

Foreign Policy and Defense

Why It's Important

A Global Society You are part of a global community. Increasingly, governments make choices about how their citizens will be affected by interaction with other nations. A democracy relies on informed citizens for direction in these decisions.



To learn more about how our foreign policy is established, view the *Democracy in Action* Chapter 22 video lesson:

Foreign Policy and National Defense

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GOVERNMENT

Online



Chapter Overview Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 22-Overview** to preview chapter information.

Development of Foreign Policy

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

foreign policy, national security, isolationism, internationalism, containment

Find Out

- What are the major objectives of United States foreign policy?
- Why has a reevaluation of foreign policy been necessary since the end of the Cold War?

Understanding Concepts

Public Policy How did United States foreign policy contribute to winning the Cold War?

COVER STORY

China Bills U.S. \$1 Million

WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 7, 2001

China has billed the United States \$1 million to cover the cost of keeping a U.S. spy plane on its soil for three months. The U.S. State Department says that the government will not pay this "exaggerated cost." The plane was forced to make an emergency landing on the Island of Hainan after it collided with a Chinese military plane. China held the American plane and its crew on the island and refused to allow the United States to repair and fly it out. The Chinese government released the crew after 11 days and finally allowed the plane to be disassembled and transported back to the United States this week.



Satellite photo of grounded plane

China is one of the few Communist nations remaining in the world today. For nearly a half century after World War II, the global competition between communism and anticommunism known as the Cold War shaped American foreign policy. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of Communist governments in Eastern Europe in the early 1990s, it was clear the Cold War was over. The West, led by the United States, had won. Speaking to the U.S. Congress in 1992, the president of Russia stated:

"The idol of communism, which spread everywhere social strife, animosity and unparalleled brutality, which instilled fear in humanity, has collapsed. . . . I am here to assure you that we will not let it rise again in our land."

—Boris Yeltsin, 1992

Today the United States confronts a global environment that is rapidly changing and marked by new challenges, such as increased economic and trade competition and the spread of terrorism. At the same time, there is reason for optimism. George Kennan, one of America's most distinguished diplomats, recently described the post-Cold War period this way: "It is an age which, for all its confusions and dangers, is marked by one major blessing: for the first time in centuries, there are no great power rivalries that threaten immediately the peace of the world."

Goals of Foreign Policy



Foreign policy consists of the strategies and goals that guide a nation's relations with other countries and groups in the world. The specific strategies that make up U.S. foreign policy from year to year and even decade to decade change in response to changes in the international environment, such as the collapse of communism. However, the long-term goals

of that policy remain constant, reflecting both the nation's ideals and its self-interest.

National Security The principal goal of American foreign policy is to preserve the security of the United States. National security means protection of a nation's borders and territories against invasion or control by foreign powers. This goal is basic because no nation can achieve other aims such as improving its educational system or providing better health care if it is under attack.

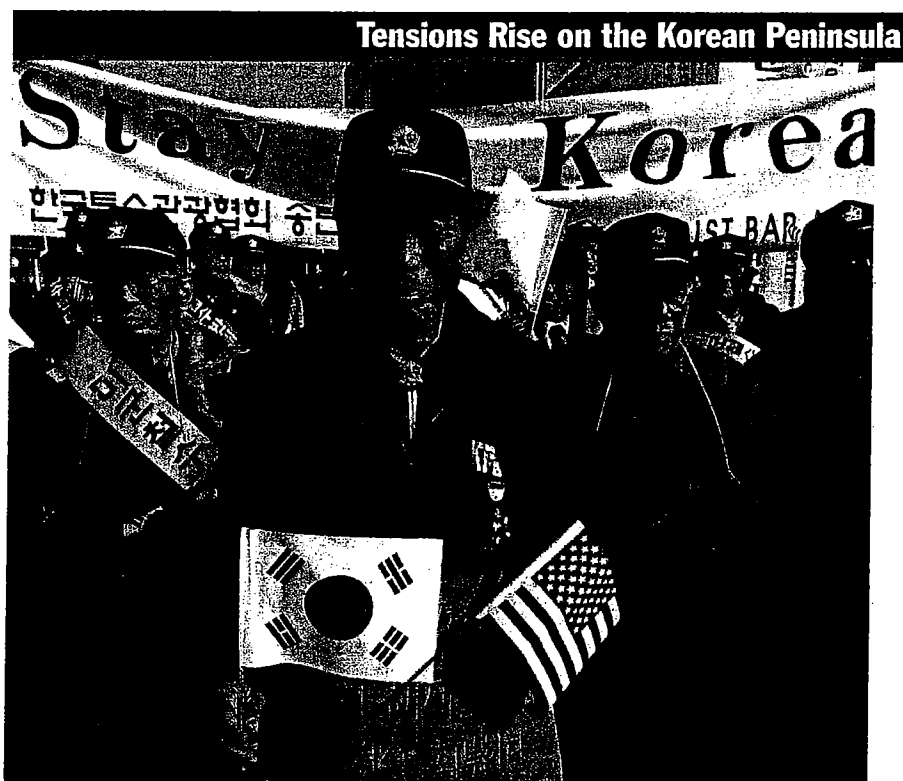
The goal of national security helps determine how the United States deals with other nations. Every part of U.S. foreign policy—from maintaining an ambassador in a small African country to signing a mutual assistance treaty with allied nations in Europe—is related to the nation's security.

Free and Open Trade In today's global economy national security means more than military defense. A nation's vital economic interests must also be protected. Thus, maintaining trade with other nations and preserving access to necessary natural resources have also been basic goals of U.S. foreign policy. Trade is an absolute necessity for

the United States. Highly productive American factories and farms need foreign markets in which to sell their goods. The country also is in need of a number of natural resources, including oil. Generally, the United States supports trade that is free from both export and import restrictions.

World Peace American leaders work for world peace because they believe it helps the nation avoid outside conflicts and aids national security. The United States tries to help other nations settle disputes and has also supplied economic aid to at-risk countries, in part to prevent uprisings and revolutions. The United States helped organize the United Nations after World War II in the hope that the organization would promote world peace. The rise of terrorist groups, along with direct terrorist attacks on the United States, have made the goal of world peace an even greater challenge and greatly complicated how the United States views the world.

Democratic Governments Throughout its history the United States has been an example of democracy. In addition, the United States aids democratic nations and helps others create




Pro-American Rally

These South Koreans march in support of U.S. troops based in their country. Many South Koreans condemned North Korea's decision to strengthen its nuclear weapons program. *Why is the United States concerned about the status of North Korea's nuclear program?*

democratic political systems. With U.S. assistance, many formerly Communist nations in Europe began to form democratic political systems in the 1990s.

