from preexisting levels during a period of substantial fiscal strain in the 112th Congress.<sup>909</sup> In FY2012 under Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related

Programs Appropriations Act 2013, aid to Pakistan was conditional on the Pakistani government’s cooperation in dismantling terrorist networks and countering nuclear proliferation.<sup>910</sup> Representative Granger supports conditioning U.S. aid to create more reliable U.S. partners and further U.S. national security interests.<sup>911</sup> Representative Granger’s positions on aid to Egypt after the 2011 uprising against President Mubarak exhibit these beliefs. In 2011, Representative Granger opposed granting \$3.3 billion in aid to Egypt given the uncertainty of the nation’s political leadership and blocked \$450 million in proposed financial assistance when the government was controlled primarily by the Muslim Brotherhood in 2012.<sup>912</sup> Shortly after Muhammad Morsi was ousted from power in early July 2013, during a markup of the State and Foreign Operations Bill for FY2014 on July 19, 2013, Representative Granger discussed the ongoing situation in Egypt in looking toward the possibility of conditional aid. “First and foremost, we see the Egyptian military continuing to uphold security arrangements, including the peace treaty with Israel, even while they address many competing priorities at home. We expect the strong military-to-military relationship that Egypt has with Israel, and with the United States, to continue.”<sup>913</sup>

Reactions to the situation in Egypt in July 2013 among Senate leadership were largely subdued. Senior Senate Democrats diverged on the appropriate response to the crisis. In a July 3 statement, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Robert Menendez stressed the importance of peaceful demonstrations and the restoration of democratic law in Egypt.<sup>914</sup> In additional comments a few days later, he advocated for using U.S. assistance as “leverage” to encourage a democratic transition in Egypt.<sup>915</sup> On July 25, in remarks at a Senate hearing on the “Crisis in Egypt,” Senator Menendez offered a nuanced view of the situation, stating, “Our response and our policy must be carefully calibrated to press for the democratic reforms that have been demanded by the Egyptian people and at the same time, support U.S. national security interests in the region. These two goals are not at odds with one another, but do require a complex policy response that allows us to advocate for much needed democratic reforms while also advocating for our own security needs. . . . It is my view that terminating U.S. assistance at this time could provoke a further crisis in Egypt that would not be to our benefit.”<sup>916</sup> Senator Menendez also expressed fear that cutting off U.S. aid would reinforce the belief among some Egyptians that the United States supported the Muslim Brotherhood’s rule rather than the pursuit of democracy.<sup>917</sup> In contrast, Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and author of the “Leahy law,” which restricts U.S. military assistance to groups that commit a “gross violation of human rights,” emphasized the importance of upholding the Foreign Assistance Act.<sup>918</sup> “As the world’s oldest democracy, this is a time to reaffirm our commitment to the principle that transfers of power should be by the ballot, not by force of arms,” argued Senator Leahy, who vowed to use his position as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for the State Department and Foreign Assistance to direct a review of U.S. aid to Egypt.<sup>919</sup>

Among Senate Republicans, Senator John McCain (R-AZ) was outspoken in his belief that “who governs Egypt is for the citizens of Egypt to decide. . . . I continue to stand for democratic values and the creation of effective democratic institutions that can enable the Egyptian people to determine their own future freely and peacefully.”<sup>920</sup> In



mid-August, Senators McCain and Lindsey Graham (R-SC) released an article in the *Washington Post* after a trip to Egypt that underscored the important friendship the United States and Egypt shared. Both senators described the military’s actions as a coup and urged Egypt to reinstate a democracy, as it was the “only viable path to lasting stability, national reconciliation, sustainable economic growth and the return of investment and tourism in Egypt.”<sup>921</sup> Alternatively, Senator Bob Corker (R-TN) was critical of creating conditions on aid because of Egypt’s importance to the United States as a “strategic ally.”<sup>922</sup> Senator Corker approved of the Obama administration’s handling of the crisis, affirming that “our nation should be the voice of calmness. We should try to be the steady hand that allows this transition to occur in the right way and at the same time, we should push them towards democracy.”<sup>923</sup> Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL) was emphatic that U.S. aid to Egypt should further bilateral security interests and Egyptian stability, specifically highlighting the importance of protecting religious minorities, such as Coptic Christians. He emphasized that U.S. aid to Egypt should be conditional upon Egypt “taking significant steps to ensure that issues that undermine their stability are addressed.”<sup>924</sup>

Senator Rand Paul was particularly vocal in his displeasure with President Obama’s unwillingness to enforce the Foreign Assistance Act’s provisions. Senator Paul wrote, “U.S. law clearly says that we cannot send such aid where the military plays a decisive role in the coup. This law allows no presidential waiver. . . . Yet, as President Obama has so often done with other laws and even the Constitution, he ignores it.”<sup>925</sup> In July, he introduced two pieces of legislation

**RIGHT**

Supporters of Islamist Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi hold pictures of him during a rally by mainly Muslim Brotherhood partisans outside Cairo University on June 2, 2013.



trying to cut off funding in response to the Egyptian military's actions. In an opinion piece in the *Washington Times*, Senator Paul employed particularly vivid imagery: "This week, the Senate voted to continue sending taxpayer dollars to Egypt, illegally. . . . Aside from violating the law, they sent a clear message: Sending money overseas is more important than allocating these funds toward America's infrastructure. Many American cities are now merely desolate skeletons of what they once were. Detroit, for example, lies in ruins, with 50,000 feral dogs roaming the city. Abandoned houses litter the landscape. It is a bleak and forlorn future that awaits Detroit."<sup>926</sup> On July 11, Senator Paul introduced the "Egyptian Military Coup Act of 2013," which sought to prohibit U.S. assistance to Egypt in light of the coup.<sup>927</sup> On July 23, Senator Paul proposed an amendment to an

appropriations bill to reallocate U.S. aid to Egypt to instead support domestic infrastructure building. Among Senate Republicans, Senators Corker and McCain led the effort to table the amendment, which succeeded by an 86–13 margin; among the 13 Republicans who voted against tabling the amendment were Senators Paul, McConnell, Lee, Cruz, and Grassley.

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**“What we should do as Senators is be thoughtful . . . understanding the impact this is going to have on people all around the world, and certainly our standing in the world, and our continued ability to help promote**

human rights, promote democracy, promote peace, promote calm. . . . I would urge everybody in this body to stand, to be Senators, and to do what we know is the right thing to do; that is, to be calm, to address this issue as we should in the right way this September when all of us have more information to deal with this issue.”<sup>928</sup>

### SENATOR BOB CORKER (R-TN)

*on voting to table S.Amdt.1739*

### Congressional Criticism Grows: August–September 2013

In the immediate aftermath of the July 2013 takeover, most members initially supported the administration’s cautious response to the crisis. Over time, however, violent clashes between the SCAF and protesters sparked increasing calls for conditioning or halting all U.S. aid to Egypt. The escalation of violence by the SCAF against the Muslim Brotherhood in August ignited further debate in Congress over U.S. assistance to Egypt. Facing increased congressional and public pressure to support Egyptian democracy and punish the SCAF, President Obama condemned the violence perpetrated by the Egyptian security forces and announced he was canceling a joint military exercise with Egypt that had been scheduled for September.<sup>929</sup> Congressional critics derided the move as inconsequential, while others supported the administration as appropriately calibrated to avoid alienating the SCAF and damaging the bilateral relationship.<sup>930</sup>

In response to the violence, Representative Pelosi criticized the August crackdown on Muslim Brotherhood members, arguing that “The continued state of emergency must come to an end. It is clear that violence begets violence and only serves to move Egypt further away from an inclusive government that reflects the full participation



of every part of Egyptian society. We call on the interim government, military, and all involved parties to put an end to these deadly confrontations and come together to restore faith in a truly representative government through an open drafting process for the country’s constitution, and inclusive presidential and parliamentary elections.”<sup>931</sup> Republican Leader Mitch McConnell said that the United States has reached a “tipping point” with Egypt, and that “The Egyptian military needs to let the democratic process go forward. . . . it looks to me like the crackdown is not an indication that they are moving in the direction of having a new election.”<sup>932</sup>

