

CHAPTER 10

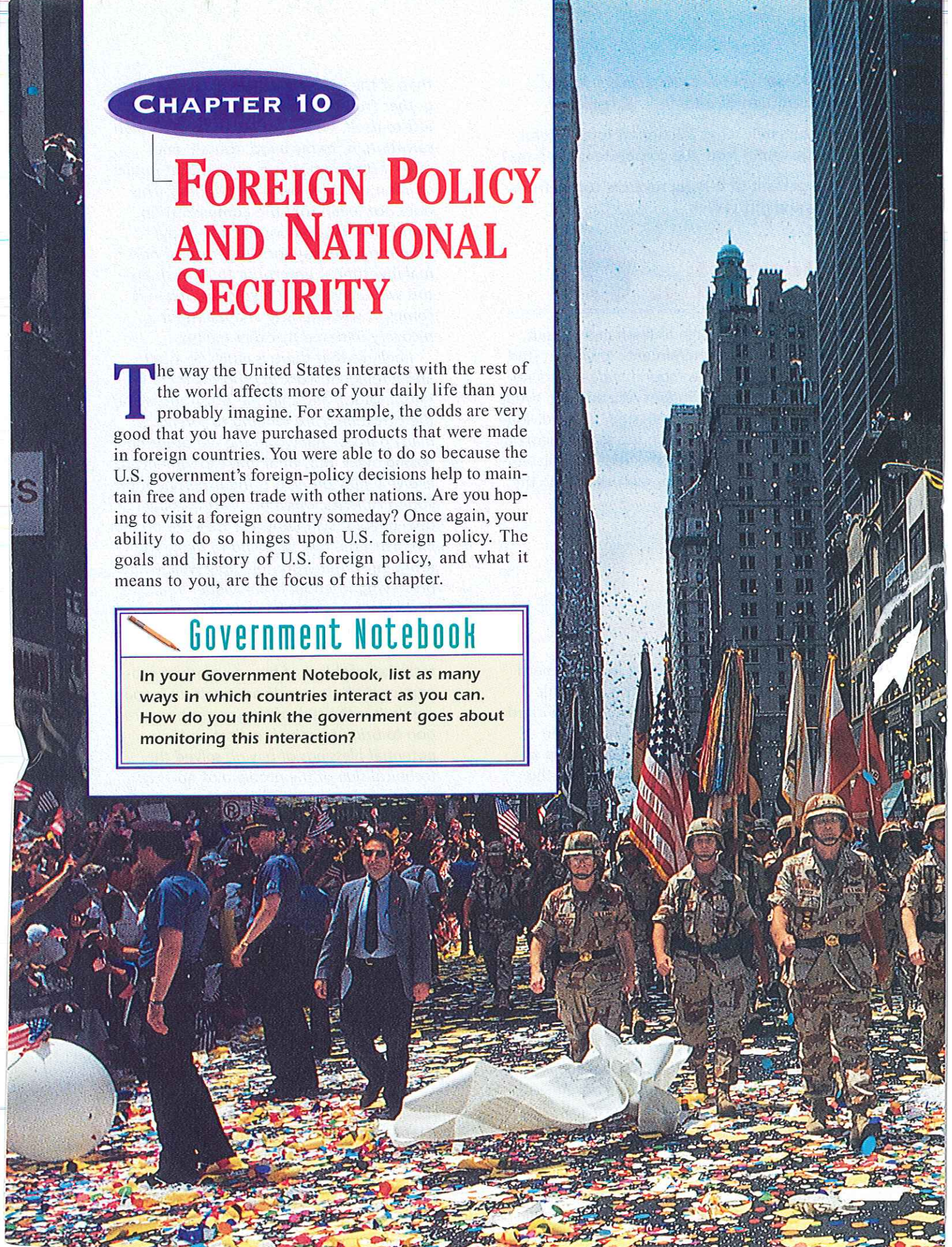
FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The way the United States interacts with the rest of the world affects more of your daily life than you probably imagine. For example, the odds are very good that you have purchased products that were made in foreign countries. You were able to do so because the U.S. government's foreign-policy decisions help to maintain free and open trade with other nations. Are you hoping to visit a foreign country someday? Once again, your ability to do so hinges upon U.S. foreign policy. The goals and history of U.S. foreign policy, and what it means to you, are the focus of this chapter.



Government Notebook

In your Government Notebook, list as many ways in which countries interact as you can. How do you think the government goes about monitoring this interaction?



SECTION 1

GOALS AND PRINCIPLES OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Political Dictionary



national security
trade embargo
isolationist
realism
internationalist
neoisolationist
idealism

Objectives

- ★ What are the goals of U.S. foreign policy?
- ★ What principles have historically guided U.S. foreign policy?

The United States currently recognizes and maintains relations with more than 180 countries throughout the world. The government determines its interactions with these nations through its foreign-policy decisions. As noted in Chapter 7, a nation's foreign policy is its plan for shaping economic, diplomatic, military, and political relationships with other countries. Historically, several basic goals and principles have guided U.S. foreign-policy decisions.

Foreign-Policy Goals

As you will learn later in this chapter, the actual policies for maintaining foreign relations have changed dramatically throughout U.S. history. The fundamental goals of U.S. foreign policy, however, have remained somewhat constant. These goals include maintaining national security, supporting democracy, promoting world peace, and providing aid to people in need. In addition, since the mid-1930s establishing free and open trade has become another consistent goal of U.S.

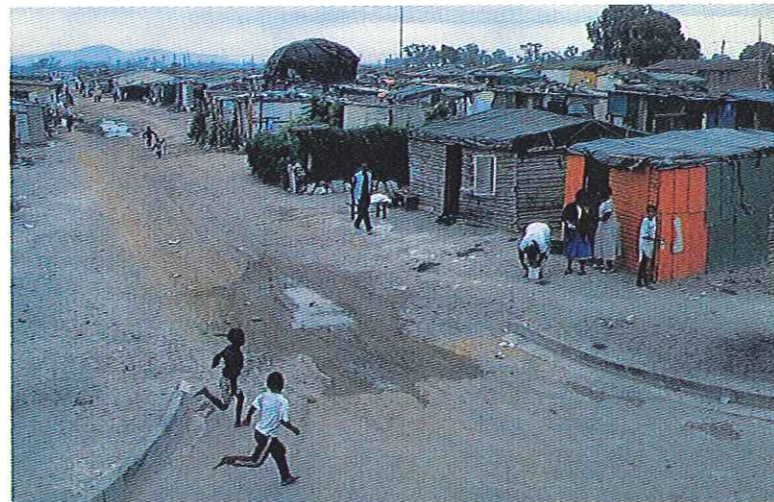
foreign policy, as the United States trades goods and services with many of the world's nations.

Maintaining National Security The most important goal of U.S. foreign policy is to preserve **national security**—that is, to protect the rights, freedoms, and property of the United States and its people. The United States must consider national security foremost when dealing with foreign countries.

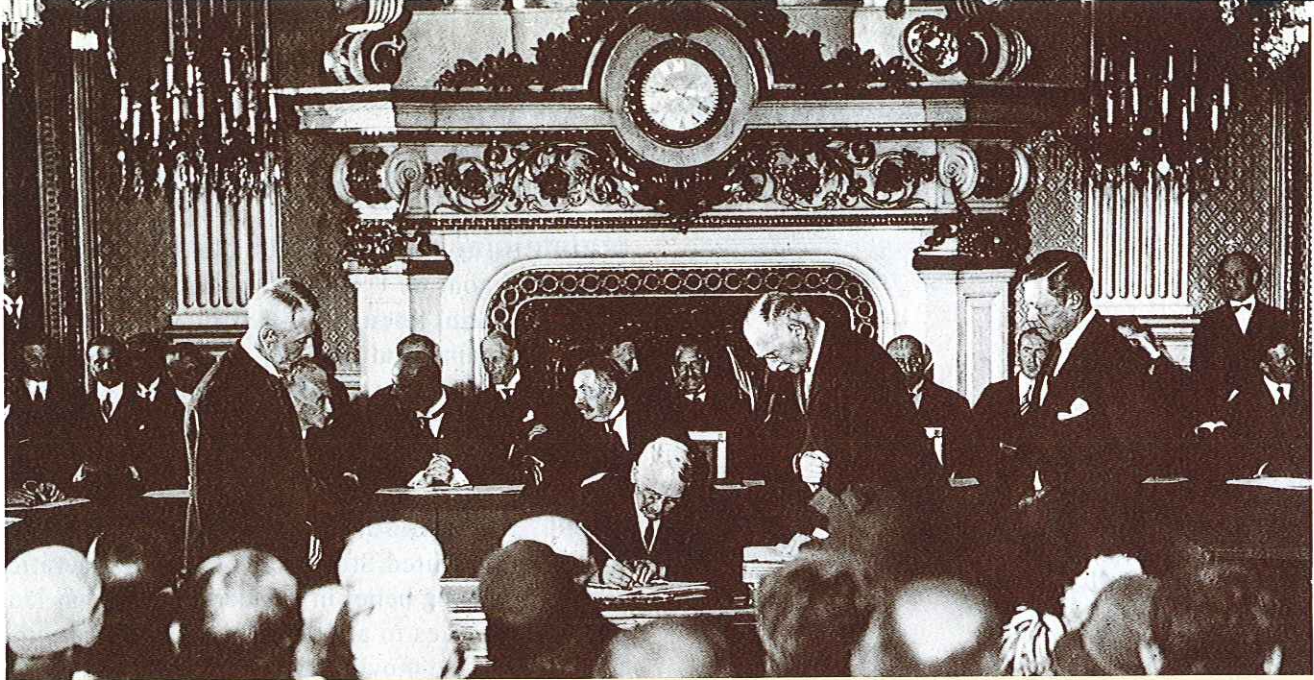
Supporting Democracy As you know, since its creation the United States has been a democratic country. A strong belief in democracy often has led the United States to aid other democratic nations as well as those moving toward democracy.

Promoting World Peace U.S. foreign policy also is based on the goal of promoting and maintaining world peace. The more nations are at peace, the less likely the United States will be drawn into an existing conflict. To advance this goal, the United States sometimes becomes actively involved in resolving disputes between other countries.

Providing Aid to People in Need As a world leader, the United States often has assumed the responsibility of providing humanitarian and other relief to foreign countries. This aid might come in the form of money, food, or military assistance.



WORLD AFFAIRS *The United States often becomes involved in promoting peace in troubled areas of the world, such as South Africa. Why is ensuring that other nations are at peace important to U.S. foreign-policy goals?*



WORLD AFFAIRS In 1928 U.S. secretary of state Frank Kellogg signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. All countries entering into this agreement officially renounced war as a foreign-policy tool. Why do you think that many countries signed this pact?

In 1992, for example, the United States sent soldiers to Somalia. Many people in the East African nation were suffering from starvation as a result of famine. Much of the food sent there by international relief organizations was being stolen at the direction of various warlords. U.S. troops were sent to help the food reach famine victims and break the power of the warlords. This type of humanitarian support not only provides aid to people in need but also aims to help maintain social and political stability in foreign countries.

Establishing Free and Open Trade The United States trades goods and services with most of the world. Thus, one of the main concerns of U.S. foreign policy is establishing and maintaining strong global economic ties. The nation's leaders have attempted to do so through free-trade policies—the exchange of goods and services across national borders without restrictions, such as high tariffs.

Free trade's greatest economic benefits include increasing the size of the market to which domestic businesses can sell their goods and giving U.S. consumers a chance to buy goods from around the world. Politically, trade can also be a powerful tool. For example, from 1985 to 1991, the U.S. government used a **trade embargo**—a stoppage of commerce and trade—against South Africa to pressure that nation to end its practice of apartheid, or racially motivated political and economic segregation designed to ensure white minority rule.