Concern for Humanity The United States has often demonstrated its concern for others. Victims of natural disasters or starvation have looked to the United States for help. In such times of crisis, the United States has responded by providing food, medical supplies, and technical assistance for humanitarian reasons. At the same time, this aid serves the strategic interests of the United States by maintaining political stability in the world.

Development of Foreign Policy

 Until the late 1800s, American foreign policy was based on **isolationism**—avoiding involvement in world affairs. During the twentieth century, presidents and foreign policy advisers shifted toward **internationalism**. Internationalists believed that involvement in world affairs was necessary for national security. A look at the history of American foreign policy since 1789 will reveal how these approaches to foreign policy developed.

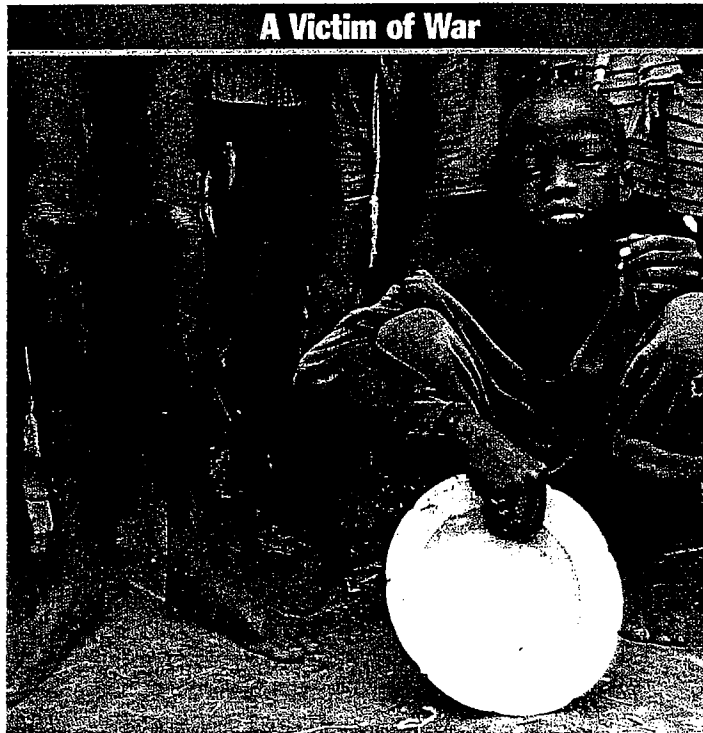
Isolationism When George Washington became president in 1789, the United States was a small nation, deeply in debt and struggling to build a new government. For this reason American leaders believed that the United States should not become involved in the politics and wars of Europe. Before leaving office President Washington urged Americans to follow a path of isolationism.

The Monroe Doctrine In 1823 President James Monroe announced a new foreign policy doctrine that extended the meaning of isolationism. Later known as the Monroe Doctrine, it stated:

“*The American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . . We owe it . . . to the amicable relations between the United States and those powers to declare that 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. . . .***”**

—James Monroe, 1823

A Victim of War



Humanitarian Policies A Sudanese refugee from the country's long civil war between northern Muslims and southern Christians waits to receive food donated by the United States and its allies. Self-interest is usually the basis of a nation's foreign policy. **Analyze how feeding Sudanese refugees serves United States interests.**

The United States as a World Power By the 1890s the United States was rapidly becoming an industrial power. Accordingly, it began to look for world markets for its products and for new sources of raw materials. For some government leaders, isolationism no longer fit the United States's role as an economic power. These leaders believed the United States should play a more active role in world affairs. In their minds the nation needed to expand and acquire a colonial empire.

In 1898 the United States fought the Spanish-American War, in part to free Cuba from Spanish rule. As a result, the United States acquired the Philippine Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico. Hawaii was annexed in 1898 and Samoa in 1900. Although isolationist sentiments survived, the United States was now a major power in the Caribbean as well as the Pacific region and East Asia.

Two World Wars When World War I began in Europe in 1914, isolationist sentiment in the United States was still strong. After Germany sank neutral ships—including U.S. ships—President Wilson asked Congress to declare war against Germany in 1917. American troops went overseas to fight in a European war for the first time.

Disillusioned by the terrible cost of war, Americans returned to isolationism. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, most Americans wanted to avoid further involvement in European political affairs. During these years, however, ruthless dictators came to power—Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, and military leaders in Japan. By the 1930s, dramatic changes were taking place around the globe as these nations used military force to overtake other nations.

When World War II began in 1939, the United States officially remained neutral. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, however, drew the United States into the war. Since World War II, U.S. foreign policy has been based on internationalism.

The Cold War The United States emerged from World War II as the leader of the free nations of the world. The United States's new role soon brought it into conflict with the Soviet Union, which had also emerged from the war as a world power. American government leaders viewed the power and ambitions of the Soviet Union as a threat to national security. Between 1945 and 1949, the Soviet Union established control over the governments of Eastern European countries. Former British prime minister Winston Churchill warned that the Soviets would eventually look beyond Eastern Europe and try to gain control of other parts of the world. Meanwhile, in 1949 Chinese Communists seized control of China. The Communist takeovers in these nations convinced American leaders that they must halt Communist aggression.

As the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified, it became clear that a “cold war” had begun. The **Cold War** was a war of words and ideologies rather than a shooting war.

Containment and the Truman Doctrine

Faced with the threat of expanding communism, the United States drew upon the ideas of George F. Kennan, an American diplomat and expert on Soviet history and culture, to keep the Soviet Union from spreading its power beyond Eastern Europe. The policy created, known as containment, in part involved responding to any action taken by the Soviets with a countermove by the United States.

American leaders also wanted to halt the spread of communism by giving economic aid to nations they said were threatened by totalitarian regimes. In keeping with the containment policy, President Harry S. Truman

announced what later became known as the Truman Doctrine in a speech in 1947:

“I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes. . . .”

—Harry S. Truman, 1947

Three months later the Marshall Plan provided badly needed economic aid for war-torn Europe. Within four years the United States gave nations of Western Europe more than \$13 billion.

Cold War tensions and fears also led to a costly arms race. At the end of World War II, the United States was the world's only nuclear power. However, by the late 1950s the Soviet Union had developed nuclear weapons and large rockets that could deliver nuclear warheads. Both nations began creating more weapons of greater power.



Fearing communism as depicted in this comic book (left), Americans launched the Marshall Plan to help the economies of Western Europe rebuild after World War II.