House members diverged significantly over the appropriate U.S. response to the spike of violence in Egypt. Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), chair of the HFAC Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee and sponsor of the Egypt Accountability and Democracy Promotion Act, which had been introduced in January 2013, called for all U.S. aid to Egypt to be conditioned to “persuade interim Egyptian government to act responsibly, to return to the path of democracy and to protect the rights of all Egyptians.”<sup>933</sup> Representative Eliot Engel supported the president’s move to cancel the military exercises but cautioned against further steps that might undermine the strategically important U.S.-Egypt security relationship.<sup>934</sup> Some members supported the military’s measures, perceived their actions as a legitimate response to the threat posed by the Muslim Brotherhood. Representative McCaul said in a radio interview in late August that “I’m



a little bit torn. I'm not a foreign aid guy. . . . but I'll tell you what, if I can support a force that will crack some heads down on the Muslim Brotherhood and Sharia Law, I'd personally think that's a good thing. If it was economic assistance I would say 'no,' but if it is supporting a military force that is cracking down on the Muslim Brotherhood, which is one of the biggest threats we have out there, they're trying to take over all of North Africa and Syria, I think that's a good thing."<sup>935</sup> While not calling for the cessation of U.S. aid to Egypt, Representative Adam Schiff (D-CA) stated that "Egypt's military leaders must be made to realize that dissatisfaction with the government of deposed President Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood cannot excuse the brutality that we have witnessed in the past few days."<sup>936</sup> At the other end of the spectrum, members across the political spectrum called for the United States to cut off aid to Egypt. Calling the SCAF's actions "inexcusable," Representative Keith Ellison (D-MN) urged the administration to end U.S. aid to Egypt.<sup>937</sup> Representative Ted Yoho (R-FL) also advocated for halting U.S. aid to Egypt and reallocating the funding domestic purposes. Representative Jim Renacci (R-OH) implored the administration to "do more than simply issue hollow statements threatening to suspend our yearly \$1.3 billion in aid" or "risk becoming irrelevant in one of the most important regions in the world."<sup>938</sup>

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**"Back when I was a veterinarian if someone brought me something that looked like a duck and quacked, I probably wouldn't call it a horse. . . . Current U.S. law states that when a coup takes place, foreign aid is suspended. By not following our own laws, we lose credibility in asking Egypt to follow theirs. Dancing around the issue is no way to lead."<sup>939</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE TED YOHO (R-FL)**

*August 21, 2013*

In the Senate, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Menendez called the violence "counterproductive" for Egypt's democratic transition and urged restraint on both sides but notably did not call for a change in U.S. aid policy.<sup>940</sup> Senator Corker expressed appreciation of President Obama's critique of the military's actions and called on the administration to emphasize "the need for the Muslim Brotherhood to also act responsibly."<sup>941</sup> In public statements in the following weeks, Corker advocated for the United States to "recalibrate" aid to Egypt.<sup>942</sup> Senators Leahy and Paul each reiterated their calls for aid to the Egypt to be cut off.<sup>943</sup> Several senators joined Senator Leahy and Paul's calls for the United States to halt aid to Egypt, at least until a fresh policy review could be completed. Senator Tim Kaine (D-VA) stated that "the U.S.-Egypt assistance relationship is over three decades old, so an overall policy review is appropriate, and frankly overdue."<sup>944</sup> Senator Chris Coons (D-DE) agreed with this sentiment, declaring, "the deplorable violence that has scarred Egypt over the last month is truly disturbing. In the interest of supporting all Egyptians and the future stability of the Egyptian state, it is essential that the military, the Muslim Brotherhood, and all parties to this conflict bring an end to this tragic cycle of violence."<sup>945</sup> Senators McCain and Graham released a joint statement calling for the United States to suspend aid to Egypt.<sup>946</sup> Senator Pat Toomey (R-PA) likewise stated, "the Egyptian military crossed the line last week. We should stop giving foreign aid to Egypt and its military unless the country moves toward an inclusive democratic system. American taxpayers should not contribute to a military that slaughters civilians in the street."<sup>947</sup> Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX) stringently criticized President Obama's statement on the crisis, arguing that the failure to immediately cut off aid after the military takeover in July was interpreted by the Egyptian military as "permission to act with impunity against the Muslim Brotherhood, which in turn is provoking violence and committing savage crimes against Coptic Christians." Senator Cruz elaborated his opinion that the situation in Egypt demonstrated that the U.S. foreign aid "system



is utterly and irretrievably broken,” since the United States is “giving arms and money to people who hate us around the world.”<sup>948</sup>

### The Obama Administration Suspends Aid to Egypt: October–December 2013

From late August through September 2013, the U.S. policy toward Egypt was overshadowed by the unfolding Syria chemical weapons crisis and the debate surrounding President Obama’s “red line.” However, the debate over U.S. aid to Egypt came back into the spotlight in October with the Obama administration’s decision to suspend a portion of U.S. aid to Egypt on October 9. While assistance for humanitarian, counterterrorism, and border security programs would continue, military aid for weapon systems and equipment, would be discontinued until “credible progress toward an inclusive, democratically elected civilian government through free and fair elections” was made.<sup>949</sup> In total, \$260 million in cash was suspended, excluding the cost of the withheld weapon systems, such as F-16 fighter jets, M1A1 tank parts, Harpoon missiles, and Apache helicopters.<sup>950</sup> Most members of Congress supported the White House’s move, but some still criticized the administration for not going far enough. In a hearing before the House Committee on Foreign

Affairs on the “Next Steps on Egypt Policy” in late October, several representatives had the chance to voice their concerns over the situation in Egypt. Chairman Royce was critical of U.S. actions in Egypt, stating that the United States “was perceived in the region as passive as President Mohamed Morsi grabbed power, squashing individual rights, sidelining the courts and declaring himself above the law.” He highlighted the threat that the Muslim Brotherhood posed to Egypt and expressed his desire that, “the U.S. use its influence to help guide the new government toward a democratic constitution that respects individual liberties including those of women and minorities.”<sup>951</sup> Ranking Member Engel expressed his opposition to halting military aid to Egypt, fearing that the move may “destroy” U.S. relationships with the Egyptian military and “jeopardize the close U.S.-Egypt military cooperation that we’ve worked so hard to build over the last several decades.” Representative Mark Meadows (R-NC) highlighted the importance of fostering economic development in Egypt to foster stability.<sup>952</sup> Representative Yoho questioned the efficacy of U.S. aid to a “government that doesn’t respect the things that we hold dear in a Western society or Western values—human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of religion.”<sup>953</sup> Beyond the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Representative Granger criticized the administration’s decision, arguing that “pulling away now may undermine the ability of the United States to work with a critical partner. . . . the United States must preserve this partnership that has been so important to our national security, Israel’s security and the stability of the entire Middle East.”<sup>954</sup>

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**“In managing America’s foreign policy there are times when our ideals and our security interests don’t conveniently align. The situation in Egypt today is case in point. . . . It’s clear that the Egyptian military has made some serious mistakes in managing the ongoing transition. . . . But if I were given the choice between the military and the [Muslim] Brotherhood, I’d take the military every time.”<sup>955</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE ELIOT ENGEL,**  
*October 29, 2013*

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Bipartisan support emerged in the Senate for President Obama’s decision to partially suspend aid. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Menendez called the decision to suspend aid “appropriate until the Egyptian government demonstrates a willingness and capability to follow the roadmap toward a sustainable, inclusive and non-violent transition to democracy.”<sup>956</sup> Senators Corker, Lamar Alexander (R-TN), and Roy Blunt (R-MO) wrote a letter to Secretary of State John Kerry urging him to use the suspension of U.S. aid to influence the Egyptian government to better “protect Coptic Christians and other minorities” against violent attacks. The senators highlighted the role of the United States as a “forceful defender of religious freedom throughout the world.”<sup>957</sup> Senator John Boozman (R-AR) supported aid to Egypt with conditions as well.<sup>958</sup> Senator Marco Rubio continued to advocate that conditioning aid would better advance U.S. national security interests, protect human rights in the country, and further Egyptian stability.<sup>959</sup>

Senator Leahy was most vocal among the Democrats in voicing his displeasure with the president’s actions, stating, “Our law is clear. When there is a military coup, U.S. aid to the government is cut off. Rather than encourage reconciliation and restore democracy as it promised, the Egyptian military has reinstated martial law and cracked

down on the Islamic opposition, which has also used violence.” In particular, Senator Leahy questioned the clarity of the signal sent by suspending only a portion of aid to Egypt. On the right, Senator Paul continued to call for the United States to cut off all aid to Egypt.<sup>960</sup>

In December, out of concern for the strength of the U.S. strategic relationship with Egypt, Senators Menendez and Corker co-sponsored the “Egypt Reform Act of 2013.” The act “reaffirms the enduring U.S. commitment to our partnership with the Egyptian government by authorizing continued assistance and endorsing the importance of ongoing cooperation.” It would require that foreign aid to Egypt “must be in the national security interest of the United States. To receive that assistance, the Egyptian government must meet certain security and economic assistance benchmarks like adherence to the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty, cooperating on counter terrorism, and taking steps to consolidate their democratic transition.”<sup>961</sup> It was never brought to the floor for a vote.