Principles of Foreign Policy

The question of which basic principles should guide the formation of U.S. foreign policy has been controversial throughout the nation's history. In making foreign policy, two basic questions must be answered:

- ★ How active should the United States be in world affairs?
- ★ What guidelines should be used to evaluate U.S. activities abroad?

These questions have been answered in different ways at various points in U.S. history. In general, the United States has followed four basic approaches to foreign policy: isolationism, realism, neoisolationism, and idealism.

Isolationism The **isolationist** doctrine reflects the view that a nation should tend to its domestic affairs rather than to international affairs. Supporters of isolationism believe that

- ★ the United States has many domestic problems, and U.S. policy makers should focus on those exclusively;
- ★ most countries think primarily about their own interests, so the United States should too;
- ★ being in a militarily defensible location, the United States does not need to become involved in other nations' affairs; and

- ★ staying out of other countries' affairs will keep the United States out of war.

Isolationism was the main philosophy behind U.S. foreign policy during many periods of U.S. history, particularly during the 1800s and the 20 years between World War I and World War II. Since World War II, isolationism has had very little support among foreign-policy scholars or policy makers in Washington, as it became less practical in the post-World War II world.

Realism Some of the most serious criticisms of isolationism have come from backers of **realism**, probably the most dominant U.S. foreign-policy doctrine since World War II. Realists and isolationists both believe that U.S. foreign policy should be evaluated by how well it promotes U.S. national interests. However, realists strongly disagree that the U.S. national interest is best promoted by isolationism. Instead, they argue for an **internationalist** approach—the taking of an active role in international affairs—to promote U.S. interests. Realists believe that this approach should include military intervention when necessary.

Realists believe that isolationism ignores the reality of world affairs. They say that many countries are dangerous and are ruled by aggressive leaders trying to dominate other countries. In addition, realists say that because no world government exists to resolve international disputes satisfactorily, a nation's only tool for stopping an aggressive country is action—alone or in alliance with like-minded nations.

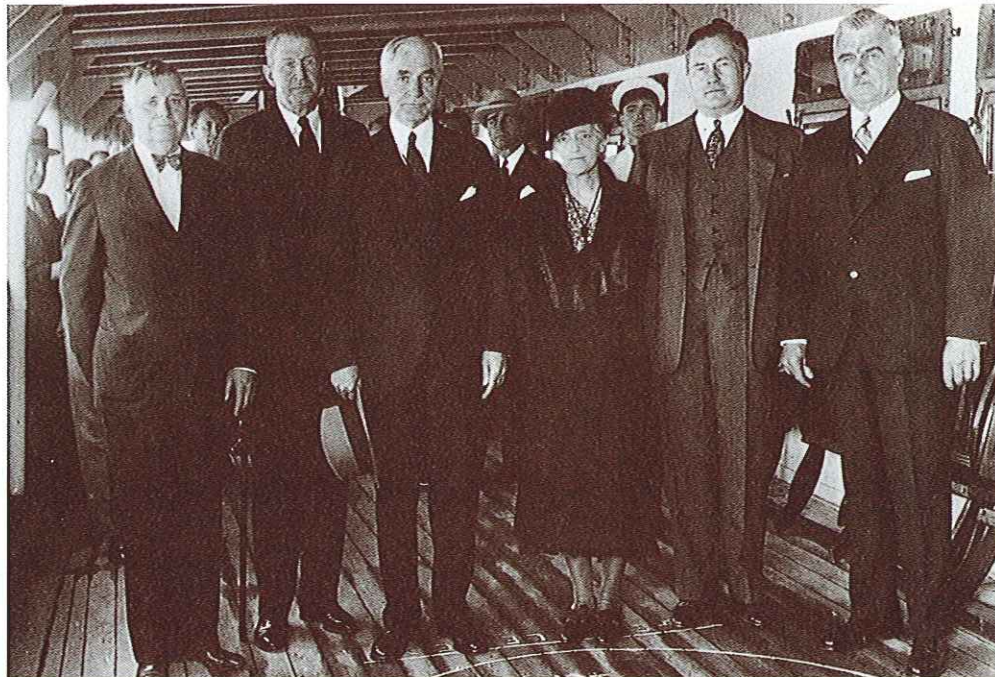
Thus, realists conclude that by avoiding participation in world affairs, the United States could become a victim of another nation's aggression. They argue that the United States must be strong and prepared for war, thereby achieving peace by scaring off aggressors.

Finally, some realists argue that the United States must

sometimes use force simply to show that it is militarily strong. A refusal to act in a certain situation might cause potential aggressors to believe that the United States is unable to defend itself. At the same time, realists hold that for the most part the United States should not use force unless vital national interests—such as national security or opportunities to trade with other countries—are at stake.

In the view of realists, vital interests matter more than similar belief systems when it comes to choosing alliances with other nations. The United States's primary goal should be to gain allies that are militarily strong and strategically located and that can help in preventing the expansion of hostile countries. According to this view, the United States should not hesitate to ally itself with countries whose values may differ from U.S. values or to oppose countries, if necessary, whose values it shares. For this reason, realism is sometimes called power politics or *realpolitik*, which means “realist politics.”

Neoisolationism People who adhere to the **neoisolationist** doctrine think that the United



WORLD AFFAIRS Secretary of State Cordell Hull (third from left) led the U.S. delegation to the 1933 Pan American Conference in Uruguay. At the conference, U.S. leaders declared that the United States would not intervene in South American politics. Why do some people argue that the United States should stay out of other countries' affairs?

States should keep its foreign involvement to a minimum, not only for the good of the United States but also because such involvement is likely to be bad for other nations in whose affairs the United States would intervene. The prefix *neo*, or new, serves to distinguish this doctrine from traditional isolationism, which focuses only on the interests of the United States.

In support of their view, neoisolationists cite several U.S.-backed governments in the 1960s and 1970s, saying that they did not have popular support. Even when the motives behind the support were good, neoisolationists argue, it failed to help most people in those countries. Neoisolationists believe that the United States should not interfere in other countries' internal affairs—a principle called noninterference. They argue that even people being kept down by oppressors should be left to attempt to overthrow their rulers without outside help. They warn that the people of a small country may resent a strong foreign government's intervening in their affairs, even if it is acting against the domestic oppressor.

Finally, neoisolationists believe that it is ethically necessary to avoid war. In their view, to engage in involvement in another nation's affairs

not only violates the rights of that nation's people but also may lead to war.

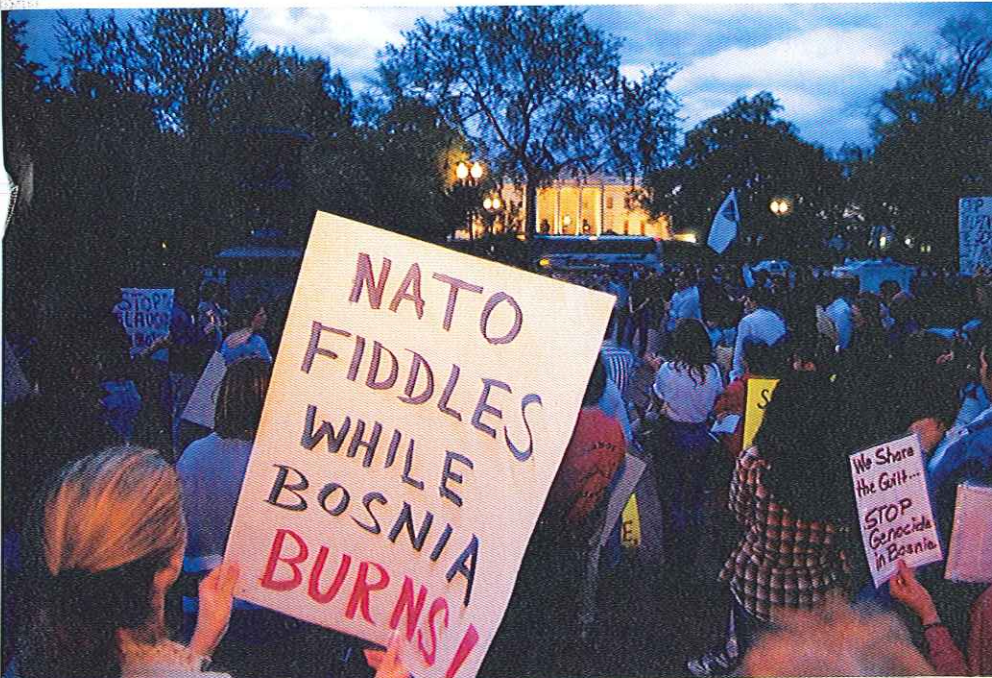
Idealism Supporters of the doctrine of **idealism** argue for an internationalist foreign policy, but unlike realists, their internationalist motivations are based on what is good for other countries as well as for the United States. They believe that decision makers should take into account the interests and rights of people both inside and outside the United States. Idealists oppose injustice and tyranny around the world and believe that the U.S. government should support democratic values everywhere. Although to a lesser extent than realism, idealism has heavily influenced U.S. foreign policy. For example, the United States has acted many times to put a stop to violations of human rights, as in Haiti in 1994.

Idealists tend to work for international cooperation as well as for economic and humanitarian assistance to less-fortunate foreign countries. They also support efforts to promote friendship and cooperation across borders, particularly among nations sharing democratic values.

Like neoisolationists, but unlike realists, idealists believe that supporting tyrannical governments is wrong—even when doing so might protect the nation's vital interests. Idealists argue that support for tyrannical governments in a world where many people strongly believe in humanitarian ideals is likely to both make enemies abroad and reduce support for an active foreign policy within the United States.

Finally, idealists believe that U.S. foreign policy should protect American ideals. In particular, the actions of the United States should be associated with defense of human rights.

Some idealists are less inclined to support the use of force than are realists, instead preferring nonmilitary international action, such as economic boycotts or the withholding of economic aid from nations with tyrannical governments. Other idealists support U.S.



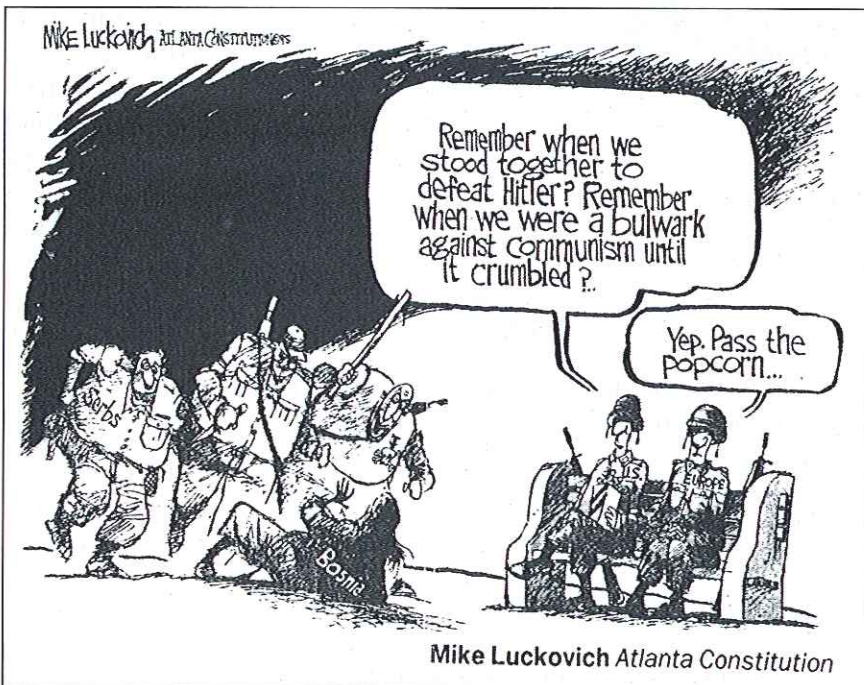
PUBLIC GOOD Protesters march in front of the White House with signs criticizing U.S. government inaction in Bosnia. Why do idealists believe that foreign-policy makers should take into account the interests of people both inside and outside of the United States?

military action in foreign countries, perhaps even more readily than realists, because they are willing to use force to stop injustice and not just to protect vital national interests.