The Korean and Vietnam Wars The Cold War policy of containment drew the United States into two wars. In the Korean War the United States aided pro-American South Korea when that country was invaded by Communist North Korea. President Truman saw the invasion of South Korea as part of expansionism by the Soviet Union and sent American troops to Korea under UN sponsorship.

In the Vietnam War, the United States committed troops for many years to fight on the side of the South Vietnamese government against Communist North Vietnam. Many American policy makers and Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon said American involvement in the conflict was justified by the need to contain Communist expansion.

End of the Cold War By the late 1980s, decades of competition with the United States had taken their toll, and in 1989 the Soviet

Union began to collapse. Also that year, the Berlin Wall dividing Communist East Germany from democratic West Germany was torn down by demonstrators. A year later the two Germanys were reunited. Soon thereafter the Eastern European countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria overthrew their Communist governments. Then in 1992 the former Soviet Union itself began changing its government and split into Russia and 14 other separate nations. The Cold War that had begun shortly after the end of World War II was over.

Post-Cold War Foreign Policy

★ The United States emerged from the Cold War as the world's single superpower, its economic and military strength unrivaled by any other nation. Yet as the decade of the 1990s unfolded, Presidents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton confronted a highly unsettled world.

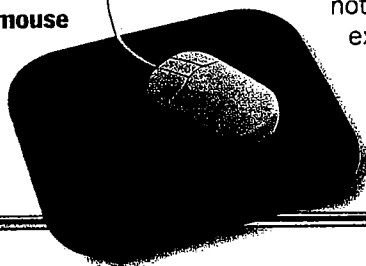
We the People

Making a Difference

Douglas Engelbart



A mouse



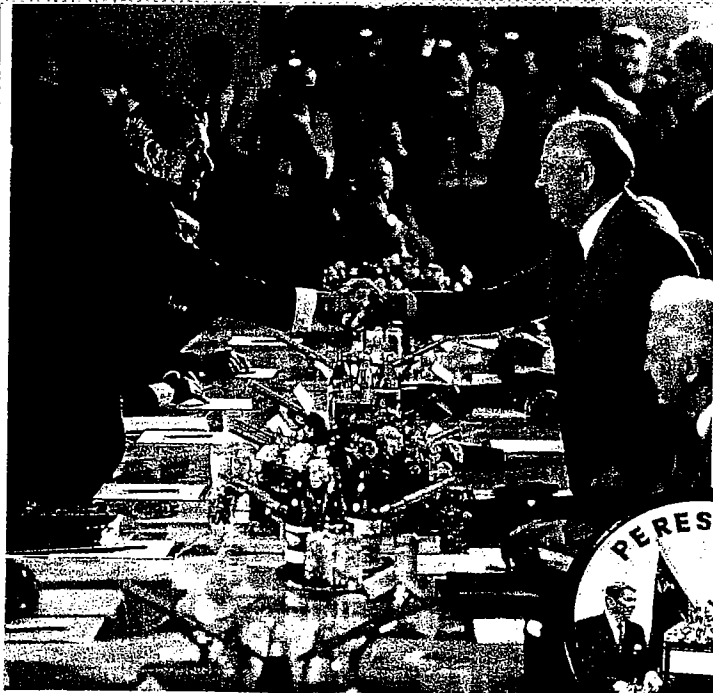
As technology develops, the world becomes a smaller place and the management of United States foreign policy becomes more critical. Some of the credit for expanding technology and shrinking the world belongs to Douglas Engelbart. In 1963 Engelbart invented what he called an "X-Y Position Indicator for a Display System." You probably know his invention by another name—a mouse. Engelbart claims, "No one remembers who first called it that, but we all agreed that it looked like a mouse."

The mouse brought a point-and-click ease to computing and is essential for surfing the World Wide Web, but Engelbart did not profit from the invention. He explains, "I made a conscious decision at age 25 that money would be secondary." The engineer chose research over wealth. Instead,

Engelbart's employer, Stanford Research Institute, reaped the financial rewards.

Since his contribution to modern technology, Engelbart has enjoyed other victories. In 1989 he overcame lymphoma and retired from his job to start his own research organization. He and his daughter, Christina, formed the Bootstrap Institute, a think tank located in office space donated by Logitech. Incidentally, Logitech manufactured its 100 millionth mouse in 1996.

Today, in his 70s, Engelbart lectures to software and technology leaders and sells the benefits of another invention—his five-button, one-handed keyboard. Many people ask him if he is frustrated that others have made billions on his invention. Engelbart answers, "I feel frustrated in not having had more of an effect on the world."



Foreign Policy Motives

President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev shake hands at a 1988 summit meeting in Moscow. Gorbachev initiated the meetings to convince Reagan that the Soviets wanted to end the arms race and make major changes in the U.S.S.R. Gorbachev named these reforms "perestroika." ***Why do you think Gorbachev sought to establish closer ties with the United States?***



The Cold War foreign policy strategy did not seem well suited for dealing with the world that was evolving in the post-Cold War era. As the United States dealt with crises throughout the world, no new strategic doctrine emerged to guide foreign policy. Instead, U.S. troops were sent to hot spots across the globe while policymakers called for the United States to stay involved in world politics to protect American trade interests, encourage democracy, and advance human rights.


The Persian Gulf War In 1990 Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, invaded neighboring Kuwait, threatening Middle Eastern oil supplies. President George H.W. Bush, along with a coalition of nations that included Russia, Eastern European states, and many Arab states, defended Kuwait by sending American troops to the region to defeat Iraq. The United States also won approval from the UN Security Council for a series of actions against

Iraq, including a program of inspections aimed at preventing Iraq from developing weapons of mass destruction.

During the 1990s Saddam Hussein kept tensions high in the Middle East by failing to cooperate with UN-mandated inspections. In 1998 President Clinton launched missile attacks against Iraqi installations related to the production of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

Other Interventions Throughout the 1990s, President Clinton sent U.S. forces to several places in attempts to maintain political order and protect humanitarian interests. In 1992 American troops joined a multinational force in Somalia to protect relief organizations operating during a civil war. In 1994 the American troops preserved order in Haiti when the elected president was forced to flee the country. In 1995 American forces and NATO allies intervened to end bloody ethnic warfare amongst Croats, Serbs, and Muslims resulting from the breakup of the former country of Yugoslavia. Then again in 1999, American and NATO air power and troops forced Serbian troops to withdraw from the Yugoslavian province of Kosovo, where they had been abusing the ethnic Albanian population.