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**“The Administration is trying to have it both ways, by suspending some aid but continuing other aid. By doing that, the message is muddled.”<sup>962</sup>**

**SENATOR LEAHY**  
*October 9, 2013*



SENATOR

## Patrick Leahy (D-VT)

Human Rights Champion

Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT), the longest serving Democrat in Congress, has represented Vermont in the U.S. Senate since 1974. He has served as chairman of the Agriculture Committee, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and president pro tempore of the Senate.<sup>963</sup> Throughout his time in office, Senator Leahy has been a fierce advocate for human rights and civil liberties both in the United States and abroad. He has worked to advance these goals in his roles as either chairman or ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations for over 20 years.<sup>964</sup> In 1989, Senator Leahy established the Leahy War Victims Fund, which provides aid to civilians who have experienced armed conflict.<sup>965</sup> He has also campaigned vigorously against land mines throughout his time in the Senate, and authored the first law of any government prohibiting foreign exports of land mines in 1992.<sup>966</sup> While he has consistently worked to prioritize foreign assistance

spending, he favors placing restrictions on foreign aid to countries that have repeatedly violated human rights. Most notably, Senator Leahy introduced the Leahy Law in 1997, which places constraints on U.S. funds to foreign security, military, and police forces when groups have committed gross human rights violations.<sup>967</sup> After the Obama administration waived conditions on aid to Egypt that were put in place after the 2011 uprising, Leahy co-wrote part of a FY2012 spending law that required the Obama administration to halt foreign aid until it could certify that the government in Cairo was defending democracy and protecting civil liberties.<sup>968</sup> When the democratically elected Morsi government was overthrown in 2013, he released a statement on July 3, 2013, which said, “U.S. aid is cut off when a democratically elected government is deposed by military coup or decree . . . my committee also will review future aid to the Egyptian government as we wait for a clearer picture.”<sup>969</sup>

In early January 2014, Congress restored the \$1.5 billion in annual U.S. aid to Egypt in the FY2014 appropriations bill, albeit with some conditions to encourage the Egyptian government's commitment to a democratic transition.<sup>970</sup> The language reflected a compromise between appropriators such as Senator Leahy, who originally called for all U.S. aid to Egypt to be restricted after the "coup," and Representative Granger, who consistently cautioned against an immediate cessation of aid. According to Senator Leahy, the military aid to Egypt in the 2014 bill "may not be delivered to Egypt unless the Secretary of State certifies there is a national referendum and the government is taking steps to support the democratic transition, and there are democratic elections and a newly elected government is taking steps to govern democratically."<sup>971</sup> Since the Obama administration continued to refrain from labeling the fall of Morsi in Egypt a coup, Congress's passage of the appropriations act served as an implicit authorization to continue providing aid to Egypt regardless. President Obama signed the bill on January 17, 2014.<sup>972</sup>

Presidential elections were held in Egypt in June 2014, and General el-Sisi was elected the President of Egypt.<sup>973</sup> He pledged to take strong action against the Muslim Brotherhood once in office.<sup>974</sup> Given the SCAF's control of the country and perceived discouragement of dissent, many observers questioned the legitimacy of the election and the government's commitment to a democratic transition.<sup>975</sup> In March 2015, President Obama released to Egypt the weapon systems that had been withheld since October 2013 out of concern for the expanding terrorist threat in the region posed by the Islamic State and the critical role Egypt would need to play in combating associated threats. While the Obama administration was emphatic in October 2013 that aid would only be restored after democratic governance efforts had improved, many perceived the March 2015 decision to reinstate much of the U.S. aid to Egypt as an epitome of U.S. national security interests outweighing commitments to democratic values and human rights.<sup>976</sup> President Obama pledged to support providing the full amount of \$1.3 billion of foreign military aid to Egypt that had previously been the standard.<sup>977</sup>

## 2. The Electrify Africa Act of 2015

In 2013, President Obama launched Power Africa to increase access to electricity and reduce energy poverty in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>978</sup> In partnership with African governments, international development finance institutions, and the private sector, the project's initial goal was to provide electricity to 20 million Africa households by expanding generation capacity by 10,000 megawatts over five years. These goals were later tripled in August 2014 to 60 million new electric grid connections and 30,000 megawatts of electric generation capacity.<sup>979</sup> According to President Obama, the initiative would offer "a light where currently there is darkness, the energy needed to lift people out of poverty."<sup>980</sup> The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was the lead agency tasked with implementing Power Africa. To coordinate the initiative within the U.S. government, President Obama established the Power Africa Working Group, co-chaired by the National Security Council and USAID, to oversee interagency implementation efforts. Power Africa initially received \$7 billion in funding for five years; Power Africa received around \$2 billion in financial support from the private sector, and around \$5 billion from the Export-Import Bank.<sup>981</sup> Two years into the program, however, funding for the Power Africa initiative became imperiled after House Republicans blocked the renewal of the Export-Import bank's charter in 2015.<sup>982</sup> Additional hurdles, such as local corruption and a lack of supplies, as well as limited infrastructure and resources needed to build and maintain the electrical plants, hindered Power Africa's initial progress.<sup>983</sup>

Despite these challenges, bipartisan support for expanding U.S. efforts to improve electricity access in sub-Saharan Africa grew over time, and after three years of efforts within the House and Senate, Congress passed the Electrify Africa Act in 2016. As a rare bipartisan success story of the 114th Congress, the Electrify Africa Act codified support for the Power Africa initiative to extend the program beyond the Obama administration's second term and created a broader framework for the United States to increase electricity access across sub-Saharan Africa through a combination of private and

**RIGHT**

Women from the coal dust covered and power line pollution exposed Masakhane settlement fill their wheel barrows for a load of free coal provided by a nearby mine in Emalahleni on February 5, 2015.



public partnerships.<sup>984</sup> It was hailed as the “most significant legislation to advance U.S. commercial relations with the continent of Africa since the initial passage of the [African Growth and Opportunity Act], 15 years ago.”<sup>985</sup>

### **Building Bipartisan Coalitions in the House and Senate: 2013–2015**

Members of Congress began to appreciate the scale of Africa’s electricity access challenges in 2012. House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Ed Royce (R-CA) led a bipartisan congressional delegation to Ghana, Liberia, and Nigeria to study the effects of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), which had passed in 2000 with the intention of improving African economic development and trade with the United States. During the trip, members found

that a widespread lack of access to electricity impeded many African entrepreneurs from taking advantage of AGOA.<sup>986</sup> The following year—the same month the administration announced the Power Africa Initiative—Chairman Royce (R-CA), House Foreign Affairs Committee Ranking Member Eliot Engel (D-NY), Africa Subcommittee Chairman Chris Smith (R-NJ), and Africa Subcommittee Ranking Member Karen Bass (D-CA) introduced the Electrify Africa Act of 2013.<sup>987</sup>