During the 1990s the United States was involved in Somalia, Bosnia, and Haiti. All of these countries were of little military or economic importance to the United States but their people were suffering. Isolationists, neoisolationists, and most realists opposed the U.S. actions there, but idealists supported them.

U.S. Foreign Policy and the Public Good

Although there are plenty of exceptions, Republicans today are generally either realists or isolationists, while Democrats generally are either neoisolationists or idealists. Each of these foreign-policy principles has a limited scope, so the public good is often best promoted by making trade-offs among them. Idealism tends to focus on ethics in U.S. foreign policy, but it could be argued that it would be foolish not to support a strategically located foreign government—even if its values were not the same as Americans' values—if this would stop a worse aggressor from taking



WORLD AFFAIRS The cartoon above portrays the United States and Europe as uninterested bystanders rather than as a bulwark, or strong protection, against the abuse of people's rights in other countries. Why do you think U.S. involvement in Bosnia was opposed by isolationists, neoisolationists, and most realists?

over other nations. Such an argument would, however, violate strict idealist principles.

Similarly, isolationists and neoisolationists stress the cost and horror of war, but many people believe that the United States could pay a heavy price for allowing others to dominate the world. On the other hand, some foreign-policy analysts suggest that force should be used only when it would serve a vital national interest *and* a moral cause.

SECTION 1

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: national security, trade embargo, isolationist, realism, internationalist, neoisolationist, idealism.
2. List and explain the primary goals of U.S. foreign policy.
3. Explain the principles that drive foreign policy. Which principle has the greatest influence in the present-day United States?

4. Thinking and Writing Critically

Do you think that it is important for the United States to consider a combination of approaches when making its foreign policy? Why or why not?

5. Applying **WORLD AFFAIRS**

Why do you think people disagree over the principles of foreign policy? Do you think they also disagree over its goals? Explain your answer.

SECTION 2

MAKING FOREIGN POLICY

Political Dictionary



presidential doctrine	consul
summit conference	Foreign Service
embassy	passport
consulate	visa
ambassador	

Objectives

- ★ Why does the executive branch have greater influence over foreign policy than does any other branch of government?
- ★ How does the U.S. Department of State affect foreign policy?
- ★ How is the U.S. Department of Defense organized?
- ★ What are the roles of the Central Intelligence Agency and Congress in making foreign policy?

The executive branch generally takes the most influential role in foreign-policy decision making. The main figures within the executive branch that have influential foreign-policy roles are the president, the Departments of State and Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency. In addition, the National Security Council plays an important role in coordinating activities that involve national security.

Role of the President

The president generally is considered the nation's most influential foreign-policy decision maker. This influence comes from several sources.

Influence Through General Acceptance

Much of the president's control over foreign policy comes from the general acceptance that presidential influence in this area is appropriate. That is, both the people of the United States and the U.S. Congress generally have accepted that the president should assume the leading role in matters of foreign policy. This has happened for various reasons.

As noted in Chapter 7, the primary reason that the people and Congress have allowed the president to assume this authority is that dealing with foreign governments and international crises often requires decisiveness and speed. A president can respond more quickly than can a large body such as Congress.

Even when urgency is not an issue, Congress generally has accepted greater presidential influence over foreign policy. For example, of the five declarations of war in U.S. history, two (War of 1812, Spanish-American War) were initiated by Congress. The others (Mexican War, World War I, World War II) were initially requested by the president. As the country's top nationally elected official, the president is typically regarded as the most appropriate national spokesperson in foreign affairs.

Presidents also have asserted their leadership in foreign policy by issuing foreign-policy statements. These **presidential doctrines** do not pass



WORLD AFFAIRS President Clinton met with foreign leaders during the 1993 Pacific Rim Summit in Seattle, Washington. Why has the president assumed the leading role in matters regarding foreign policy?

through the legislative process and are intended to set the direction of foreign policy. Such doctrines do not have the force of law, so specific steps to carry them out must be taken through legislation or budgetary appropriations. Presidential doctrines do set a strong guideline for future decisions, however. Similarly, presidents may hold **summit conferences**—meetings between the heads of state of two or more nations. The statements made or understandings reached at these meetings do not have the force of law but strongly influence public debate.

Influence As Commander in Chief As commander in chief, the president can make important foreign-policy decisions. In this capacity, presidents also can undertake military action in times of crisis without seeking congressional approval.

Presidents have used this power not only in ordering short-term military strikes but also in committing military forces to serve in what have been called undeclared wars. Undeclared wars, such as the Korean War and the Vietnam War, are longer military actions that are undertaken without an official congressional declaration of war. In addition, the United States has engaged in more than 100 limited military actions.

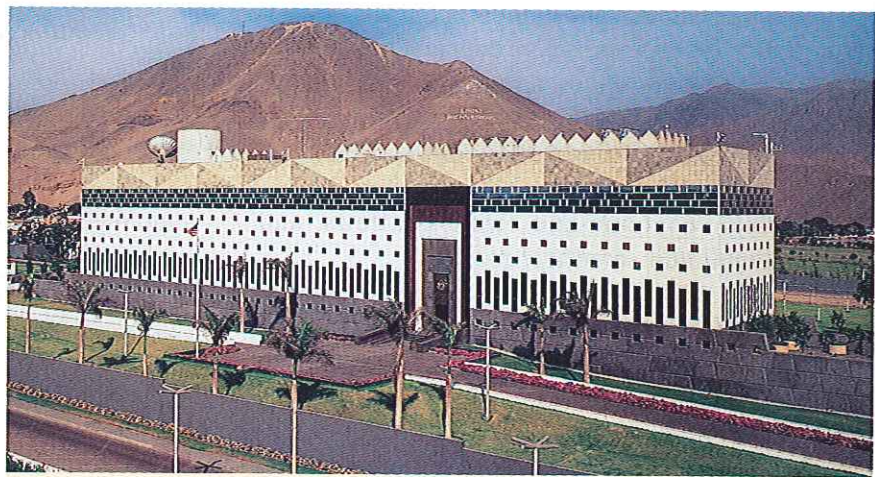
Influence Through Executive Agreements As noted in Chapter 7, presidents also can negotiate executive agreements—formal understandings with foreign governments. These agreements do not require ratification by the Senate. Generally, such agreements have been minor, often involving implementation details on already signed treaties. There have, however, been significant exceptions. Twentieth-Century examples include President Franklin Roosevelt's trading 50 aging destroyers to British prime minister Winston Churchill for 50 air bases in British territory in the Western Hemisphere in 1940, before U.S. entry into World War II. Another example is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—trade agreements among most of the world's nations—which began in 1947.

Role of the U.S. Department of State

The U.S. Constitution gives the president the authority, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, appoint diplomatic officials, and receive foreign delegates. To help the president execute these duties, Congress established the U.S. Department of State in 1789. The head of the State Department, the secretary of state, is the highest-ranking member of the cabinet and fourth in line for presidential succession.

The mission of the State Department is to promote good relations between the United States and other countries. The State Department generally opposes the use of force to solve serious conflicts, preferring to make every possible effort at diplomacy. The department is responsible for maintaining diplomatic relations with approximately 180 countries throughout the world. Included in its duties are establishing and maintaining **embassies**, or diplomatic centers, and **consulates**, which deal with U.S. commercial interests. The department also issues passports and visas.

Organization and Structure The State Department is organized into bureaus dealing with U.S. relations with specific regions of the world (Europe and Canada, East Asia and the Pacific, the Middle East and South Asia, Africa, and Latin America) and bureaus dealing with foreign-policy issues including human rights, drug trafficking,



WORLD AFFAIRS This building of unusual design is the U.S. embassy in Lima, Peru. Why does the United States maintain embassies in other countries?

Careers in Government



Foreign-Service Officer

In her long career in the Foreign Service, Ruth Davis—the principal deputy assistant for consular affairs and a former U.S. ambassador to the African nation of Benin—has met with major international figures and seen the world. Not only has she chatted with King Juan Carlos of Spain and dined with opera singer Luciano Pavarotti, she also traveled to Tokyo to help make the final bid for holding the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia. Foreign-service officers (FSOs) like Davis get an insider's look at other governments and cultures while helping to shape and carry out U.S. foreign policy.

Applicants to the foreign service must pass a series of difficult tests to become officers. The written portion of the foreign-service examination tests the applicant's knowledge of U.S. and world history, government, economics, and English grammar. An all-day oral exam, a thorough background check, and a medical examination also are required.

Though a college education is not mandatory, most FSOs have a bachelor's degree, and more than half have earned advanced degrees. College courses in economics, history, government, geography, literature, business, environmental studies, and foreign languages are recommended for potential officers.

Those accepted into the Foreign Service go through orientation and months of training, including language courses, before their first two- to four-year tour overseas. To advance in the service,

officers must work at a consulate or embassy and show fluency in at least one foreign language. Officers later choose to specialize in administrative, consular, economic, or political areas. FSOs usually alternate tours of duty overseas with short-term assignments in Washington, D.C.

Once overseas, the main duties of FSOs include collecting data, writing reports, and meeting with key officials. Embassy staffers develop and maintain close contacts with government officials, educators, the media, and business and community leaders in their host countries. These contacts help the officers collect reliable information and gain cultural insights inaccessible to most other Americans.



Officers in the Foreign Service go through extensive training to gain the skills necessary to be diplomatic representatives of the United States.

international economic and business affairs, and environmental and scientific matters.

Maintaining Embassies and Consulates One main duty of the State Department is to organize and maintain offices abroad. The United States maintains an embassy in about 160 foreign countries. An **ambassador** is the chief diplomatic official at each embassy. He or she acts as a personal representative of the U.S. president. Ambassadors usually are appointed based on their foreign-service records. In many cases, however, they are political

appointees, receiving their posts as a reward for supporting the president or a particular political party.

The embassy staffs assist the ambassadors in executing their duties. These duties include keeping the United States informed of events in, and explaining U.S. laws and policies to, the host country, as well as transmitting official communications and negotiating diplomatic agreements between the two countries.

To protect U.S. commercial interests in foreign countries, the United States maintains consulates in many of the world's major commercial centers.

Each consulate is headed by a **consul**, who also is appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. Consuls' primary goals are to promote U.S. trade and commerce and assist American citizens with travel-related matters or other problems. They also and issue immigration and tourist visas to travelers to the United States.

The State Department maintains a staff of nearly 25,000 employees. Of those, more than 15,000 work at U.S. embassies and consulates around the world. The men and women of the State Department who serve abroad form what is called the **Foreign Service**.

Issuing Passports and Visas A **passport** is a formal document issued by a government to one of its citizens for travel to other countries. The State Department is responsible for issuing passports to U.S. citizens. No citizen may legally leave the United States—except for trips to Mexico, Canada, and some other nearby nations—without a passport. A passport entitles a person to all of the privileges established by international laws and treaties.

The State Department also issues **visas**—seals that are placed on foreign passports and that entitle their holder to enter the United States. The U.S. government requires that all visitors to the United States obtain a visa. Most countries of Western Europe, however, require only a passport.