A New Foreign Policy Agenda

 An unprecedented challenge for American foreign policy presented itself on September 11, 2001, when terrorists hijacked commercial jetliners and crashed them into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, resulting in a devastating loss of American lives. Another plane, bound for Washington, D.C., crashed in Pennsylvania when heroic passengers fought the hijackers for control of the aircraft. The FBI and intelligence sources identified the attack as the work of al-Qaeda, a global network of Islamic terrorists whose leaders were based in Afghanistan.

War on Terrorism President George W. Bush quickly announced that a war on terrorism would become the focus of his administration. In a short time, his administration coordinated a series of military and diplomatic steps to crush al-Qaeda, change the government of Afghanistan, and

recruit countries and international organizations to wage a long-term assault on terrorist groups worldwide.

The Strategy of Preemption Following the September 11 terrorist attacks, the Bush administration outlined a new strategic framework to guide American relationships with other nations during the war on terror. The administration's new framework states that preemption should replace containment and deterrence as the foundation of American strategy. **Preemption** means that the United States will strike first with military force against any terrorist groups or rogue states that might threaten the nation with weapons of mass destruction. A report to Congress outlining the strategy stated that although cooperating with other states or international organizations like the UN is useful, "[The United States] will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively."

Supporters of the new strategy argue that rational discussion and deterrence do not work in a world of suicide bombers, terrorist groups, and outlaw nations that "reject basic human values." Critics charge that preemption ignores international law, which prohibits first strikes unless an attack is clearly imminent. They worry that if other nations claimed the same right, wars between longtime rivals might break out all over the world.

Iraq War President Bush applied preemption in March 2003 when the United States, with help from Great Britain and a coalition of other nations, invaded Iraq and removed the government of Saddam Hussein. Congress had sanctioned the war with a resolution authorizing the president to use "all means . . . including force" to defend against threats posed by Iraq. Bush argued that Iraq might develop weapons that could be used by terrorists against the United States. Further, he believed that helping an important Middle Eastern country like Iraq establish a democracy would contribute to American efforts to fight terrorism.

The United Nations and many of America's traditional European allies did not support the war. They urged the United States to continue working with the United Nations to restrain Saddam Hussein through weapons inspections and economic sanctions. President Bush claimed that Hussein had no intention of cooperating with the UN.

Coalition forces led by American troops quickly defeated the Iraqi army and occupied the nation's major cities. On May 1, 2003, President Bush declared that major combat operations were over, and in December American troops captured Saddam Hussein. Deadly fighting in Iraq continued, however, as a strong resistance movement developed to challenge the effort to democratize Iraq. U.S. and coalition forces continue to fight in Iraq, and President Bush has insisted that democracy will prevail there.

Section 1 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

1. **Main Idea** Use a graphic organizer like the one to the right to show two foreign policy issues that are part of the nation's new global agenda.
2. **Define** foreign policy, national security, isolationism, internationalism, containment.
3. **Identify** Cold War, preemption.
4. What are the basic aims of American foreign policy?
5. How did the United States carry out its policy of containment?



Critical Thinking

6. **Drawing Conclusions** Do you believe the United States could follow a policy of isolationism at this time? Support your answer.

Concepts IN ACTION

Public Policy In recent years, the development of an interdependent global economy has led to an ongoing debate about the degree to which free trade helps or hurts the United States. Create a political cartoon about this topic illustrating either the benefits of free trade or the potential problems that may result from global interdependence.

Shared Foreign Policy Powers

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

ambassador, treaty, executive agreement, bipartisan

Find Out

- How is the executive branch structured to carry out United States foreign policy?
- What are the constitutional foreign policy powers of the president and Congress?

Understanding Concepts

Checks and Balances What powers of Congress act as a check upon the president's power to conduct foreign policy?

COVER STORY

U.S. Supports Revolt

WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 6, 1903

President Theodore Roosevelt today recognized the independent nation of Panama, four days after ordering warships into the region and only three days after Panamanian rebels declared the province's freedom from Colombia. Roosevelt's action is believed to be the fastest U.S. recognition of another nation in history. The revolt and diplomatic maneuver clear the way for the United States to construct a canal across Panama, a proposal to which Colombia refused to agree. U.S. officials have long favored a canal across Central America to provide a shorter water route from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The rebels in Panama also support such a canal.



A map of the Panama Canal

The Framers of the Constitution attempted to divide the responsibility for foreign affairs between the president and Congress. They did not, however, clearly outline the boundaries of power of each branch. As a result, on many occasions the president and Congress have vied for power.

Over the years events have enabled the president to assume more responsibility in foreign policy. Today, according to one political scientist, "Any discussion of the making of United States foreign policy must begin with the President. He is the ultimate decider."

Presidential Powers and Responsibilities

The president derives power to formulate foreign policy from two sources. First, the Constitution lists certain presidential powers related to foreign policy. Second, as the head of the world's superpower, the president functions as an important world leader.

Constitutional Powers of the President


President Bill Clinton addressed the American people on September 15, 1994:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to speak to you about why the United States is leading an international effort to restore democratic government in Haiti. Haiti's dictators, led by [Lt.] General Raoul Cedras, control the most violent regime in our hemisphere. . . . In the face of this continued defiance and with atrocities rising, the United States has agreed to lead a multinational force to carry out the will of the United Nations. . . . No president makes decisions like this without deep thought and prayer."

—Bill Clinton, 1994


President Clinton's speech illustrates the president's ability to commit the nation to involvement in foreign affairs.

Commander in Chief

 The Constitution grants the president the power to be the commander in chief of the nation's military forces. As commander in chief, the president may send troops, ships, and planes or may even use nuclear weapons anywhere in the world, without congressional approval. For example, in 1991 President George H.W. Bush decided to send military forces to Saudi Arabia soon after Iraq had invaded Kuwait.

Head of State In addition to giving powers as commander in chief, Article II, Section 2,¹ grants the president certain diplomatic powers. The president appoints ambassadors, officials of the United States government who represent the nation in diplomatic matters. The president also receives ambassadors from foreign governments. By receiving an ambassador or other diplomat from a certain country, the president gives formal recognition to that government. Conversely, by refusing to receive an ambassador, the president can withhold diplomatic recognition of a foreign government. Formal recognition of a government is vital because it qualifies that government to receive economic and other forms of aid. Article II, Section 2, also gives the president power to make treaties. A treaty is a formal agreement between the governments of two or more nations.


As head of state, the president plays an important part in controlling foreign policy. The president represents the United States and symbolizes the leadership and policies of the nation to the world. In an international crisis, Americans also look to their president for leadership.

 See the following footnoted materials in the Reference Handbook:
1. See *The Constitution*, pages 774-799.