The bill earned support among both Democrats and Republicans, garnering 117 additional co-sponsors.<sup>988</sup> It was designed in “response to the massive power shortage plaguing nearly 600 million people in the sub-Saharan region,” and acknowledged that a “lack of electricity limits economic opportunities and adversely

affects humanitarian conditions.”<sup>989</sup> Therefore, the bill legislated a “comprehensive, sustainable, and market-based approach” to address the challenge through integrating both public and private partnerships to encourage investment.<sup>990</sup> Specifically, it called for the administration to develop a comprehensive strategy for expanding electricity access in sub-Saharan Africa, encouraged USAID to prioritize investments in African power-generation capacity, urged executive branch officials to exert influence in international development finance bodies, such as the World Bank and Africa Development Bank, to focus investments in sub-Saharan Africa, and directed the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to prioritize investments in sub-Saharan African power-generation projects as well. The original draft also included language to reauthorize OPIC for three years.<sup>991</sup> Proponents advanced arguments for the legislation on both altruistic and economic grounds. Pointing to the \$10,000 per day electricity bill of the U.S. Embassy in Liberia, Chairman Royce argued that the bill would, “help remove one of the biggest impediments to economic growth on the continent, which will create trade opportunities—and jobs—in Africa and the U.S.”<sup>992</sup>

In addition to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the legislation was also referred to the House Financial Services Committee, which shared jurisdiction over the bill. While the Financial Services Committee did not take up the bill, the Foreign Affairs Committee moved to mark it up in February 2014. During the markup, two amendments were considered and agreed to. Chairman Royce and Ranking Member Engel offered an amendment in the nature of a substitute that added minor modifications to the bill’s language, including prioritizing hydroelectric power in the statement of policy and expanding OPIC monitoring and evaluation standards.<sup>993</sup> Representative Mark Meadows (R-NC) introduced another amendment that mandated the development of an annual consumer satisfaction survey and report by OPIC for monitoring and evaluation purposes.<sup>994</sup> Both amendments were agreed to by voice vote.

Supporters touted the bill’s potential to improve development prospects across Africa and offered

humanitarian, economic, and strategic arguments in favor of passage. During House Foreign Affairs Committee debate over the bill, Representative Mo Brooks emerged as an outspoken opponent of the legislation, arguing, “I cannot justify American taxpayers building power plants and transmission lines in Africa with money we do not have, will have to borrow to get, and cannot afford to pay back. If economic insanity has a home, it is in Washington, D.C.”<sup>995</sup> Members from both ends of the political spectrum pushed back against Representative Brooks’s reasoning. Chairman Royce was emphatic that Electrify Africa, employing the “OPIC template,” would result in a “return on investment,” and “there is net revenues flowing in going forward to the U.S. Treasury when contrasted with the expenditures.”<sup>996</sup> Representative Gerry Connolly (D-VA) stressed that “This zero sum gain view of the United States’ role in the world . . . is very dangerous. It is a false choice to tell the American people we cannot continue to afford to be engaged in the world. And even when things are financed, self-financed, we still can’t afford them in that point of view.”<sup>997</sup> While acknowledging that he originally concurred with much of Representative Brooks’s perspective, Representative Ted Yoho (R-FL) outlined his change of mind on the bill after learning more about the economics of the program, arguing that OPIC has a “self-sustaining basis at no net cost to the American taxpayers. . . . And if this is a way that we can invest and not give aid to corrupt governments, but invest and it generates money to the American taxpayers, I am in support of it.”<sup>998</sup> Representative Mark Meadows (R-NC) acknowledged Representative Brooks’s concerns, but highlighted OPIC’s excellent return rate and the geopolitical rationale for the program: “I have met with Ambassadors from all over Africa. And their big concern quite frankly is that America is not playing and not investing in African countries like China is. And if we are going to compete globally we need to unleash the private sector to allow them to invest in these countries in a real and full way, and embrace the kind of relationship that we have with many of our friends in Africa.”<sup>999</sup> Representative Jeff Duncan (R-SC) was supportive of

the bill and encouraged lawmakers to develop innovative solutions towards providing Africans with energy such as small modular nuclear reactors.<sup>1000</sup>

The Electrify Africa Act passed the House Foreign Affairs Committee by a voice vote on February 27, 2014, before proceeding to consideration on the House floor in May 2014 nearly a year after it was introduced.<sup>1001</sup> As in committee, debate on the floor of the House for the passage of H.R.2548 was lively. House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Royce praised the initiative, saying that “The Electrify Africa Act offers a market-based response to . . . develop affordable, reliable energy in Africa. Most importantly, I think it does so at no additional cost to the taxpayer.”<sup>1002</sup> Several members raised the specter of Chinese competition for influence in Africa as a factor influencing their support for the bill. Representative Royce raised the threat of growing Chinese influence multiple times during the debate, at one point stating, “I will remind the Members that where the United States has left a void for economic investment in the world—and Africa is one of them—China has stepped in. In this case, we are speaking at a time when the Premier of China is on the ground right now in sub-Saharan Africa. China has stepped in to direct \$2 billion to African energy projects. This bill will counter China’s growing commercial and strategic influence.”<sup>1003</sup> House Foreign Affairs Committee Ranking Member Engel also praised the act, stating that Electrify Africa will “focus not only on providing incentives for the private sector to build more power plants, but also on increasing African government accountability and transparency, improving regulatory environments, and increasing access to electricity in rural and poor communities through small, renewable energy projects.”<sup>1004</sup> Representative Engel added that U.S. efforts to increase electricity in Africa would allow Africans to “grow their economies and ultimately reduce their reliance on foreign aid.”<sup>1005</sup> Representative Chris Smith added, “This bill does not provide electricity as a gift; it facilitates cooperation between our government and African governments in finding the most efficient and effective means of establishing electric power for their citizens.”<sup>1006</sup>

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**“Generators provide the power by which many companies are forced to do business, and in many homes, generators are needed to ensure that modern activities can continue when the government-provided power flickers out. This is so expensive that many Africans are forced to rely on more basic means of providing light once night approaches, but in the 21st century, the people of Africa must not be dependent on the sun or candles and lanterns to deliver their light. Certainly, these means cannot power their cell phones, televisions or other technology on which today’s societies thrive.”<sup>1007</sup>**

**REPRESENTATIVE CHRIS SMITH (R-NJ)**

*May 7, 2014*

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The Electrify Africa Act passed the House by a 297–117 vote on May 8, 2014. House Republicans were split on the vote with 106 supporting the bill and 116 voting against, while the majority of House Democrats voted in favor by a 191–1 margin. Much of the opposition to the Electrify Africa act came from fiscally conservative Republicans who questioned the effectiveness of the Power Africa initiative, were skeptical of the financing mechanisms included in the bill, argued in favor of focusing attention on improving domestic economic conditions, or opposed the preference to finance alternative electricity sources. Representative Tom Cotton (R-AK) called the bill a “noble effort” but criticized OPIC as a “billion-dollar slush fund for politically connected businesses.”<sup>1008</sup> Representative Tom McClintock (R-CA) gave a forceful speech opposing the inclusion of OPIC reauthorization in the bill.<sup>1009</sup> He highlighted that OPIC “doesn’t cost taxpayers because



recent losses have been minimal and covered by fees. I remember similar assurances about Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. Such assurances are good only until they are not good. . . . OPIC pays for the bad business decisions of large corporations and underwrites job creation abroad, all at the expense of hard-working American taxpayers.”<sup>1010</sup> In response, Representative Royce responded by highlighting that the OPIC reauthorization was short term to specifically address an area where private-sector investment was lacking and had been coupled with a series of significant reforms to OPIC, including measures to increase transparency and accountability by establishing an inspector general and bipartisan board to oversee OPIC’s operations. Representative Bass also lauded the OPIC reforms included in the bill and countered Representative McClintock’s criticisms by arguing that improved African development would increase the potential for trade with the United States, a net positive for the U.S. economy.

Although the 2014 iteration of the act passed the House, the Senate did not advance corresponding legislation before the end of the legislation session.