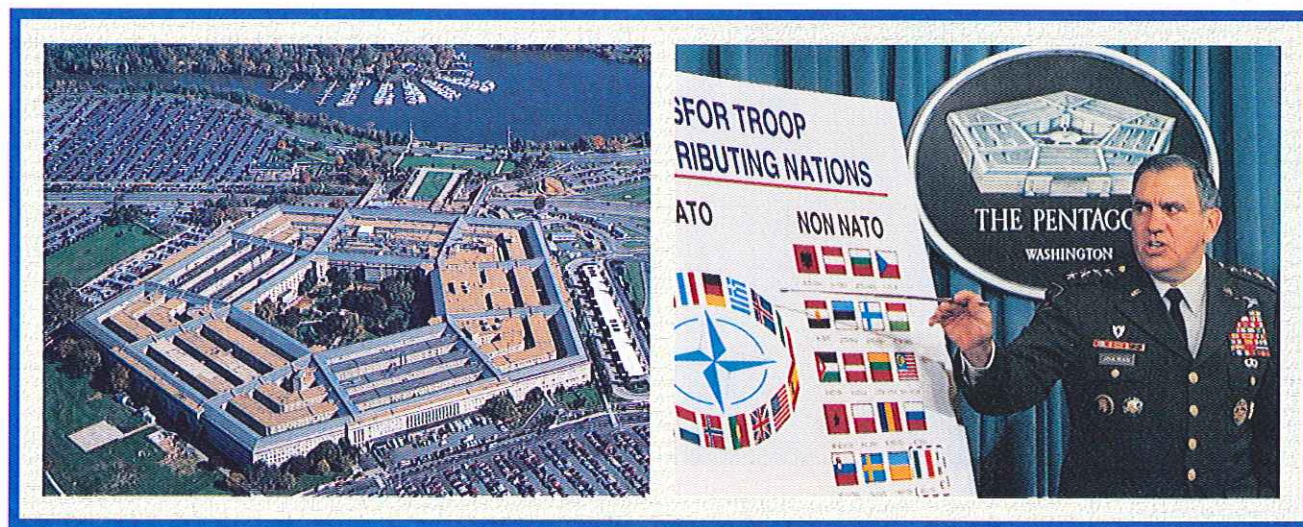
Role of the U.S. Department of Defense

The State Department supervises all of the diplomatic activities of the United States. The supervision of U.S. military activities, however, is handled by the Department of Defense.

To maintain the U.S. military, Congress established the War Department as one of the three original executive departments during George Washington's first term as president. In 1797 the Navy Department was established, and national defense functions were divided between the War Department and the Navy Department until the 1940s. The National Security Act amendments of 1949 placed all branches of the armed forces under the authority of one government office, called the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD). The DOD is headed by a secretary of defense, with individual secretaries supervising the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Organization of the DOD The DOD is a huge establishment with global responsibilities. Its headquarters are in the Pentagon, a massive building that covers around 34 acres outside of Washington, D.C. It employs more than 800,000 civilians and more than 1.4 million members of the armed forces.

The DOD is not only larger than any other department, but it also must follow the strictest



POLITICAL PROCESSES *The Pentagon, one of the world's largest buildings, is located in Arlington, Virginia. It contains the offices of thousands of civilian and military personnel. Which cabinet department's headquarters are located in the Pentagon?*

guidelines. This is because the framers of the Constitution were well aware of the dangers that could result from a military state. That is, if the military were to take control of the government, the ideals of democracy might be jeopardized. To prevent the nation's military from interfering with free government, the framers determined that the military would be under civilian control.

As you know, the Constitution states that the president is the commander in chief of all U.S. armed forces. The secretary of defense, the deputy secretary, and the secretaries of the three armed services are all civilians, as are most of their staff. Thus, the military is at all times subject to civilian authority.

Joint Chiefs of Staff Although the DOD is headed by civilian leaders, recommendations about military actions come from military advisers. The most influential military advisers in the United States are the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The president, the vice president, and the secretaries of defense and state seek consultation on military matters from this group on a regular basis.

The group includes only five people: the chair, the Army chief of staff, the chief of naval operations, the Air Force chief of staff, and the Marine

Corps commandant, who is present only when Marine Corps matters are at issue. The chair is selected by the president and serves as the nation's top military officer.

Role of the Central Intelligence Agency

Foreign-policy decisions are sometimes made with the aid of information gathered by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which Congress created by the National Security Act of 1947. Congress's goal was to create a single organization responsible for providing the president with foreign intelligence—information about the activities of other governments. Broadly speaking, the CIA, which is an independent government agency within the executive branch, undertakes three kinds of activities: gathering information related to national security, analyzing that information, and briefing the president and the National Security Council (NSC) on its findings. In addition, the CIA sometimes engages in covert, or secret, operations. Covert operations are efforts to promote U.S. foreign-policy goals through sometimes unconventional means, such as by supporting political parties or rebel factions in other countries. Covert actions are controversial and are often supported by realists but opposed by idealists and neoisolationists.

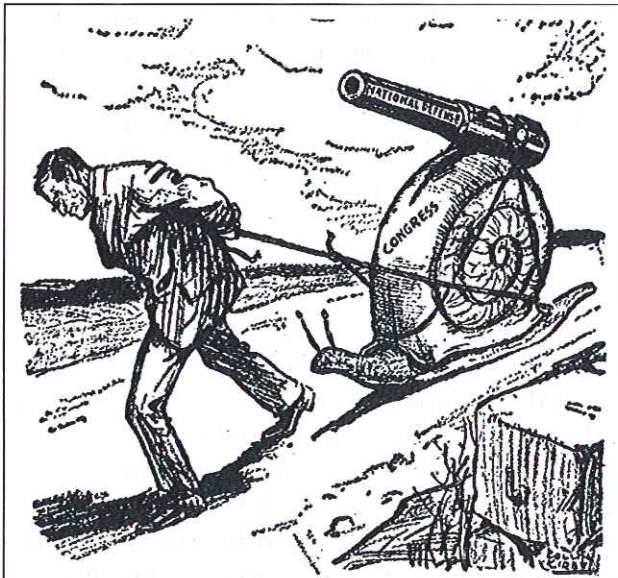
One major task of the CIA is to predict for policy makers how foreign governments will behave and what their defense capabilities are. For example, the CIA might attempt to predict whether Russia's government will remain stable and friendly, or to determine if North Korea has nuclear weapons. To analyze these situations, the CIA uses both open sources (including foreign newspapers and consultations with academic experts) and secret intelligence operations.

National Security Council

As noted in Chapter 8, the National Security Council (NSC) was set up in 1947 to improve coordination among the government departments that deal with national security issues—in particular the CIA and the Departments of State and Defense. A national security adviser, who is appointed by the president, heads the NSC staff, which is part of the Executive Office of the President.



PUBLIC GOOD *The Joint Chiefs of Staff, shown here in 1996, frequently consult with the president and other executive officials on military matters. Why is the Department of Defense not headed by a military leader?*



WILSON PULLS LAGGARD CONGRESS INTO PREPAREDNESS
Kirby in the New York World, 1916

POLITICAL PROCESSES In 1917 President Woodrow Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany. The cartoon above illustrates the reluctance of Congress to organize for and declare war. How has Congress's power to declare war been undercut in the past?

Role of Congress

As you have read, the executive branch assumes the greatest responsibility for foreign policy. The Constitution, however, grants crucial foreign-policy powers to Congress. These powers include the power to declare war, appropriate money for national defense, and ratify treaties.

Declaring War The U.S. Constitution balances the president's power as commander in chief with Congress's power "to declare war," "to raise and support armies," and "to provide and maintain a navy." However, as noted, the United States has had two major undeclared wars and more than 100 limited military engagements that were not declared by Congress. Thus, Congress's constitutional power to declare war has in many ways been undercut.

Appropriating Money Congress's greatest source of influence in foreign-policy making lies in its constitutional authority to appropriate government funds. Congress has the final authority over the funding of government services—including national defense. Likewise, Congress is responsible for any appropriations related to financial aid to foreign countries.

Ratifying Treaties According to the Constitution, the president must seek the "advice and consent" of the Senate in making treaties with foreign countries. Although the president often negotiates treaties without the benefit of congressional advice, treaties only become official with Senate approval by at least a two-thirds vote.

Confirming Appointments The final constitutional foreign-policy power granted to Congress involves the confirmation of the president's diplomatic appointments. Article II of the Constitution states that presidential foreign-affairs appointments, such as those for consuls and ambassadors, must be approved by the Senate. This power is another check on the actions of the president.

SECTION 2

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: presidential doctrine, summit conference, embassy, consulate, ambassador, consul, Foreign Service, passport, visa.
2. What are the sources of the president's influence in the foreign-policy arena?
3. Why did Congress establish the U.S. Department of State? What role does this department play in foreign policy today?

4. Why is the U.S. Department of Defense headed by nonmilitary personnel?

5. Thinking and Writing Critically 

Why is the president—rather than a military officer—the commander in chief?

6. Applying POLITICAL PROCESSES



Conduct an Internet search on the Department of Defense. Outline the information you find.

SECTION 3

HISTORY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Political Dictionary



Monroe Doctrine
Truman Doctrine
containment
détente
glasnost
perestroika

Objectives

- ★ What principle shaped leaders' foreign-policy decisions in the early years of the United States?
- ★ What is containment?
- ★ What significance did the expansion of communism have on U.S. foreign policy?

As noted in Section 1, U.S. foreign policy historically has been based on four basic approaches—isolationism, realism, neoisolationism, and idealism. How the United States turns these principles into policy, however, has changed dramatically over the past 200 years, as has its role in the world.

Isolationist Policies

During the 1800s the United States was a minor participant in world affairs. Foreign policy during this period was based on neutrality in European wars, a principle that was formally established by President Washington in his Farewell Address in 1796.

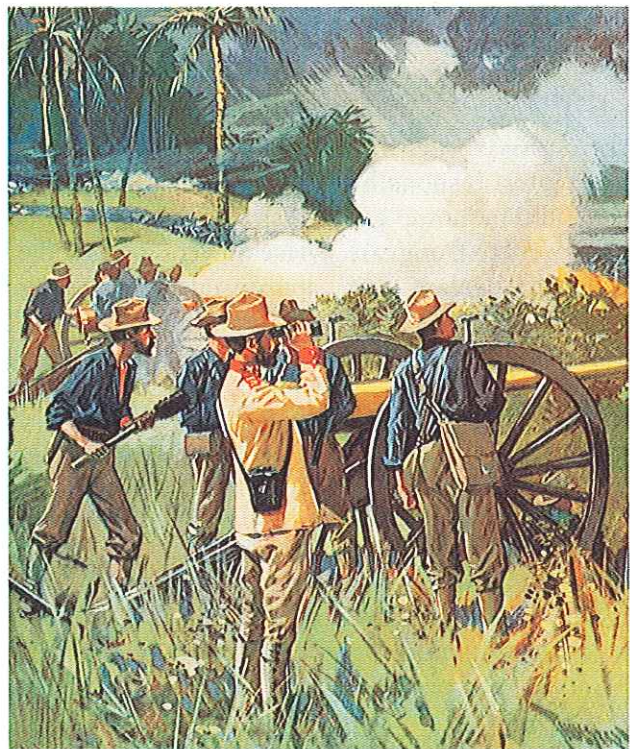
In 1823 the **Monroe Doctrine** turned this principle of neutrality into an official foreign-policy agenda. The doctrine also stated, however, that the United States would not tolerate European interference in the Americas:

“The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have

assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.”