Peace Agreement With President Clinton looking on, Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (left) and PLO leader Yasir Arafat (right) signed a peace agreement in 1993. **What presidential role did Clinton fulfill in the Israeli-PLO agreement?**

Foreign Policy Advisers

 The president has the final responsibility for establishing foreign policy. Before making foreign policy decisions, however, presidents usually consult advisers. Generally, chief executives rely upon the information and advice of the cabinet members, the White House staff, and officials in specialized agencies dealing with foreign policy. At times presidents also go outside the government and seek advice from private individuals who have specialized knowledge in foreign affairs.

The Secretaries of State and Defense In their specialized fields, all cabinet members bring international problems to the president's attention and recommend how to deal with them. For two cabinet departments, however—the Department of State and the Department of Defense—foreign affairs are a full-time concern.

The **secretary of state** supervises all the diplomatic activities of the American government. In the past most presidents have relied heavily on their secretaries of state. In the early years of the

Republic, four secretaries of state—Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, and John Quincy Adams—went on to become president.

Normally, the secretary of state carries on diplomacy at the highest level. The secretary frequently travels to foreign capitals for important negotiations with heads of state and represents the United States at major international conferences.

The **secretary of defense** supervises the military activities of the United States government. The president receives information and advice from the secretary of defense on the nation's military forces, weapons, and bases.

The National Security Adviser The **national security adviser**—who is also the director of the National Security Council (NSC)—plays a major role in foreign affairs. President George W. Bush chose political scientist Dr. Condoleezza Rice for this office. She previously worked within the NSC between 1989 and 1991 and was the first woman to be chosen as national security adviser.

The Central Intelligence Agency In order to make foreign policy decisions, the president and his advisers need information about the

governments, economies, and armed forces of other nations. The task of gathering and coordinating this information is primarily the responsibility of the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)**.

The National Security Act established the CIA and defined its duties in 1947. Today the CIA, under the direction of the National Security Council, coordinates the intelligence activities of other agencies. The organization also safeguards top-secret information and conducts intelligence operations that the council authorizes.

Although it does use foreign agents, or spies, to obtain information, such undercover operations are only a small part of the CIA's function. Most of the agency's employees simply gather and evaluate information, much of it available from news media coverage of foreign officials and from official publications in foreign countries.

Recently critics of the CIA have questioned the agency's efficiency. Inefficiency was most evident after the CIA failed to predict Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. In addition, the collapse of the Soviet Union during 1991 caught the CIA by surprise. With the end of the Cold War, one prominent newsmagazine carried a lead article titled "Is the CIA Obsolete?"

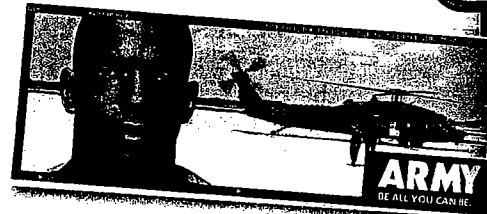
GOVERNMENT and You

Volunteering for the Armed Forces

By volunteering for the military, you can serve your country, learn a skill, and provide for your future at the same time. Each branch of the armed forces has its own requirements. In general, you must be at least 17 years old to enlist, have a high school diploma, have no criminal record, and be a U.S. citizen or legal alien. You also must meet certain physical requirements, pass a drug test, and take a multiple-choice test to identify your academic and vocational strengths. The results are used to qualify you for certain training programs, some of which can pay up to a \$12,000 bonus.

In addition to the skills you gain from your training, you can often take college or technical

Looking for
recruits



courses in your off-duty time. The military will help pay for these courses. When you complete your full-time military commitment, you can receive as much as \$40,000 to continue your education.

Participating IN GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY


Research Investigate your opportunities in a specific branch of the military. Contact a nearby recruiting station to find out information about the branch you choose. Present your findings to the class in the form of an advertising brochure.

Making Foreign Policy The government employs hundreds of foreign policy experts whom the president may consult before making a decision. In some cases family members and trusted political friends have had more influence on a president than the secretary of state. A mild-mannered Texan named Colonel Edward House was President Woodrow Wilson's most trusted adviser, especially during World War I, even though he held no cabinet post.

In recent years, however, each president has taken a different approach to foreign policy. President Eisenhower relied heavily on Secretary of State John Foster Dulles for foreign policy advice. President Kennedy, on the other hand, put together a team of foreign affairs experts who worked together in the basement of the White House. A group of advisers who lunched with the president in the White House every Tuesday often influenced President Johnson's decisions on the Vietnam War. Included in this "Tuesday Cabinet" were the director of the CIA and the White House press secretary. In contrast, the opinions of National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger were the major influence on President Nixon.

In the final analysis, however, it is the president who determines what policies are to be followed. As President Ronald Reagan wrote, only the president can "respond quickly in a crisis or formulate a coherent and consistent policy in any region of the world."

Powers of Congress

 Although the president directs United States foreign policy, Congress plays an important role. The basis for this role lies in the Constitution. The Constitution gives Congress significant foreign policy powers, including the power to declare war and appropriate money. The Senate must ratify treaties and confirm diplomatic appointments. Even though Congress has these powers, some people believe it has seldom used them effectively. Instead, Congress has, in the words of former senator Barry Goldwater, revealed its "inability to act decisively in time of need."

Power to Declare War The Constitution balances the president's powers as commander in chief by granting Congress the power to declare



Diplomatic Moves Secretary of State Colin Powell (left) met with South Korean Foreign Minister Han Seung-soo (right) in 2001 to discuss ways to bring North Korean officials to the negotiating table and thus reduce tensions in East Asia. **How are U.S. interests served by bringing together former enemies such as North and South Korea?**

war. Although the president may send troops anywhere in the world, only Congress may declare war. Yet Congress has exercised its power to declare war only five times in our nation's history. It declared war in 1812 against Britain, in 1846 against Mexico, in 1898 against Spain, in 1917 against Germany, and in 1941 against Japan, Germany, and Italy. In these five cases the United States was officially at war with a foreign government. In each instance the president asked Congress for a declaration of war. Then, in accordance with the Constitution, both houses of Congress adopted the war resolution by a majority vote.

In other instances, instead of requesting a formal declaration of war, presidents have asked Congress to pass a joint resolution concerning the use

Transporting Aid to Somalia



Presidential Actions The United States sent food to war-torn Somalia in Operation Restore Hope. The U.S.-led United Nations mission, although a humanitarian one, suffered casualties. President Clinton faced pressure from both Congress and the American public to recall American troops, but he refused, believing that Somali lives and American credibility were at stake. ***Do you think presidents should have the power to keep American troops in foreign countries, ignoring pressure from Congress?***

of American troops. In 1964, for example, President Lyndon Johnson asked Congress for authority to use troops in Vietnam. In response to an alleged North Vietnamese attack on United States ships that occurred in the Gulf of Tonkin off Vietnam's coast, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.¹ The resolution authorized the president "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States."