On the Senate side, interest in passing legislation to supplement and expand the administration’s Power Africa initiative grew as well. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Bob Menendez and Ranking Member Bob Corker first introduced the Energize Africa Act in June 2014 along with co-sponsors Senators Chris Coons (D-DE), Johnny Isakson (R-GA), Ed Markey (D-MA), and Mike Johanns (R-NE).<sup>1011</sup> Relative to the House’s Electrify Africa Act that passed in May 2014, the Senate version authorized a broader set of authorities for OPIC, including a five-year reauthorization.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee moved to consider the bill in a closed markup and reported it favorably on June 24 with several amendments. First, a manager’s amendment was approved by voice vote; it included language that created an interagency working group to coordinate U.S. government efforts for implementing the legislation, directed the Millennium Challenge Corporation to prioritize power projects in sub-Saharan Africa, and

strengthened the language in the Statement of Policy section prioritizing a comprehensive “energy development strategy.” A second amendment, proposed by Senator Jeff Flake (R-AZ), would have struck down the third stipulation of Section 7079(b) of the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2010, which provided guidance to OPIC’s investment decisions.<sup>1012</sup> The third stipulation of section 7079(b) directed OPIC to implement a “revised climate change mitigation plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions associated with projects and sub-projects in the agency’s portfolio.”<sup>1013</sup> The amendment was voted down. The third amendment, put forth by Senator John Barrasso (R-WY), ranking member of the Subcommittee on Multilateral International Development, Multilateral Institutions, and International Economic, Energy and Environmental Policy, struck down Title II of the Act, which extended the “issuing authority” of OPIC until 2019 among other authorities.<sup>1014</sup> The amendment was voted down in a roll call vote by a 5–11 margin, with Republican Senators Barasso, Jim Risch (R-ID), Marco Rubio (R-FL), Ron Johnson (R-WI), and Jeff Flake (R-AZ) voting for the amendment.<sup>1015</sup> Although the bill had advanced through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and gained an additional 18 co-sponsors over the course of 2014, it did not make it to the Senate floor before the end of the 113th Congress.

### **Finding Consensus: 2015–2016**

In the 2014 midterm elections, Republicans regained control of the Senate by picking up a total of 9 seats while adding an additional 13 seats to their preexisting majority in the House. In the Senate, Republicans controlled the chamber with 54 seats, while the Democrats were in the minority with 46 seats, including 2 independents that caucused with Senate Democrats. Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) served as Majority Leader with Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) serving as Majority Whip. Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) was Minority Leader, and Senator Richard Durbin (D-IL) was Minority Whip.<sup>1016</sup> The House was initially led by Speaker John Boehner (R-OH) in the 114th session, before he was replaced by Speaker Paul Ryan (R-WI) in October 2015 after Boehner resigned. Representative Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) served

as Majority Leader, and Representative Steve Scalise (R-LA) served as Majority Whip. House Democratic Leadership continued to include Representatives Nany Pelosi (D-CA) and Steny Hoyer (D-MD) as Minority Leader and Minority Whip, respectively.

Progress on African energy development legislation ramped up again over the summer of 2015 in the 114th Congress. House Foreign Affairs Committee leaders, including Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, Africa Subcommittee Chairman Smith, and Africa Subcommittee Ranking Member Bass, introduced the Electrify Africa Act of 2015 (H.R. 2847) in June 2015.<sup>1017</sup> In the Senate, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Corker and Ranking Member Cardin introduced their version of the legislation (S.1933) in August.<sup>1018</sup> Chairman Corker declared, “I’m proud to reintroduce this bipartisan approach for leveraging private capital to bring financially viable electric power to millions of people in Africa for the first time.” Ranking Member Cardin stated, “Access to electricity remains one of the fundamental development challenges in Africa, with direct impacts on public health, education, and economic growth.”<sup>1019</sup> Electrify Africa advocates were buoyed by a coalition of NGOs, advocacy groups, and the private sector that coalesced in support of passage, raising awareness on energy poverty in Africa and educating members on the Power Africa initiative.<sup>1020</sup>

Committee staff collaborated from August to October in an attempt to reconcile the two bills and develop a legislative strategy for passage. In their initial draft, the House and Senate Electrify Africa bills largely hewed to a common approach but diverged on a number of elements.<sup>1021</sup> Both bills extended OPIC’s authorization through 2018; however, the Senate version included a broader set of authorities for OPIC and added a reporting requirement on the effectiveness of OPIC authorities. In contrast, the House version included a consumer satisfaction reporting requirement for businesses cooperating with OPIC projects. Other minor differences included the Senate version specifying distributed renewable energy development as a goal while the House version omitted “renewable,” different monitoring and evaluation requirements, and varying

stringency of language on the president establishing an interagency working group. After several months of bipartisan, bicameral work across the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees, legislators found common ground, resulting in the October introduction of the Electrify Africa Act of 2015 (S. 2152). In order to pass this legislation, the Senate removed OPIC reauthorization provisions in the bill, due to opposition that would preclude the full bill from advancing by unanimous consent. Proponents feared debates over climate change and the energy sources financed through OPIC projects would imperil passage of the broader bill.<sup>1022</sup> The provisions removed included reauthorizing OPIC, mandating that OPIC’s Board of Directors be bipartisan, restructuring the mechanisms for approving OPIC small projects, encouraging local currency use to simplify local borrowing processes, and requiring OPIC to release to the public information on its funded projects.<sup>1023</sup>

After agreeing to common language for the legislation, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee moved first to consider the bill in November 2015. At the introduction of this legislation, Senator Ed Markey released a statement stressing that “building a clean, affordable energy backbone in Africa is an American foreign policy priority and an international economic imperative,” and how “this legislation will enshrine in U.S. law the importance of focusing on increasing access to electricity in Africa.”<sup>1024</sup> Throughout November and December of 2015, the legislation was reported with amendments. Senator Markey proposed an amendment that ensured the “implementation of energy projects in a non-discriminatory way” and “local consultation with respect to energy project development and implementation.”<sup>1025</sup> S.2152 was then placed on the legislative calendar. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) proposed an additional amendment that outlined current rules and regulations that might hinder public and private financing of the legislation, a declaration encouraging private financing for this act, and a description of how increased energy access in sub-Saharan Africa would advance U.S. national security interests.<sup>1026</sup>

The legislation and all three proposed amendments passed the Senate by unanimous consent on December 18, 2015. According to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Corker, “With limited foreign aid resources, we need to focus on innovative ways to tackle big challenges that can be self-sustaining and have a transformative impact on millions of lives.” Ranking Member Cardin praised the originality of the legislation, “By working with African governments to attract private sector investment and partnering with American firms that are on the cutting edge of the power solutions Africa seeks, we can make great strides in addressing African energy poverty and promote inclusive economic growth for communities in Africa and at home.” Senator Coons praised the bipartisan nature of the legislation and stated that “These projects are unlocking opportunities in medicine and education and removing a binding constraint to economic development and growth in Africa.” Senator Rubio highlighted that “U.S. foreign assistance works best when it is targeted toward the most pressing needs and can be leveraged to help recipients further develop their economies.”<sup>1027</sup>

The legislation then passed to the House.<sup>1028</sup> The House Foreign Affairs Committee took up the bill in December 2015. In February 2016, the floor of the House held 40 minutes of debate on this bill.<sup>1029</sup> Chairman Royce opened the debate with a statement, expressing his strong support for this bill: “Why do we want to help increase energy access to the continent? Well, to create jobs and to improve lives in both Africa and America. It is no secret that Africa has great potential as a trading partner and could help create jobs here in the U.S.” Chairman Royce also warned about the danger of letting other countries lead the development effort in Africa: “However, the U.S. is not alone in its interest in enhancing trade with Africa. We have competition. Just last month, the People’s Republic of China pledged \$60 billion in financial support to the continent. If the United States wants to tap into this potential consumer base, we need to be aggressively building partnerships on the continent, which is what this bill does.” According to Subcommittee Chairman Smith, “The blessings that will accrue from a

huge effort to electrify Africa are almost without limit. . . . In the 21st century, energy has become vital, as we all know, to modern societies. . . . It is unfortunate that the continent of Africa has so many people who have been denied the ability to enjoy the advances of science.” According to Subcommittee Ranking Member Bass, “In working together, we have crafted legislation that will focus on increasing access to electricity in rural and poor communities through small, renewable energy projects that will result in at least millions of Africans having access to electricity for the first time in their lives by 2020.” A motion was made after debate to suspend the rules and pass the bill with a voice vote. It passed with a two-thirds majority.<sup>1030</sup> Ranking Member Engel applauded the passage of the legislation: “I’m pleased that this bipartisan legislation is on its way to the President’s desk so that we can do more to help countries across sub-Saharan Africa speed their prosperity and unleash their potential.”<sup>1031</sup> Representative Brendan Boyle (D-PA) added that “Sometimes the right thing to do is also in our strategic interests.”<sup>1032</sup>