Rise to World Power

By the late 1800s the United States had become one of the most important industrialized nations in the world. As companies produced increasing numbers of goods, the desire for global markets and international relationships became evident. The United States began pulling away from its isolationist policies and embracing the principles of internationalism. As the rest of the world became more important to the United States, Americans became interested in preserving stability in other nations. This shift to international involvement began with the Spanish-American War, which redefined the United State's role in the world.



POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS *The Spanish-American War, fought in the Philippines and Cuba, marked a turning point in foreign affairs. How did the Spanish-American War change U.S. foreign policy?*

Spanish-American War of 1898 Although it lasted a mere four months, the Spanish-American War of 1898 was a turning point in U.S. history. Cubans, discontented with Spanish rule, were in rebellion. Stories of Spain's brutal treatment of Cuban civilians, together with the sinking of the *Maine*—a U.S. ship that had been based in Cuba to protect U.S. interests—led the United States to declare war on Spain in April 1898. U.S. involvement in the war reflected both idealist principles—American sympathy with the struggle for Cuban independence—and realist principles—growing support for U.S. expansion in other areas of the world.

The U.S. victory was decisive, winning independence for Cuba and possession of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines for the United States. Having gained control of overseas territories, the United States emerged from the war as a world power.

World War I After the Spanish-American War, the United States attempted to return to its isolationist policies in its dealings with Europe. The outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, however, threatened all U.S. foreign-policy goals, particularly that of promoting democracy. President Woodrow Wilson, an idealist, saw the European war as a struggle between the democracy of Britain and the monarchy of Germany. In his words, it was a war to make the world “safe for democracy.” He argued that a peace settlement should be followed by the creation of a League of Nations, an international organization dedicated to stopping further aggression. President Wilson hoped that the establishment of the league would make World War I the last of its kind.

Leaders of America's European allies had a different idea. They used victory to claim territory and repayment from the defeated nations, rather than making the world democratic or ending war. The League of Nations was created, but the U.S. Senate rejected U.S. membership in it in an effort to return the country to an isolationist era. The United States then returned to practicing isolationist principles—at least until until December 1941.

World War II Realists and idealists supported U.S. involvement in World War II from the beginning. Germany and Japan were militarily aggressive and posed a possible threat to U.S. security. In addition, both nations had oppressive governments. Some

isolationists, however, remembering the brutality of World War I, denounced U.S. involvement. Attempting to respect these sentiments, President Franklin Roosevelt announced U.S. neutrality at the war's outbreak but in fact supported the Allied cause in many ways.

When Japanese planes attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, in the Hawaiian Islands, on December 7, 1941, President Roosevelt called for a declaration of war on Japan, and Congress issued it. The United States and the other Allies won the war in 1945. The war left Europe in ruins, while no fighting took place on the U.S. mainland, leaving the United States the most powerful nation in the world. This position was enhanced by the development of the atomic bomb by American scientists, giving the nation unmatched military technology.

Cold War

As noted in Section 1, one goal of U.S. foreign policy is to promote democracy. Another goal is national security, which may be jeopardized by powers opposing U.S. interests. At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union threatened the realization of these goals. As a result, U.S.-Soviet relations became so strained that one speechwriter coined the term *Cold War* to describe the hostility between the two nations.

Origins of the Cold War At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union, in part because it feared the emergence of a strong postwar Germany, used its troops to establish control over Eastern Europe and the eastern part of Germany. To consolidate their control, the Soviets set up governments based on communism—a political and economic philosophy that puts government in control over a nation's industries and farms, as well as over most aspects of citizens' lives. (The ideas of communism are more fully explained in Chapter 22.)

In March 1947 President Harry Truman issued a “declaration” of the Cold War. In a speech that set forth what came to be known as the **Truman Doctrine**, Truman announced a basic U.S. foreign-policy strategy that would remain in place for the next 40 years—**containment**. Containment reflected idealist and realist principles and was based on the view that communism threatened democratic values and that Soviet expansion must be stopped.

Major Events of the Cold War

1947	• President Truman issues a declaration known as the Truman Doctrine, establishing containment as the primary goal of U.S. foreign policy.
1949	• The Soviet Union takes complete control of Eastern Europe. • The Soviet Union explodes an atomic bomb. • Chinese Communists led by Mao Zedong win control of China.
1950	• The Korean War begins when North Korea invades South Korea.
1959	• Rebels led by Fidel Castro gain control of Cuba and seek help from the Soviet Union.
1961–73	• U.S. troops fight in the Vietnam War in an effort to support the noncommunist South Vietnamese government.
1962	• The Soviet Union secretly installs nuclear weapons in Cuba.
1972	• Nixon becomes the first U.S. president to visit China. • Nixon and Brezhnev negotiate the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) agreement.
1987	• Mikhail Gorbachev initiates a series of reforms known as glasnost and perestroika.
1989	• East Germany announces it will dismantle the Berlin Wall.

Many critical events occurred during the period of hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union known as the Cold War. Why was the United States involved in military conflicts in several foreign countries during the Cold War?

The primary goal of containment was to keep the Soviet Union from setting up communist governments outside of Eastern Europe. Containment was based on the theory that if Soviet expansion could be stopped, communism might eventually collapse.

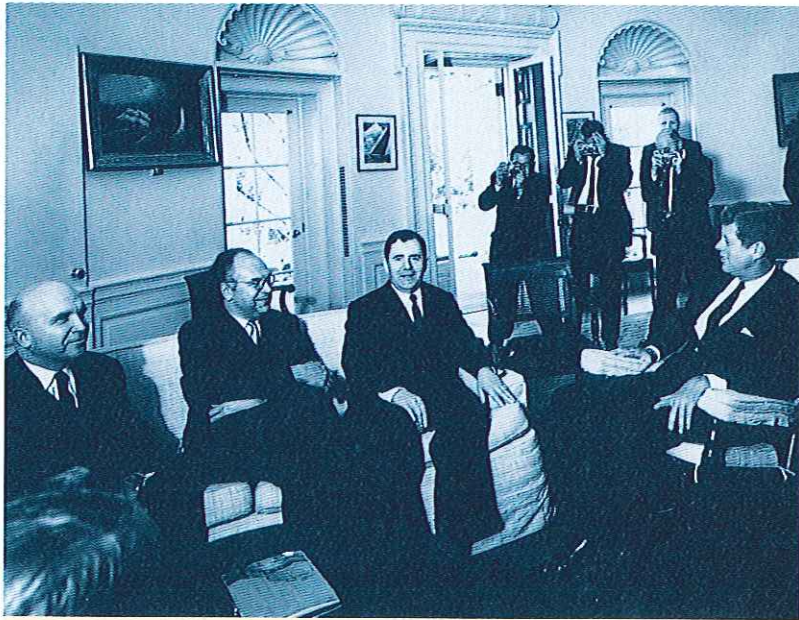
By 1949 the Soviet Union had taken complete control of Eastern Europe. Previously, U.S. leaders had taken some comfort in knowing that the United States was the only nation possessing nuclear weapons. This feeling of security was not to last, however. In September, 1949 President Truman announced that the Soviet Union had exploded an atomic bomb. The two most powerful nations in the world had now joined a destructive atomic arms race that would eventually lead to fears of global nuclear war. Preventing such a war became the primary concern of foreign-policy makers.

In addition, the focus of the Cold War had expanded to areas outside of Europe. In 1949, Communists led by Mao Zedong seized control of China. Communist governments in North Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam soon threatened U.S. containment efforts as well.

Korean War After World War II, Korea, a country on a peninsula adjacent to China, had been

divided into two parts: a communist north and a noncommunist south. In 1950 North Korea invaded South Korea in an attempt to bring the south under communist rule. In response, troops from the United States and other nations were sent by the United Nations to help defend South Korea. Within a few months these troops had not only repelled the attack but moved into North Korea. Communist China, however, became worried by the approach of U.S. troops near its border and sent its own soldiers. The bloody war continued for three years, with neither side gaining a lasting advantage. On July 27, 1953, an armistice was finally signed; actual peace terms, however, have never been negotiated.

Cuban Missile Crisis The event that came closest to sparking a nuclear confrontation during the Cold War took place in Cuba. By the late 1950s many Cubans resented the United States, which had dominated their island-nation for decades. In 1959 Cuba's pro-American dictator was overthrown by a group of rebels led by Fidel Castro, who appealed to Cubans' widespread anti-Americanism. Opposed by the United States, Castro turned to the Soviet Union for help.



WORLD AFFAIRS *President John F. Kennedy met with Russian leaders in October 1963. At the time of this meeting, the Soviets had already placed nuclear weapons in Cuba. What actions did President Kennedy take when he found out about the weapons?*

In 1962 the Soviet Union began secretly installing nuclear weapons in Cuba. When this operation was discovered, President John F. Kennedy announced a naval blockade to stop ships carrying missiles to Cuba. If the Soviet Union were able to install nuclear weapons in Cuba, it could easily threaten the United States with nuclear destruction. For the first time, a direct confrontation occurred between nuclear-armed powers. Six tense days after Kennedy announced the blockade, the Soviets agreed to withdraw the missiles. The incident was known as the Cuban missile crisis.

C A S E S T U D Y

U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Cuba

WORLD AFFAIRS The United States played a dominant role in Cuban affairs until Fidel Castro gained power in 1959. These close ties originated with U.S. support of Cuba during the Spanish-American War of 1898. After the war, U.S. soldiers stayed in Cuba for three years.

The United States continued to be involved in the island's affairs. By the 1950s Americans owned most of Cuba's mines and cattle ranches and controlled

half of its sugar production. The United States bought much of Cuba's sugar, and Cubans purchased American-made manufactured goods. Cuba's thriving gambling casinos and resorts attracted American vacationers.

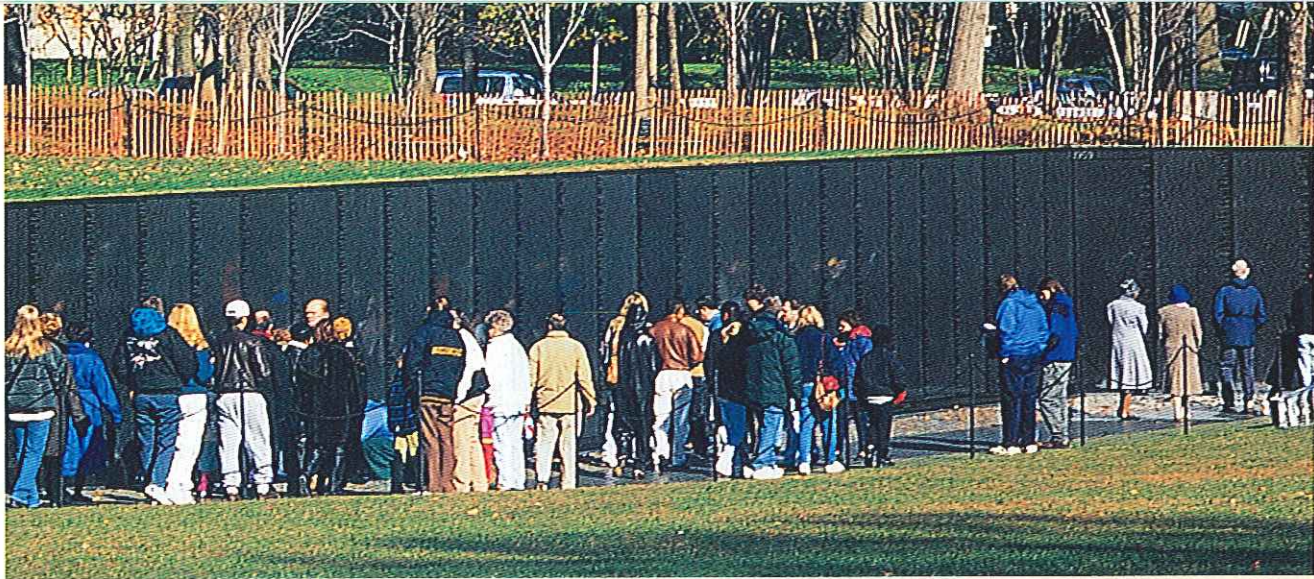
The 1950s marked a crucial point in U.S.-Cuban relations. Soon after Cuban army leader Fulgencio Batista (fool-hayn-syoh bah-TEE-stah) took control of the government by force in 1952, the United States granted his government formal diplomatic recognition. U.S. business leaders supported the dictator, who prevented a rebellion in March 1952 from disrupting business operations.