Dismayed by the results of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Congress tried to check the president's power to send troops into combat by passing the War Powers Act in 1973. The act declared that the president could not send troops into combat for more than 60 days without the consent of Congress. Seventeen years later, after the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, some members of Congress questioned President Bush's commitment of troops in the Middle East. The War Powers Act was not invoked, however. Instead, Congress authorized the use of force against Iraq. With this congressional approval, President Bush authorized Operation Desert Storm, which easily defeated the Iraqi forces.

Former senator Jacob Javits explained the dilemma facing members of Congress who support the War Powers Act in this way:

“ *The reluctance to challenge the president is founded in an awareness that he holds, in large degree, the fate of the nation in his hands. We all wish to assist and sustain the presidency. But I have come to the conclusion that the awesome nature of the power over war in our time should require us to withhold, in relevant cases, that unquestioning support of the presidency.* **”**

—Jacob Javits, 1985

Power to Appropriate Money By far the greatest source of congressional power in foreign policy derives from Congress's control over government spending. Only Congress can appropriate the funds to equip American armed forces and to build new weapons. Congress must authorize funds for defense and foreign aid each year. If Congress disapproves of a president's action, such as committing troops to a limited war, it can refuse to provide the funds to maintain the force.

In a similar fashion, Congress may refuse to provide funds for aid to other nations. Congress also may decide not only the sum to be granted, but also the conditions that a foreign country must meet to be eligible for aid.

Power in Treaty Making The Constitution also gives the Senate the power of "advice and consent" on all treaties. The president may make

See the following footnoted materials in the Reference Handbook:
1. Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, page 826.

treaties with foreign governments, but a two-thirds vote of the Senate must ratify them. In reality, then, Congress is called upon for its consent, not its advice—a practice that actually began with President Washington.


The Senate's power in treaty making is real, however. The Senate has voted down or refused to consider more than 130 treaties since 1789. In 1978 President Jimmy Carter faced strong opposition from Senate conservatives regarding his proposed Panama Canal treaties. After much debate, the Senate did eventually ratify both treaties.

Increasingly presidents have turned to another tool for making binding commitments with foreign governments. **Executive agreements** are pacts between the president and the head of a foreign government that have the legal status of treaties but do not require Senate approval. Today executive agreements make up more than 90 percent of all United States international agreements.

Most Favored Nation Presidents have relied on executive agreements to enhance their foreign policy powers, and Congress has not strongly objected to these presidential decisions. In fact Congress has authorized that all trade agreements be handled as executive agreements, requiring only a simple majority vote of both houses. Under United States law the president may grant **most-favored-nation (MFN)** status to trading partners. Such agreements reduce tariff rates on all exports from that nation to the United States. By a two-thirds majority vote Congress may overturn the president's decision to grant MFN status. In 1997, for example the House voted to kill a bill that would have ended renewal of most-favored-nation status for China. In 2000, China was granted permanent MFN status.

Power to Confirm Appointments The Senate must also confirm presidential appointments to diplomatic posts. This power was intended to give the Senate an opportunity to screen applicants for foreign policy positions and thus help determine foreign policy. Usually the Senate is willing to accept the persons the president appoints to diplomatic posts.

The President and Congress

 Congress's powers could enable the legislature to block some of a president's foreign policies and even initiate policies of its own. Congress, however, waits for the president to set a direction in foreign policy. On most issues Congress passes the foreign policy bills and treaties the president and his advisers propose.

Over the past several decades, especially in times of war and severe crisis, the president's foreign policies have enjoyed bipartisan, or two-party, congressional support. For example, Republican and Democratic members of Congress readily supported President Wilson in World War I and President Roosevelt in World War II. During the Persian Gulf War in 1991, President Bush also received bipartisan support from Congress. During

A Historical Double Take



A Change of Policy In 1978 President Jimmy Carter won Senate ratification of the Panama Canal treaties, which transferred control of the canal from the United States to Panama by the end of the century. Many Americans were outraged at the Panama "giveaway." **Why were Americans outraged and what do you think motivated the United States to make such a treaty?**

the Vietnam War, however, bipartisan support began to unravel when Congress and the public were deeply divided about the nation's role in the long and costly war.

Presidential Advantages The president has advantages over Congress in conducting foreign policy. One is the president's position as the leader of the nation. Only the president—or a chosen spokesperson such as the secretary of state—can speak for the nation in dealings with other governments. It is the president to whom Americans look for leadership in foreign affairs.

A second advantage is that the president controls those agencies, such as the Department of State and the National Security Council, that help formulate and carry out foreign policy on a day-to-day basis. Consequently, the president has greater access to vital secret information about foreign affairs. Such information often is not available to members of Congress.

A third advantage is that the president is able to take quick decisive action. Today it is often necessary to respond to events rapidly, and at times extreme secrecy is essential. The House and Senate must discuss, vote, and take into consideration the opinions of many members. Congress simply cannot act as quickly as the president or maintain secrecy with so many people involved.

Finally, by using executive agreements, the president can bypass the Senate when making

agreements with other nations. As a result of these advantages there has been a steady increase in the president's power over foreign policy matters.

Influence of Public Opinion

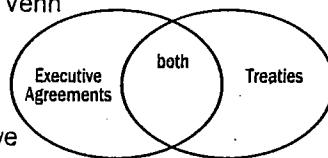
★ Though the president and Congress have the major responsibility for making foreign policy, their decisions are often influenced by the opinions of the American people. Public opinion, for example, directly influenced the Vietnam War. Mass protests and demonstrations in the 1960s and the early 1970s had a direct impact on foreign policy. Early on, most Americans supported the fighting in Vietnam. But as the number of Americans wounded and killed grew and media coverage heightened public awareness of the situation, public opinion slowly began to turn against the war. As the war dragged on, other groups joined the protests. The growing discontent contributed heavily to President Lyndon Johnson's decision not to seek reelection in 1968 and later influenced President Richard Nixon's decision to begin pulling American troops out of Vietnam.

Besides public opinion, pressure from interest groups can also affect foreign policy. The votes of Congress on foreign policy questions are subject to the influence of organized interest groups. These groups whose concerns range from trade to human rights issues can have a substantial impact on legislation that affects their areas of interest.