President Obama signed the bill into law on February 8, 2016.<sup>1033</sup>

### 3. The Global Food Security Act of 2016

In July 2016, after nearly a decade of sustained legislative work on food security, Congress passed the Global Food Security Act (GFSA), a signature effort to combat international hunger, poverty, and malnutrition.<sup>1034</sup> The Global Food Security Act of 2016 authorized a “comprehensive strategic approach for United States foreign assistance to developing countries to reduce global poverty and hunger, achieve food and nutrition security, promote inclusive, sustainable, agricultural-led economic growth, improve nutritional outcomes, especially for women and children, build resilience among vulnerable populations, and for other purposes.”<sup>1035</sup> It also funded and codified Feed the Future, while expanding the program’s monitoring, evaluation, and reporting requirements.<sup>1036</sup> The legislation provided congressional guidance on priority areas within the Feed the Future program, such as water access, sanitation and hygiene, a greater focus

**RIGHT**

Agriculture has the potential to be an engine for economic growth and food security in Cambodia. USAID's Feed the Future program focuses on this agricultural potential to decrease extreme poverty and drive economic growth, environmental sustainability, and food security in Cambodia.



on building resiliency to prevent future shocks, and rationale for country selection.<sup>1037</sup>

Supporters of the bill emphasized the role of the United States as a global leader in combating poverty and starvation, and the importance of reducing food insecurity to bolster stability in developing countries.<sup>1038</sup> President Obama lauded the bill at its signing: “While we’ve already accomplished so much through this collaborative global partnership, I know that with the continued effort and support that this legislation provides, we can achieve what was just a few years ago the

unimaginable: We can end global poverty and hunger within our lifetimes.”<sup>1039</sup> In an increasingly divided Congress, the GFSA was hailed as a rare bipartisan compromise.<sup>1040</sup> It took nearly a decade of legislative effort to overcome jurisdictional challenges among the foreign affairs/relations and agriculture committees, and misperceptions over the bill’s aim and build sufficient support for passage.<sup>1041</sup> As the Obama administration’s second term neared completion, Congress acted to codify the administration’s Feed the Future initiative and expand U.S. efforts to counter global food insecurity through legislation.

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**“Food insecurity is a global tragedy, but it is also an opportunity for the United States. The United States is the indisputable world leader in agricultural production and technology. A more focused effort on our part to join with other nations to increase yields, create economic opportunities for the rural poor, and broaden agricultural knowledge could begin a new era in U.S. diplomacy. . . . Achieving food security for all people also would have profound implications for peace and U.S. national security.”<sup>1042</sup>**

#### **SENATOR LUGAR (R-IN)**

*February 5, 2009 statement on the introduction of S.384.*

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#### **Building Support for Addressing Food Insecurity: 2009–2014**

Observing the impact of food price spikes in 2008 spurring riots around the world, including in Bangladesh, Egypt, and Haiti, U.S. policymakers were galvanized to broaden U.S. efforts to ameliorate global food insecurity.<sup>1043</sup> Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, directed minority staff to research global food security challenges and recommendations for U.S. policy and introduced the Global Food Security Act (S. 3529) in 2008 with co-sponsors Robert Casey (D-PA) and Richard Durbin (D-IL).<sup>1044</sup> The initial legislation authorized funds on a five-year horizon to alleviate food insecurity, improve emergency food aid programs, and modify portions of the Foreign Assistance Act.<sup>1045</sup> After being referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, progress on

the bill lapsed in the 110th Congress. In February 2009, Senators Lugar and Casey reintroduced the bill (S. 384), which eventually gained the support of 15 additional co-sponsors in the Senate by the end of 2010.<sup>1046</sup> In spring 2009, the bill was reported unanimously by voice vote out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee but did not proceed to a floor vote in the 111th Congress. The bill stalled in the Senate due to concerns associated with some its legislative requirements, including perceptions that the bill required developing countries to research genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and would require the purchase of local crops, rather than U.S. crops for food aid.<sup>1047</sup> On the House side, Representative Betty McCollum (D-MN), alongside 82 co-sponsors, introduced food security legislation (H.R.3077) in June 2009. Although the bill was similar to the Senate version, it diverged by including revisions to authorization language from the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act.<sup>1048</sup> The legislation never made it out of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.<sup>1049</sup>

A few weeks after the introduction of the House version of the Global Food Security Act, President Obama committed the United States to reducing global poverty and malnutrition in a speech at the 2009 G-8 Summit.<sup>1050</sup> Following through on this pledge, the Department of State launched the Feed the Future Initiative in May 2010. The Feed the Future Initiative is a U.S. government interagency collaboration to mitigate food insecurity by working to improve partner countries' agricultural practices and productivity to advance nutrition outcomes in partner countries.<sup>1051</sup> From 2010 to 2014, global food security legislation largely lay dormant with the executive branch taking the lead on addressing food insecurity challenges through Feed the Future. During this period, Congress lost one of its strongest and most respected advocates for addressing global food insecurity when Senator Lugar lost the 2012 Indiana Republican primary race.

Legislation on food security once again surfaced on the House agenda in late 2014. In September, the House attempted to pass another version of the Global Food Security Act (H.R.5656), co-sponsored by Representative Chris Smith (R-NJ) and Representative Betty McCollum

(D-MN). It was referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where it passed in November. Debate on the bill proceeded into the lame duck session of December 2014, passing the House by a voice vote. The Senate did not take up the bill until the end of the 113th Congress.<sup>1052</sup> Nevertheless, momentum to pass this legislation grew in 2016 and by mid-year Congress passed the Global Food Security Act.

### **Passing the Global Food Security Act: 2015–2016**

The stars would finally align for the GFSA during the 114th Congress. Republicans controlled the majority in both the House and the Senate. In the House, Republicans held 248 seats, and Democrats held 192. Representative John Boehner (R-OH) was the Speaker until October 29, 2015, when he resigned his post, and was succeeded by Representative Paul Ryan (R-WI). Representative Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) served as Majority Leader, and Representative Scalise (R-LA) served as Majority Whip. Representatives Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and Steny Hoyer (D-MD) served as Minority Leader and Minority Whip respectively. Representative Edward R. Royce (R-CA) served as chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, with Eliot L. Engel (D-NY) serving as ranking member. On the House Agriculture Committee, Representative Mike Conaway (R-TX) served as chairman and Representative Collin C. Peterson (D-MN) held the title ranking member.<sup>1053</sup> In the Senate, membership included 54 Republicans, 44 Democrats, and 2 independents who caucused with the Democrats.<sup>1054</sup> Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) served as Majority Leader with Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) as Majority Whip. Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) served as Minority Leader with Senator Richard Durbin (D-IL) as the Democratic Whip. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was led by Chairman Bob Corker (R-TN). Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD) served as ranking member for the majority of the session, replacing Senator Bob Menendez (D-NJ) in April 2015. Senator Pat Roberts (R-KS) was the chairman of the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, and Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) served as the committee's ranking member.

For supporters of the Feed the Future Initiative, urgency for passing global food security legislation grew as the end of the Obama administration approached. Given the Feed the Future program was an executive-initiated program, nothing guaranteed the longevity of the program after January 2017. The administration and its supporters were confident of the effectiveness of Feed the Future projects, further empowering congressional advocates to pass associated legislation.<sup>1055</sup> In addition to the bill's prescriptions and oversight measures for Feed the Future programming, the Global Food Security Act also offered the opportunity for Congress to add its imprimatur to the program, ensuring its continuation into the next presidential administration, and signaling sustained U.S. leadership in the fight against food insecurity.

Driven by this urgency, advocates built a broad-based coalition of members, nonprofits, universities, and industry in support for GFSA. Advocates had to overcome two major challenges to advance legislation. First, proponents used existing Feed the Future successes to persuade aid skeptics of the program's effectiveness. Second, proponents had to correct prevalent misperceptions that the program was traditional food aid. Feed the Future instead focused on sustainable, agricultural development with partner nations. Since some provisions of the legislation touched on food aid programs, which was under the agriculture committees' jurisdiction, passage required cross-committee negotiations to avoid threatening domestic agricultural equities.