Fidel Castro's 1959 revolution led to strained relations between the United States and Cuba. Castro's com-

munist government took over American-owned land and businesses, and the two countries soon broke off diplomatic relations. In 1961 the United States organized a group of Cuban exiles to invade Cuba and remove Castro from office. The invasion, known as the Bay of Pigs, was an embarrassing failure for the United States.

In the decades after the invasion and the missile crisis, the United States continued efforts to weaken Castro's government through an economic blockade. American officials also persuaded other nations to suspend trade with the island. In March 1996, U.S. trade restrictions were strengthened when President Clinton signed into law the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, known as the Helms-Burton Act; it has not been enforced, however. Despite U.S. opposition, Castro has held power for close to 40 years and poses a continuing challenge to U.S. diplomacy.

Vietnam War The Cold War left many scars on the United States. None, however, are more visible



CITIZENSHIP *The Vietnam War Memorial honors the men and women who served in the military during the Vietnam War. How did the Vietnam War and the continual fear of communist expansion influence U.S. foreign policy?*

than those left by the Vietnam War. U.S. troops fought in Vietnam from 1961 to 1973—making it the longest war in U.S. history.

In the years that followed World War II, a nationalist movement arose in Vietnam, then a colony of France. The Vietnamese nationalists, made up primarily of communist forces, fought the French and won their independence. In the truce agreement that followed, Vietnam was divided, creating the communist North and the noncommunist South.

In 1959 the Communists helped begin a rebellion in South Vietnam. President Dwight Eisenhower responded by providing military and economic assistance to the anticommunist government. This assistance increased under President John Kennedy's administration. In 1965 President Lyndon Johnson further escalated U.S. involvement in the conflict by committing large numbers of combat troops to support the government of South Vietnam and by ordering the bombing of North Vietnam.

In 1969, in response to mounting public opposition to the conflict, President Richard Nixon began scaling back the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam. Nixon tried to win the war through increased bombing against North Vietnam and by mining and blockading North Vietnamese ports. U.S. troops left Vietnam in 1973, and in 1975 the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese government surrendered. By that time more than 58,000 Americans had been killed or were missing in action, and many who returned home suffered tremendous emotional, physical, and psychological scars from the war.

Détente The horrors of Vietnam and the continual fear of further communist expansion dominated U.S. thinking about foreign policy for more than a decade. President Nixon and his foreign-policy adviser Henry Kissinger took a realist approach. Believing that the war had weakened the United States, Kissinger wanted to decrease tensions with communist nations. The resulting policy was known as **détente**, a French word meaning “relaxation.” The policy was targeted at the Soviet Union but applied to China and other communist nations as well.

The key elements of this strategy were the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and Nixon's 1972 visit to China. His visit, the first by a U.S. president, was a dramatic event for two reasons. First, the United States had not established diplomatic relations with China's communist government since it had come to power in 1949. Second, the United States had spent two decades trying to isolate China from the rest of the world. The purpose of his visit, President Nixon said, was “to seek normalization of relations between the two countries.”

Later in 1972, Nixon met in Moscow with Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev. They signed the first SALT agreement. SALT was a treaty in which both sides agreed to limit the production of certain nuclear weapons. Despite the mutual agreements, however, the arms race dragged on and the Soviet Union continued its aggressive policies. Détente was followed by a return to containment and a massive military buildup during the 1980s.

The Collapse of Communism The late 1980s marked perhaps the most dramatic shift in global relations in modern history—the collapse of communism. Events leading up to this collapse began in the Soviet Union when new leaders tried unsuccessfully to modernize their nation’s decaying political and economic system through a series of political reforms.

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union improved dramatically after Mikhail Gorbachev became the general secretary of the Communist Party’s Central Committee in 1985 and the Soviet president in 1988. At that time, the Soviet Union had been suffering from economic and political problems for years. Gorbachev, believing that his country needed massive change, initiated a program of reforms in 1987 that expanded freedoms and reformed the political process. These programs called for greater openness (**glasnost**) and economic restructuring (**perestroika**). In 1989 Gorbachev decided not to block anticommunist movements in Eastern Europe. As a result, all the communist governments there collapsed within several months.

Perhaps the period’s most dramatic moment occurred on November 9, 1989, when East Germany declared that it would open its border with the West. This action led to the destruction of the most notorious symbol of the split between Eastern and Western Europe—the Berlin Wall. (The wall had been built in 1961 to separate communist East Berlin, the capital of East Germany, from democratic West Berlin, which was technically part of West Germany.) Armed police had patrolled the border between the halves of the city, as well as that between East and West Germany,



WORLD AFFAIRS *President Richard Nixon and China’s premier Zhou Enlai review troops of China’s Red Army during Nixon’s famous trip to China in 1972. What message did Nixon hope to send to Chinese leaders by visiting their country?*


for decades. After the dismantling of the wall, the two countries agreed to unify, re-forming the nation of Germany in October 1990.

In response to the dramatic turn of events, a group of Soviet generals and old-line Communists tried to overthrow Gorbachev in August 1991. The revolt collapsed after several days of a pro-Gorbachev strike led by Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, the largest republic in the Soviet Union. Within months, the Soviet Union had dissolved.

By the 1990s China and Vietnam, while retaining their communist political structure, were adopting market-oriented economic policies, and even Vietnam was seeking friendship with the United States. The only traditional communist countries left in the world were Cuba and North Korea.

SECTION 3

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: Monroe Doctrine, Truman Doctrine, containment, détente, glasnost, perestroika.
2. How did the Monroe Doctrine shape foreign policy? When did U.S. foreign-policy makers abandon the principle of isolationism?
3. What was the focus of the Truman Doctrine? How did the principles in the doctrine shape foreign policy for more than 40 years?
4. List the events that led to the end of the Cold War. Why did the Cold War end?
5. **Thinking and Writing Critically**  How do you think the development of nuclear weapons changed U.S. foreign policy?
6. **Applying WORLD AFFAIRS** Do you think nations should become involved in other nations’ affairs? Under what circumstances might this be necessary? Explain your answer.

Citizenship in



Action

Amnesty International's Power to Liberate

Since 1948 the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been the international standard for fair treatment of people. Many countries have incorporated the standards proclaimed in this document into their national laws. Although the declaration has prompted worldwide efforts to protect human rights, some countries continue to abuse these rights.

Amnesty International, an organization established in 1961, works to bring human rights abuses to light. Part of Amnesty International's efforts include massive letter-writing campaigns to pressure governments to end the abuse, torture, and unfair imprisonment of their citizens. In the process, Amnesty International volunteers have discovered that sometimes a simple letter can have the power to liberate.



Amnesty International volunteers in Boston, Massachusetts, decorate T-shirts as part of a project to inform the public of human rights abuses.

Amnesty International has about 200,000 members around the world, including more than 30,000 U.S. high school and college students. These students sponsor lectures, discussions, and even art exhibits to educate fellow students about human rights. In Minneapolis, Minnesota, for example, a group of middle and high school students studied poems, songs, and pictures illustrating the worldwide struggle for human rights. Then they created a large outdoor sculpture of four figures with interlocking arms and covered it with statements appealing for tolerance, respect, peace, and human rights.

College students in the organization have drawn on the many resources on their campuses to promote human rights. At Mary Baldwin College in Virginia, Kate Shunney knew that her fellow students had the energy and abilities to further Amnesty's mission.

During an orientation to educate students about the group's worldwide efforts, Shunney explained the letter-writing campaigns and told the stories of Asian refugees, exiled Soviet political objectors, and Holocaust survivors. Her speech attracted many new members to the local chapter of Amnesty International. In one year, the energetic group sent some 300 letters to political leaders around the globe, helping to free nearly a dozen prisoners.

These simple hand-written letters from students and other Amnesty members of all ages communicate several powerful messages. They not only draw attention to human rights abuses; they also show that people working together can make a difference in the lives of prisoners in seemingly hopeless conditions. The success of the letter campaigns shows that communication and education are a key to protecting human rights around the world.

What Do You Think?



1. Why do you think Amnesty International depends on thousands of volunteers around the world to promote its efforts to free people who are unfairly imprisoned?
2. In what ways are letter-writing campaigns an effective tool in fighting human rights abuses?



WORLD AFFAIRS *Workers in Haiti stack food sent by the United States as humanitarian aid. How does USAID help the United States achieve its foreign-policy goals?*

of state under President Harry Truman. The **Marshall Plan** was an economic assistance program that poured around \$13 billion into the 16 nations of Western Europe between 1948 and 1952. During this period these nations were suffering because of the financial burdens of World War II. The Marshall Plan restored them to economic health.

USAID Prior to the 1960s, foreign-aid programs were implemented individually. That is, no central institution existed for assessing the need for, and the possible benefits of, providing aid to foreign nations. Since 1961, however, the **U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)**, part of the State Department, has been responsible for implementing most U.S. foreign-aid programs. The agency works to help achieve U.S. foreign-policy goals in five principal areas—promoting economic growth, advancing democracy, delivering humanitarian support to victims of disasters, promoting public health, and protecting the environment.

Alliances and Pacts

In addition to providing aid to foreign countries, the United States pursues its foreign-policy goals by establishing alliances and pacts with foreign nations. **Defense alliances** are agreements in which nations pledge to come to each other's aid in case of attack. A primary goal of these

Comparing

Governments

Ranking the United States in Global Giving

In the early 1960s the United States was spending more than any other industrial nation on aid to developing countries. By 1995, however, the United States had cut these expenditures, falling to fourth place—behind Japan, France, and Germany—in the total amount of money spent on foreign aid. Moreover, the United States ranked last among the leading industrial nations in the amount of foreign aid it gave as a percentage of gross national product (GNP)—the total dollar value of all final goods and services produced during one year by the residents of a nation.

The size of the U.S. economy, however, allows the nation to contribute a much higher *amount* than most countries. Countries with relatively small economies—such as Portugal, Ireland, and New Zealand—cannot possibly contribute as much as the United States, even though they might give a more generous portion of their GNP. In 1994 the United States contributed .15 percent of its GNP to poor countries, compared to the .45 percent average among the rest of the world's 21 high-income countries.

The United States is not the only country to cut its foreign-aid expenditures. Many other industrialized countries, including Japan, Italy, and Germany, have been forced to reduce foreign aid because of severe budget restrictions. As the largest contributors of foreign aid tighten their belts, major recipients feel the loss.