Section 2 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** Use a Venn diagram like the one to the right to compare executive agreements and treaties.
- 2. Define** ambassador, treaty, executive agreement, bipartisan.
- 3. Identify** secretary of state, national security adviser, Central Intelligence Agency.
- 4.** Which cabinet members generally work most closely with the president on foreign policy?
- 5.** What are the foreign policy powers of Congress?



Critical Thinking

- 6. Forming an Opinion** Do you think the president has too much power in making foreign policy? Explain your answer.

Concepts IN ACTION

Checks and Balances Use library resources to find specific examples of how public opinion changed U.S. policy in Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s. Prepare a poster that illustrates the public's reaction to the war and the government's responses. Be sure to include pictures, captions, and headlines in your poster.

State and Defense Departments

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

embassy, consulate, consul, passport, visa, conscription

Find Out

- How is the State Department structured to carry out United States foreign policy?
- What constitutional powers do Congress and the president have over the military?

Understanding Concepts

Separation of Powers What constitutional provisions separate the powers of Congress and the president in developing and carrying out foreign policy?

COVER STORY

Troops in Somalia

WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 4, 1992

President George H.W. Bush ordered 28,000 U.S. troops into Somalia to protect relief workers in their efforts to distribute aid to that nation's starving people. A civil war in the East African nation has prevented supplies from reaching much of the population. Bush stressed that the intervention is for humanitarian, not strategic reasons. "I understand that the United States alone cannot right the world's wrongs," the president declared. "But we also know that some crises in the world cannot be resolved without American involvement." Analysts see Bush's action as defining a new role for the U.S. military in the post-Cold War world.




U.S. soldier hugs a Somali child.

It is the duty of the president and Congress to make American foreign policy. Appointed officials in the executive branch, however, carry out foreign policy on a day-to-day basis.

Two departments in the executive branch are primarily responsible for foreign policy and for national security. The Department of State, one of the smallest cabinet-level departments in terms of employees, carries out foreign policy. The Department of Defense is the largest of all the executive departments both in terms of money spent and people employed. It looks after the national security of the United States.

The Department of State

 Created by Congress in 1789, the Department of State was the first executive department. Originally known as the Department of Foreign Affairs, it was soon renamed the Department of State. The secretary of state, head of the State Department, is generally considered to be the most important member of the cabinet, ranking just below the president and vice president.

The State Department advises the president and formulates and carries out policy. Officially, the Department of State's "primary objective in the conduct of foreign relations is to promote the long-range security and well-being of the United States." The Department of State carries out four other important functions: (1) to keep the president informed about international issues, (2) to maintain diplomatic relations with foreign governments, (3) to negotiate treaties with foreign governments, and (4) to protect the interests of Americans who are traveling or conducting business abroad.

Organizational Structure Six assistant secretaries direct the six geographic bureaus of the State Department. These bureaus are the Bureau of African Affairs, European and Eurasian Affairs, East Asian and Pacific Affairs,

Western Hemisphere Affairs, Near Eastern Affairs, and South Asian Affairs. Other bureaus analyze information about specific foreign policy topics. One such bureau deals with educational and cultural affairs, another with political-military problems, and another with intelligence and research. The work of the State Department, therefore, is organized both by topics and regions.

The Foreign Service More than half of the employees of the State Department serve in other countries. The officials who are assigned to serve abroad in foreign countries belong to the **Foreign Service**.

College graduates who seek a career in the Foreign Service must pass an extremely demanding civil service exam. Successful applicants then receive training in special schools. Foreign Service

Officers (FSOs) usually spend several years abroad in a diplomatic post. Then they may be recalled to Washington, D.C., to participate in foreign policy discussions at the State Department.

For many FSOs, an overseas assignment is valued, but for others it may be a life of hardship. As one observer of the State Department noted:

“Working at State demands far more than the usual 40-hour week. . . . Officers stationed overseas are almost never off duty. Not only may they be called on at any hour of the day or night, they also represent the government in every aspect of their lives and personal encounters. Even socializing is work. Attending parties, seemingly an attractive way of making a living, pales after weeks of mandatory and boring appearances following an intensive workday.”

—Barry Rubin, 1985

Guarding United States Interests



Representing a Nation Guards patrol the United States embassy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. *Why do you think embassies have been a target for political protests and terrorist activities in recent years?*

In their service abroad, Foreign Service Officers are normally assigned either to an American embassy or to an American consulate.

Embassies The United States maintains embassies in the capital cities of foreign countries—such as Tokyo, Japan; Paris, France; and Nairobi, Kenya. An embassy includes the official residence and offices of the ambassador and his or her staff. The primary function of an embassy is to make diplomatic communication between governments easier. Currently, the State Department directs the work of over 200 American embassies and consulates.

Embassy officials keep the State Department informed about the politics and foreign policies of the host government. They also keep the host government informed about American policies.

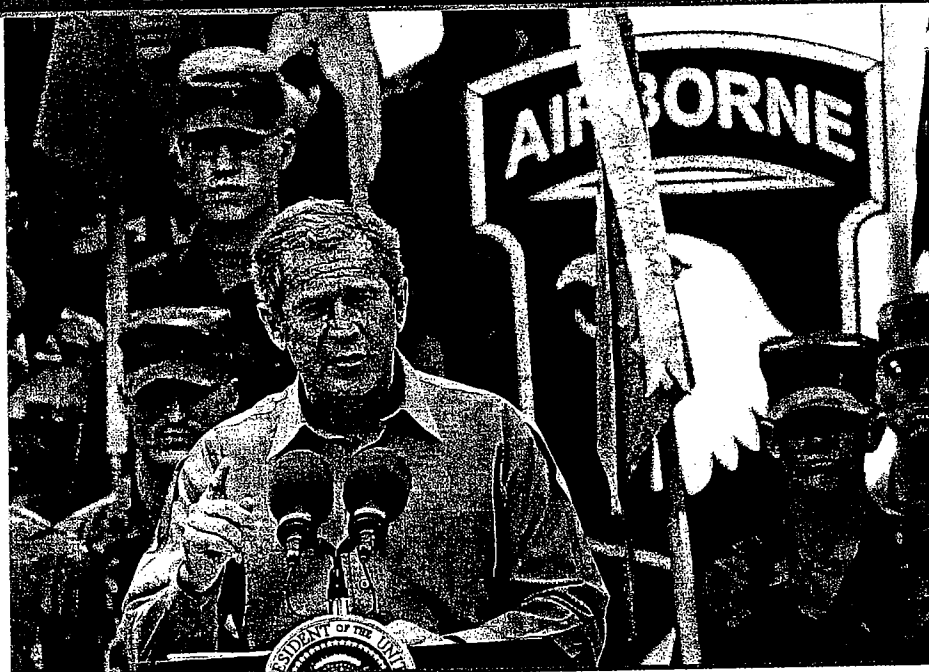
An ambassador heads each American embassy. Most ambassadors today come from the ranks of the Foreign Service as experienced and highly qualified professional diplomats. Some ambassadors, however, may be political appointees, selected for reasons other than their diplomatic knowledge or experience. In every case, however, an ambassador is appointed by the president and must be confirmed by the Senate.