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**“Food insecurity knows no boundaries, but the good news is it is preventable and we are in a position to help. While the U.S. has made significant contributions to improve nutrition and agriculture worldwide, one in nine around world suffer from chronic hunger. A lack of adequate, nutritious food can harm the development of young children and can contribute to instability in some countries.”<sup>1056</sup>**

**SENATOR JOHN BOOZMAN (R-AR)**

*September 19, 2014*

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In building support for GFSA, House and Senate efforts largely moved along parallel tracks in 2015 and 2016. In the House of Representatives, the Global Food Security Act of 2016 (H.R. 1567) was introduced in March 2015 by Representative Chris Smith (R-NJ) and Representative Betty McCollum (D-MN) with 10 original co-sponsors that grew to 127 by April 2016.<sup>1057</sup> In April 2015, H.R. 1567 was advanced by the House Foreign Affairs Committee by a voice vote. The Foreign Affairs Committee spent months negotiating with the Agriculture Committee, led by Chairman Mike Conaway (R-TX), on issues such as ensuring the GFSA would not impact existing food assistance programs detailed in the Agriculture Act of 2014, which fund programs such as Food for Peace.<sup>1058</sup> This led to the inclusion of a “rule of construction” to ensure the legislation did not supersede or affect preexisting food aid programs. In April 2016, House Foreign Affairs Committee submitted a report on H.R. 1567, amending the legislation, to reflect changes from negotiations with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Agriculture Committee.<sup>1059</sup> The House passed H.R. 1567 by a vote of 370–33, with 201 Republicans and 169 Democrats voting in favor of the bill, and 33 Republicans

voting against.<sup>1060</sup> Republican opponents included fiscally conservative Freedom Caucus members, such as Representative Mo Brooks (R-AL) and Representative Justin Amash (R-MI), domestically focused members, such as Representative John Duncan (R-TN), and strong conservatives like Representative Jim Sensenbrenner (R-WI). Representative Smith highlighted the procedural benefits of authorizing the Feed the Future initiative, stating, “we are also statutorily enhancing congressional oversight by requiring the administration to report to Congress. Thus, the bill requires rigorous monitoring, evaluation, and congressional oversight of the global food security strategy, and it mandates a comprehensive report to ensure accountability and effectiveness. . . . USAID will be authorized, however, to do more by more effectively leveraging our aid with that of other countries, the private sector, NGOs, and faith-based organizations, whose great work on the ground in so many different countries impacts so many lives.”<sup>1061</sup> House Agriculture Committee Chairman Representative Conaway detailed his acceptance of the compromise relating to the inclusion of the rule of construction, noting, “to ensure that this legislation does not provide USAID with unintended opportunity to overhaul time-tested food aid programs, the bill contains carefully crafted language protecting the funds and the authorities of these existing programs. As I have pointed out time and again, any changes should be explored in the context of future farm bill discussions.”<sup>1062</sup>

Senators Bob Casey (D-PA) and Johnny Isakson (R-GA) introduced the companion to the House bill in the Senate (S. 1252) in May 2015. The bill resided with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for nearly a year before being reported positively to the Senate floor in March 2016 and gaining 14 additional co-sponsors by April 2016.<sup>1070</sup> The final Senate bill included the addition of an amendment by Senator Casey that included the rule of construction, requested by the House Agriculture Committee, and strengthened the reporting and evaluation requirements of the Global Food Security Act.<sup>1071</sup> The Senate version of the Global Food Security Act passed by unanimous consent in April 2016.

Due to the differences between the Senate and House versions of GFSA, the House had to take up S.1252 in July



REPRESENTATIVE

## Ted Yoho (R-FL)

Campaign Critic  
to Congressional Champion

Representative Ted Yoho (R-FL) has served the 3rd Congressional district of Florida in the U.S. House of Representatives since 2012. A veterinarian by training, Representative Yoho is a member of the House Freedom Caucus, serving on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where he serves as chairman of the Asia and the Pacific subcommittee and the House Agriculture Committee.<sup>1063</sup> Representative Yoho arrived in Congress in 2013 as a staunch opponent of foreign aid, and campaigned on the belief that it constituted unnecessary government spending.<sup>1064</sup> Quite notably, however, his views on foreign aid spending have evolved by virtue of his work on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Last year, he said, “Understand I’m one of the guys who came up here to get rid of foreign aid. But after four years, I’ve become learned in this area.”<sup>1065</sup> Drawing on his professional experience as a veterinarian, he explained that “Being a veterinarian, you analyze a patient [for] a sickness or an illness. We practice preventive medicine way more than we did the treatment of an illness. What I see up here so many times is we’re treating symptoms of an underlying problem. Being a veterinarian, we have to do the diagnostics, take our lab readings, make a diagnosis and treat the patient. One of the options is [to] euthanize the patient, which would be to cut foreign aid off. . . . I came up here with the attitude, I’m going to do whatever I can to get us out of foreign aid. But then it was a short study when you start diagnosing the problem. If we pull out of a country and another country goes in there, that is not favorable to the U.S. We’ve just

made our situation worse, and our goal is to help these countries become self-sufficient on their own and wean them off of foreign aid so they’re sovereign nations that are strong allies of America. That to me is an easy sell, because you can’t argue with the results that we’ve had.”<sup>1066</sup>

Representative Yoho is now emphatic in his belief that foreign aid spending must not be cut, but rather reformed. In solidifying his commitment to the issue, he became co-chair of the Congressional Caucus on Effective Foreign Assistance along with Representative Adam Smith (D-WA) in 2016.<sup>1067</sup> In 2016, he co-sponsored the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act, which requires government agencies to “closely monitor and evaluate all foreign aid programs based on their outcomes and improve transparency by publicly sharing the data about what’s working and what’s not.”<sup>1068</sup> In 2016, he said, “When foreign assistance has a clear mission, buy-in from the aid-recipient country, and explicit metrics for implementation, the United States will be able to transition aid-recipient nations into strong trading partners.” It was hardly surprising, then, when Representative Yoho came out in favor of the Global Food Security Act of 2016. In explaining his support for the bill, he stated that the GFSA “will establish monitoring and reporting requirements that will enable Congress to assess the full scope of U.S. investments in international food security. . . . [The bill would also establish] clear goals and objectives that align international food security and disaster assistance with broader U.S. national security, economic, and humanitarian interests.”<sup>1069</sup>



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Through a Feed the Future project in Kenya, smallholder farmers, particularly women, are introduced to high-value crops such as orange flesh sweet potatoes that can both boost household food security and increase incomes. Orange flesh sweet potatoes are also an excellent source of Vitamin A, which is essential to a nutritious, balanced diet.



2016. On July 6, the GFSA passed by a 369–53 margin.<sup>1072</sup> The major difference between the House and Senate bill was that the Senate version included funding for the Emergency Food Security Program, which uses International Disaster Assistance funding to buy emergency food aid locally, instead of shipping U.S. food over on U.S. ships. The House Agriculture Committee originally opposed this provision as it excluded U.S. farmers from assisting with food aid distribution.<sup>1073</sup> In a statement during the House floor vote, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Royce explained, “S. 1252 maintains all of the provisions the House previously approved while filling a critical gap. By adding International Disaster Assistance and the Emergency Food Security Program,

S. 1252 brings the bill full circle and enables Congress to conduct effective oversight of the full range of international food security programs: from disaster, to resilience, to development, to trade. At the same time, it adds even more transparency requirements so we can eliminate duplication and waste.”<sup>1074</sup> In total, 186 Republicans and 183 Democrats voted in favor of the bill, while 53 Republicans voted against it.<sup>1075</sup>

Conservatives and liberals were persuaded by the humanitarian, economic, and national security arguments advanced by the bill’s proponents and, as a whole-of-government initiative, Feed the Future built a broad coalition of supporters. Support from nonprofit organizations, such as InterAction,

and the domestic agricultural industry, from Cargill to General Mills and Land O’Lakes, added momentum to GFSA.<sup>1076</sup> The Feed the Future program’s Innovation Labs, which are USAID-funded collaborations with U.S. universities, served as another persuasive rationale to support the program.<sup>1077</sup>