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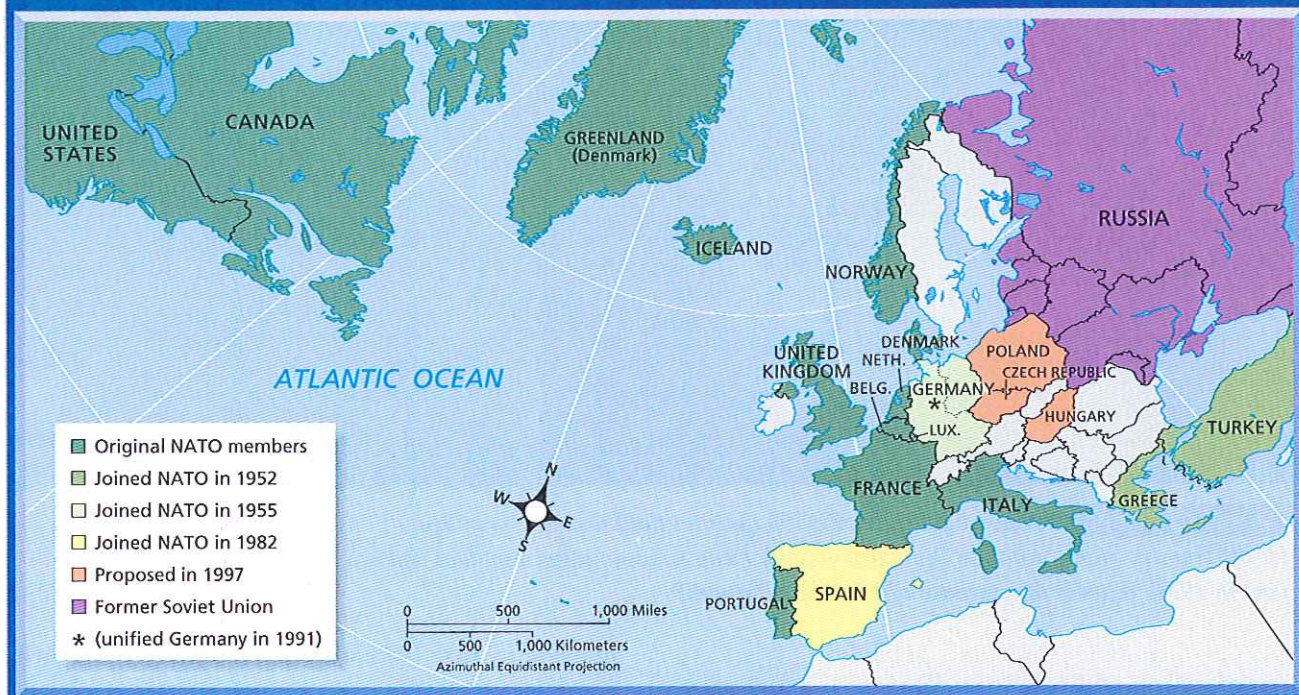
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Current Members of NATO



WORLD AFFAIRS *NATO was formed in 1949 when several countries signed a treaty to create a unified defense of Western Europe and North America. Which three countries joined NATO in 1997?*

alliances is **collective security**, the ensuring of peace through the guarantee of mutual defense. Treaties that the United States and other nations have signed to achieve this goal include the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Rio Pact, and the Organization of American States. In addition the United States is a member of the United Nations, a worldwide forum with more than 180 member countries, that was designed to resolve disputes and achieve other important international goals. (The United Nations is more fully explained in Chapter 23.)

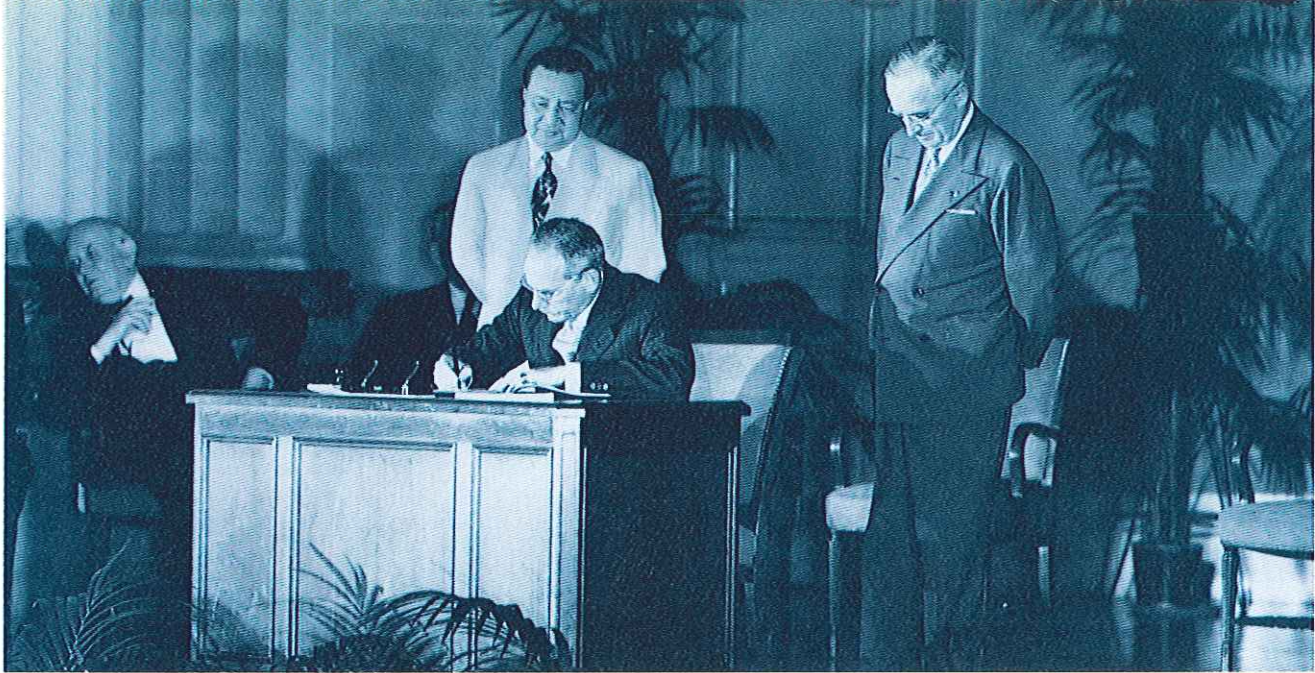
North Atlantic Treaty Organization In 1949, four years into the Cold War, the Western nations formed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO). NATO was only the second alliance that the United States had ever joined in peacetime. The goal of NATO was to create a unified defense of the North Atlantic area, composed of Western Europe and North America. All member countries agreed that “an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all.”

NATO is an example of a **multilateral**

treaty—an agreement signed by several countries. Today NATO includes the original 12 members—the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland—plus Greece and Turkey, which joined in 1952; Spain, which joined in 1982; and Germany, which joined in 1990 (replacing West Germany, which had joined in 1955).

For more than 40 years the focus of this alliance was mutual defense against Soviet aggression. In the post-Cold War era, however, NATO’s focus has shifted to expanding cooperation with new partners in Central and Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union. In July 1997 three Eastern European countries—Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary—were approved for membership in 1999 by the existing members.

Rio Pact The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1947, known as the Rio Pact, is a defense agreement signed by 22 republics in the Americas. The agreement states that “an armed attack by any State shall be considered as an attack against all American States.”



WORLD AFFAIRS Philippine president Elpidio Quirino (left) and U.S. president Harry Truman (right) watch as Secretary of State Dean Acheson signs a mutual defense pact in 1951. What is the purpose of bilateral alliances?

Organization of American States Like the Rio Pact, the Organization of American States (OAS) is a mutual agreement among the republics in the Americas. OAS, however, is concerned with resolving economic—rather than military—disputes. It also is responsible for implementing the Rio Pact's terms for safeguarding the Americas against attack.


Bilateral Treaties of Alliance The United States is an active partner in various **bilateral alliances**—security agreements between two nations. For example, the United States still

adheres to the 1951 U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty—which allows it to maintain land, sea, and air forces in Japan, in return for agreeing to protect Japan in a time of crisis. In addition, the bilateral alliance supports the foreign-policy goal of open and free trade. The United States also maintains bilateral treaties with the Philippines, signed in 1951 as well, and South Korea, approved in 1954.

Since the signing of these treaties, the issues that most affect U.S. foreign-policy decisions have changed dramatically, particularly with the end of the Cold War during the late 1980s and 1990s. Even so, these and other treaties remain vital to the realization of U.S. foreign-policy goals.

SECTION 4

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: foreign aid, Marshall Plan, U.S. Agency for International Development, defense alliance, collective security, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, multilateral treaty, bilateral alliance.
2. What are the benefits, both foreign and domestic, of providing foreign aid? Are there drawbacks, in your opinion?
3. With what countries does the United States maintain defense alliances?
4. Why does the United States maintain defense alliances during times of peace?
5. **Thinking and Writing Critically**  Do you agree with the U. S. policy of providing aid to less-developed countries? Explain your answer.
6. **Applying WORLD AFFAIRS**  Conduct an Internet search for information on USAID. Which countries are the largest recipients of its programs today?

SECTION 1

There are several fundamental goals of U.S. foreign policy. These include maintaining national security, supporting democracy, promoting world peace, providing aid to people in need, and establishing free and open trade.

U.S. foreign policy must answer the question of how active the United States should be in world affairs and determine which guidelines should be used to evaluate U.S. activities abroad. These questions have been answered differently at various points in U.S. history. The United States has generally followed one of four basic approaches to foreign policy: isolationism, realism, neoisolationism, or idealism. Republicans generally are either realists or isolationists, and Democrats generally are either neoisolationists or idealists. Each principle has a limited scope, so the public good is often best promoted by making trade-offs among them.

SECTION 2

The executive branch takes a more influential role in making foreign-policy decisions than does Congress. The main figures within the executive branch that have critical foreign-policy roles are the president, the U.S. Departments of State and Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency. The National Security Council also plays an important role in coordinating foreign policy.

The president is generally the most influential decision maker in U.S. foreign policy. This influence comes from three sources—the American people's and Congress's general acceptance of the president in this role; the presidential role as commander in chief, and executive agreements.

SECTION 3

Early U.S. foreign policy reflected isolationist sentiments. A shift to international involvement began with the Spanish-American War of 1898. The United States won a decisive victory in this war and emerged as a world power.

Afterward, U.S. leaders returned to an isolationist policy until World War I began. After the war, the country again tried to return to an isolationist policy, but the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 led to U.S. involvement in World War II.

After World War II the communist Soviet Union began expanding its control over Eastern Europe, threatening the U.S. goals of promoting democracy and of maintaining national security. Hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union came to be known as the Cold War.

The United States tried to stop communist expansion worldwide by following a policy of containment. The Korean War, the Cuban missile crisis, and the Vietnam War were results of U.S. attempts to stop communist expansion. Communism collapsed in the late 1980s, however, with the fall of communist governments in a number of Eastern European nations and eventually in the Soviet Union.

SECTION 4

The foreign policy of the United States has changed dramatically since the fall of communism. Promoting foreign-aid programs and maintaining defense alliances remain critical factors in foreign policy. Foreign aid began with the Lend-Lease program and continued with the Marshall Plan. Today, most foreign aid is administered by the U.S. Agency for International Development. The United States also is involved in several defense alliances and pacts, the most significant of which is NATO.

**Government Notebook**

Review the list that you made in your Government Notebook. After reading the chapter, do you find that there are ways in which countries interact that you did not consider? Record your answer in your Notebook.

REVIEW

REVIEWING CONCEPTS

1. What is a trade embargo? Why is trade a powerful political tool?
2. How has the use of presidential doctrines expanded the president's power in foreign-policy decision making?
3. What foreign-policy goals affect the United States's relationships with other countries?
4. In what way did the United States change its foreign-policy approach after the bombing of Pearl Harbor?
5. How did the Marshall Plan help ease the economic hardships of Western Europe after World War II?