Feed the Future’s altruistic rationale was also persuasive to some members. Senator Casey, a Democrat from the agriculture-heavy state of Pennsylvania, often referenced his Catholic faith when describing his support and has referenced the Beatitudes as justification for U.S. aid.<sup>1078</sup> In an October 2015 speech on the need for the United States to play a greater role in addressing malnutrition linked with childhood stunting, Representative Chris Smith hailed “interventions in the lives of so many people in Africa, particularly in the first 1,000 days of life, are not only cost-effective but morally imperative.”<sup>1079</sup>

For some aid skeptics, the program’s orientation toward developing self-sufficient, sustainable agricultural sectors in willing partner nations and the legislative opportunity to add positive reforms to the existing program helped combat any application of the traditional “handout” narrative of foreign aid to the bill. Speaking on the House floor in April 2016, Representative Yoho praised the GFSA as “an important step in getting back to regular order and properly authorizing a program—which has essentially been on autopilot for the last 7 years—before funds are appropriated,” adding that “I think it is time to change our paradigm of giving aid to foreign governments and move from aid to trade. That way, we wean off the structure we have done in the past.”<sup>1080</sup> According to Ranking Member Engel, “I am reminded of the proverb, ‘If you give a man a fish, you feed him for a day. If you teach a man to fish, you feed him for the rest of his life.’ That is the aim of our food assistance efforts. We want to help populations to feed themselves. We want to get at the root causes of poverty and malnutrition. We want to help build strong, sustainable communities that contribute to stability and prosperity in their countries, across regions, and around the world. We need to invest in the initiatives that have made a difference.”<sup>1081</sup>



Alleviating food insecurity, which can contribute to state fragility, instability, and attendant national security threats for the United States, was also a compelling argument for some members. Senator Johnny Isakson (R-GA), a co-sponsor of the 2016 Senate bill, emphasized the geopolitical argument in favor of the bill: “This initiative is morally right and economically smart. Plus, it helps our national security. This legislation will make a real, direct impact in the lives of children, mothers and families around the world. Chronic hunger and malnutrition are serious problems that have a much larger and lasting effects on nations’ economies, the world, and therefore U.S. national security.”<sup>1082</sup>

Among members concerned about the potential impact GFSA might have on food aid program more broadly, the bill’s final version reflected an acceptable compromise. In a statement about the passage of the bill, Chairman Conway stated that “the agricultural community is proud to have long played a crucial role in the effort to alleviate hunger and enhance food security across the globe. I am pleased that the Global Food Security Act reflects and capitalizes on that commitment without overhauling time-tested food aid programs that provide U.S. commodities for emergency feeding and development projects worldwide.” However, he cautions that he has “reservations about the Emergency Food Security Program (EFSP),” but that he is “mindful of the need to keep ‘a variety of tools in the toolbox’ in order to effectively combat global hunger. With EFSP funding now roughly equal to that of emergency aid under Food for Peace, private voluntary organizations should have the



flexibility they so desire to complement existing in-kind assistance programs.”<sup>1083</sup> House Foreign Affairs Chairman Royce highlighted the role of the U.S. agriculture in helping to create a more secure world: “While the world may be changing rapidly, one thing will never change: the American farmer will always play a significant role in promoting food security at home and abroad. U.S. agricultural commodities will always be in demand and will always remain a part of the Food for Peace program.”<sup>1084</sup>

Some members were supportive of the bill’s flexibility in ensuring food aid is delivered to countries in need. In supporting the inclusion of authorization for the USAID Emergency Food Security Program, Senator Corker highlighted the importance of “flexibility in emergency food aid is critical for ensuring we are able to respond in emergency situations like Syria, where U.S. commodities simply cannot reach.” Senator Chris Coons (D-DE) believed the bill solidified the United States’ role as a world leader in food security: “This bill also sends an important signal about the need to increase flexibility in how we deliver food aid. . . . The passage of this act into law will ensure that the United States remains a leader in improving food security and promoting long-term nutrition for communities in developing countries.”<sup>1085</sup> Senator Bob Casey (D-PA), a co-sponsor of the bill,



emphasized that “I’ve worked on this legislation for years because it helps the world’s most vulnerable and enhances American security by promoting stability in parts of the world experiencing challenges.” He was effusive about the bipartisan support he received from members across the aisle, such as Senator Johnny Isakson.

President Obama signed the Global Food Security Act into law on July 20, 2016.

## C. Conclusion.

Foreign aid is often portrayed as a divisive foreign policy issue. In practice, as demonstrated by the recent bipartisan success of the Electrify Africa Act and Global Food Security Act, enhancing the effectiveness of development and humanitarian aid can enjoy broad bipartisan support. There are relatively few members that oppose aid in



general, and while there are also few members that devote substantial legislative bandwidth to foreign assistance, the vast majority of members can often be persuaded to back foreign aid in support of well-defined goals. The strong bipartisan opposition to the Trump administration's effort to dramatically reduce foreign aid in the FY2018 budget evinces the legislative power that supporters can muster.<sup>1086</sup>

Although the research found bipartisan support for foreign aid across the periods studied, the political dynamics surrounding the debate over U.S. aid to Egypt differed significantly from the other two cases given the unique strategic situation. After the takeover of the Egyptian government by the nation's armed forces in 2013, U.S. congressional reaction did not neatly follow partisan lines: many Democrats vociferously criticized the Obama administration's response, while some Republicans defended the administration's approach to the crisis. Virtually all members supported a post-coup democratic transition in Egypt, but legislators disagreed over the appropriate policy course of action to encourage it. Some members prioritized the maintenance of the long-standing U.S.-Egyptian strategic relationship over human rights concerns. Others argued for the principle of enforcing existing law and that aid should be immediately cut off. Initially, most members were hesitant to come out forcefully against the military-led government, given displeasure over the prior government's policies and Muslim Brotherhood makeup and a desire to maintain the bilateral U.S.-Egyptian security relationship. In the face of escalating human rights abuses, however, members of Congress increasingly placed pressure on the administration to condition aid to Egypt to signal U.S. concerns and commitment to democratic values. Although humanitarian concerns drove much of the

congressional reaction in 2013, it is notable that in the face of the national security threat posed by ISIS the security argument eventually won out and aid to Egypt was restored to traditional levels.

The Electrify Africa Act and Global Food Security Act were each passed with broad bipartisan support. These two cases demonstrate that successful legislative approaches to aid can be found by avoiding politicization and crafting arguments specifically tailored to diverse member groups. Since few members see great political benefit in supporting foreign aid, support for these pieces of legislations relied instead on appealing to a coalition of members motivated by national security, economic, and humanitarian concerns. Moreover, proponents harnessed the advocacy efforts of nonprofits, religious institutions, and the private sector, which played critical roles in building the legislative coalitions but also minimizing the taxpayer-borne costs for Electrify Africa and the GFSA.

Both the Power Africa and Feed the Future federal programs had also developed accomplished track records that fostered a constituency for the programs on Capitol Hill. In both instances, the executive branch incurred risk by establishing the initiatives without legislative mandate, gambling (correctly) that it could demonstrate program viability. Close congressional consultation ensured the programs' appropriations were sustainable and attuned to views of key aid advocates in Congress, whom often had championed the issues before the administration had acted. When legislation was later crafted, it could build upon the existing programs, codifying them, improving congressional oversight and thereby establishing shared executive-legislative ownership. In the absence of a regular Department of State reauthorization bill, Congress lacks the impetus for regularly addressing foreign aid authorities. Given Congress's limited bandwidth to tackle foreign aid issues, this approach—building upon select existing executive-initiated programs—may be an enduring model for eliciting congressional action in this space. For the executive branch, this approach suggests crafting a legislative strategy around first persuading appropriators to support key aid programs before expanding the tent to regular foreign aid advocates and the foreign affairs/relations committees.

# **Appendix E: Advisory Board Members.**

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**Michael Allen**

Managing Director, Beacon Global Strategies

**Brian Diffell**

President, WTG Global

**Talia Dubovi**

Associate Vice President and Director of Open Dialogue Initiative, CSIS

**James W. Dyer**

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**Mieke Eoyang**

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**Tressa Guenov**

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**Lester Munson**

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**Tommy Ross**

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**Stephanie Sanok Kostro**

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School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University

**Kim Wincup**

Senior Adviser, International Security Program, CSIS

*Excluded from this list are advisory board members who prefer to keep their participation anonymous.*

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