THINKING AND WRITING CRITICALLY



1. **WORLD AFFAIRS** How do you think the horrors of the Vietnam War changed the way the public views the use of force as a tool for resolving international conflict?
2. **CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT** Considering that the CIA sometimes has used covert operations in the execution of its activities, do you think that there is potential for an abuse of power? Why or why not?
3. **POLITICAL PROCESSES** How have technological advances in communications and transportation helped shape foreign policy over the last 100 years? In what way have these advances changed how the public views the United States's relationships with other countries?
4. **PUBLIC GOOD** How do the U.S. government's efforts to build good relations with other countries promote the public good? Do you

think that technology has helped the United States build strong relationships with other countries? Why or why not?

CITIZENSHIP IN YOUR COMMUNITY



With a group, research foreign-aid organizations in the United States. What types of assistance or aid do they provide to other countries? What countries are the biggest recipients of this aid? How many community, state, and national volunteers work for each organization? Do these organizations need more volunteers, supplies, and monetary contributions? How can you and other students become involved in efforts to help people in other nations? You might want to create charts and graphs to present the information you collect to your class.

INDIVIDUAL PORTFOLIO PROJECT



Write a newspaper editorial expressing your views on which principle of foreign policy should most guide U.S. decision makers. Review the basic approaches to foreign policy outlined in Section 1 of this chapter. Then select one approach or a combination of approaches that you support. In your editorial, write a clear argument for why this approach best promotes U.S. national interests. You might want to include specific examples of successful foreign policies using the approach you selected.

PRACTICING SKILLS: LEARNING FROM VISUALS



Editorial cartoons have been used for hundreds of years to influence public opinion about economic,

political, and social issues. Two important techniques that cartoonists use to express their message are caricature—the creation of drawings that exaggerate or distort physical features—and symbolism—the use of an image to represent an idea, feeling, or object.

Using the following guidelines, study the editorial cartoon on page 221 to determine its significance and meaning. Then write a brief paragraph explaining your interpretation of the cartoon.

1. Identify the subject by reading the labels and speech balloons.
2. Identify the symbols and caricatures (for example, identify any representative figures characterized in the cartoon).
3. Determine what action is taking place. What is the significance of this action?
4. What overall message is the cartoonist trying to convey?

THE INTERNET: LEARNING ONLINE



Conduct an Internet search to find out more about the president's current foreign-policy goals. See if you can find information on recent summit conferences or official meetings between the president and other world leaders. You might start with search words such as *U.S. foreign policy*, *summit*, and *trade policy*. Create a fact sheet on one policy goal you research. In addition, list the Web sites you use to gather information about this policy goal.

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES



TRUMAN DOCTRINE

The Truman Doctrine, announced by President Harry Truman in 1947, set forth containment as the basic U.S. foreign-policy strategy. For the next 40 years the United States concentrated on stopping the spread of communism. Read the following excerpt, and answer the accompanying questions.

“One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of

conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion [pressure]. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations. . . .

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation. . . . I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression [persecution]. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression [limiting] of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [conquering] by armed minorities or by outside pressures. . . . I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.”

1. Do you think that the “primary objectives of foreign policy of the United States” are the same today as in 1947?
2. Do you think that it is important for the United States to help other countries avoid the second way of life described by President Truman?
3. What types of aid are essential to economic and political stability? Do you agree with President Truman's opinion that the United States should primarily use economic aid to help other countries? Explain your answer.

YOUR ASSIGNMENT

Writing Presidential Speeches

Imagine that you and your classmates are speechwriters for the president of the United States. The president's chief of staff has asked you to write a speech for a press conference about an upcoming foreign-trade summit with Prime Minister Kaya Nikano of Libertaria. The purpose of the summit is to negotiate an agreement that would reduce trade restrictions and establish a free-trade zone between the two countries. The president wants to use this press conference as a tool to gain public support for the summit and the trade agreement. He has already spent much time discussing the summit goals with his cabinet and other high-level advisers. To help you in writing the speech, the president's chief of staff has sent you a memo outlining the key elements to include and has provided copies of the summit agenda, policy recommendations from presidential advisers, and a letter from Prime Minister Nikano. You will find those documents on the following pages.

After you review the documents, answer the accompanying questions in your Government Notebook. Your group also may want to conduct some outside research to gather additional statistical or historical information on the factors that contribute to successful economic and trade agreements between the United States and other countries. Use this information to make comparisons between past foreign policies and one that could lead to strong trade relations with Libertaria.

After you have finished reviewing the documents, work with other group members to write a speech for the president to give at the press conference. In the speech, be sure to clearly state the purpose of the summit and the president's goals for the treaty negotiation. You may want to include some of the statistics that the president's advisers have provided. Discuss how the summit and impending agreement will improve the economic outlook for the United States by creating strong international trade relations. Consider having one group member read the speech to the rest of the class as part of a discussion on the president's role in the development of foreign and economic policy.



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
STAFF MEMORANDUM

To: Staff Speechwriters
 From: Chief of Staff

DK

The president will be attending a press conference on April 15 where he will be speaking to the press and the public about the upcoming free-trade summit with Prime Minister Kaya Nikano in Paris. This press conference is crucial for setting the tone for the summit. The speech must clearly establish the president's goals and agenda for the summit and show how accomplishing them will heighten domestic prosperity.

The broad goals of the Paris Free-Trade Summit are to

- open new markets,
- create a free-trade area, and
- improve the quality of life for the people of both countries.

The president's speech must emphasize that a free-trade treaty will enable the United States to increase its gross domestic product by

- expanding the export of domestic goods and services and
- creating more high-wage jobs.

Please carefully review the policy recommendations of Secretary of Commerce James Lin and U.S. Trade Representative Alice Brooks before preparing this speech. Both recommendations include statistics that clearly show the projected economic growth that would result from a free-trade treaty with Libertaria. Please examine the summit agenda for a more detailed description of the summit goals.

The speech should stress the importance of this treaty in the future growth and development of the U.S. economy. This speech will be an important tool of the president in generating broad public support for the free-trade agreement. Public support for the agreement may be key to gaining congressional approval. I appreciate your assistance and look forward to reading this speech.

Thank you



The President's Paris Free-Trade Summit Agenda

The focus of the Paris Free-Trade Summit agenda is to build on the good political and trade relations that already exist between Libertaria and the United States. We aim to seek a higher level of openness and cooperation and to address current trade restrictions maintained by both countries. We are committed to creating a trade agreement that is mutually supportive. In pursuit of these goals, we will construct a long-term plan for further negotiations and agreements. Priority at this summit will be given to

- promoting high-tech U.S. exports;
- supporting high-growth U.S. export industries, particularly those requiring highly skilled labor;
- eliminating barriers that adversely affect the creation of new jobs and the maintaining of existing—particularly high-wage and high-skill—jobs;
- opening markets for Libertarian exports; and
- creating an agenda for further trade negotiations with Libertaria over the next 10 years.



PUBLIC POLICY LAB



SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
James Lin

The goals of the free-trade summit must reflect the interdependence of the U.S. and Libertarian economies in a global market. The long-term economic prosperity of the United States will be significantly affected by the economic development and stability of the countries with whom we establish strong trade relations.

Identifying the major foreign consumers of U.S.-made goods is crucial to U.S. economic policy. The growth of the U.S. economy relies on increased consumption of U.S. exports. Consider the following statistics on Libertarian consumption of U.S.-made goods. For every dollar Libertaria spends on exports, 47 cents goes toward goods made in the United States. Libertaria maintains trade barriers that are approximately two times higher than ours, yet the United States sold almost \$100 billion worth of goods in Libertaria last year. If current trends in trade between the United States and Libertaria are maintained, by the year 2008 the United States will sell more to Libertaria than to Europe or Japan.

I strongly recommend that the president concentrate significant efforts on building strong trade relations with the major consumers of U.S.-made goods. This can only be done by negotiating mutually beneficial trade agreements with those countries, one of which is Libertaria. By working to ensure the economic growth and development of our trade partners, we secure our own country's future economic growth.

◀ WHAT DO YOU THINK?

- ★ What role do exports play in the growth of the U.S. economy?
- ★ How may a free-trade agreement affect the future consumption of U.S. exports?
- ★ Why is it particularly important for the health of the U.S. economy that the United States have good relations with Libertaria?

WHAT DO YOU THINK? ▶

- ★ Do you think that the public is concerned about how trade agreements will affect employment in the United States? Explain your answer.
- ★ Why does Alice Brooks think that opening new markets for high-tech goods is essential to the growth of the U.S. economy?
- ★ Why might foreign-policy specialists recommend a focus on the creation of more high-skill jobs?

★ U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Alice Brooks

Policy Recommendation

The major goal of the upcoming Paris Free-Trade Summit is economic growth. This goal can be accomplished only through creating economic opportunity, particularly through new jobs. The creation of high-wage, high-quality jobs is essential to improving Americans' standard of living.

Libertaria is a major consumer of U.S.-made computers and electronics. An increased effort to build strong trade relations with foreign consumers of such goods is essential to the growth of U.S. industry. By making the rules fair and breaking down trade barriers, the United States will be able to export more of its goods to this market. By the year 2005, given appropriate diplomatic efforts, U.S. exports could increase 35 percent. By concentrating on opening up the market for high-tech goods, the United States could create 150,000 new jobs in the high-tech industry. High-skill jobs such as these pay about 16 percent more than do other manufacturing jobs in our economy.

Economic stability and growth—not only for the United States but also for our trading partners—depends on the diligent efforts of government leaders to create and move forward with a strategy that is based on creating high-wage, high-skilled jobs through opening markets and reducing barriers. The successful outcome of this summit relies on the ability of the president and Prime Minister Nikano to negotiate an agreement that will stimulate both countries' economies.

FROM THE DESK OF KAYA NIKANO



Dear Mr. President:

In response to your most recent correspondence, I wish to ensure that you and I have a clear understanding of the central matters concerning trade relations between the United States and Libertaria.

Countries entering into a free-trade agreement must be willing to accept foreign products into their market. If the consumers in Libertaria are going to be able to buy U.S.-made goods, they must be able to generate income by the sale of goods and services in the United States. To increase economic integration and free trade, we must work together with private industries and financial institutions to promote productive investment and trade. We must move toward lifting trade barriers.

Libertaria has made monumental progress in economic development and stability over the last 10 years. The debt burden has been reduced to a manageable level, and we have the fastest-growing economy in the Western Hemisphere. The United States has played a key role in helping Libertaria reach its current level of prosperity through investment and other economic aid. Our aim in the next several years is to open markets for U.S.-made goods and services, as well as establish markets in the United States for our exports.

Creating a mutually beneficial trade environment should be given careful attention, encouragement, and support. I look forward to our meeting as a vital step toward achieving this goal.

Sincerely Yours,

Kaya Nikano
Kaya Nikano

▲ WHAT DO YOU THINK?

- ★ Why do you think Prime Minister Kaya Nikano believes that removing trade regulations is key to developing better trade relations?
- ★ How might the United States benefit from establishing strong trade relations with one of the world's fastest-growing economies? What would Libertaria gain from a free-trade agreement with the United States?

THINGS TO DO

1. Discuss group members' notes on the documents presented for review.
2. Create an outline summarizing the main goals for the summit. You may want to start with a list of basic points and statistics.
3. Determine the main theme of the president's speech—for example, opening new markets for U.S. exports, creating new jobs in the United States through increased trade, or building close trade relations with foreign countries.
4. Prepare a speech to be delivered at the press conference, explaining why the free-trade summit is important to the U.S. economy. Support your argument with statistical information from this assignment.