Each embassy includes specialists who deal with political and military matters, trade, travel, and currency. The specialists help resolve disputes

The Commander in Chief

Military Control

President Bush addresses U.S. Army Airborne troops stationed at Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo, Yugoslavia. *Why do you think the Founders put the nation's military under civilian control?*



that arise between the host country and the United States. Most disputes are minor enough to be settled by the embassy staff. In the case of major disagreements, governments may break off diplomatic relations by closing their embassies. Such action represents the strongest sign of displeasure that one government can show toward another.

Consulates The United States also maintains offices known as consulates in major cities of foreign nations. Consulates are not normally involved in diplomatic negotiations with foreign governments. They function primarily to promote American business interests in foreign countries and to serve and safeguard American travelers in the countries where consulates are located.

Heading each consulate is a Foreign Service Officer called a consul. In the course of a routine day, the consul and staff handle individual problems and inquiries about such matters as shipping schedules, business opportunities, and travel needs.

Passports and Visas For Americans traveling abroad, the State Department issues a document called a passport. The traveler whose photograph and signature appear on the passport

is entitled to certain privileges and protection established by an international treaty. With a passport, an American citizen can expect to be granted entry into many countries.

In some cases, however, to be granted the right to enter another country it is necessary to obtain another document called a visa. A visa is a special document issued by the government of the country that a person wishes to enter. If a citizen of Kenya wishes to visit the United States, for example, he or she must apply for a visa at an American embassy or consulate in one of the major Kenyan cities.

American immigration laws require nearly all foreign visitors to obtain visas prior to entering the United States. The countries of Western Europe, however, do not require American travelers to carry visas, only passports.

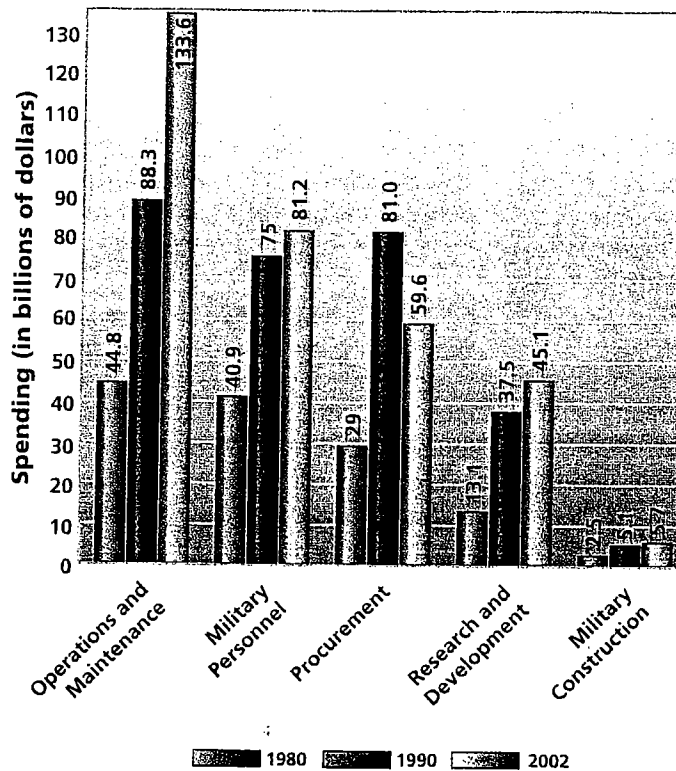
The Department of Defense



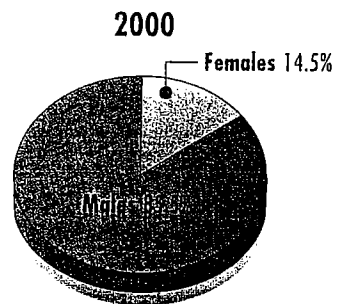
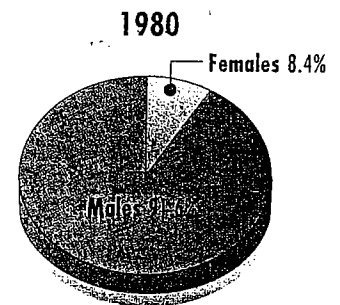
To protect national security, the Department of Defense (DOD) supervises the armed forces of the United States and makes sure these forces are strong enough to defend American interests. The Department of Defense assists the president in carrying out the duties of commander in chief.

United States Military

Government Spending by Category



Males and Females in the U.S. Military



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2002 (Washington, D.C.: 2002); Department of Defense, Population Representation in the Military Services, 2001.

Critical Thinking Military spending, as well as the percentage of enlisted females, has increased over the past 20 years. In which category did spending increase the most?

Establishing the Department of Defense

Before 1947 the Departments of War and the Navy were responsible for the nation's defense. The country's experiences in coordinating military forces in World War II, however, prompted a military reorganization. The result was the National Security Establishment, which two years later became the Department of Defense. From the outset, the secretary of defense was a member of the president's cabinet.

Civilian Control of the Military The Founders wanted to ensure that the military would always be subordinate to the civilian leaders of

the government. As a result, the ultimate authority for commanding the armed forces rests with the civilian commander in chief, the president of the United States.

Congress also exercises considerable authority over military matters. Because of its constitutional power over appropriations, Congress determines how much money the Department of Defense will spend each year.

Congress also has the power to determine how each branch of the armed forces will be organized and governed. In order to maintain civilian control of the military, the top leaders of the Department of Defense all are required to be civilians.

Size of the Department of Defense With more than 700,000 civilian employees and more than 1 million military personnel on active duty, the Defense Department is the largest executive department. It is headquartered in the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, near Washington, D.C.

Army, Navy, and Air Force Among the major divisions within the Department of Defense are the Departments of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. A civilian secretary heads each branch. The United States Marine Corps, under the jurisdiction of the Navy, maintains its own leadership, identity, and traditions.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff The president, the National Security Council, and the secretary of defense rely on the **Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)** for military advice. This group is made up of the top-ranking officers of the armed forces. Included are the Chief of Staff of the Army, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, and the Chief of Naval Operations. The Commandant of the Marine Corps also attends meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The fifth and sixth members are the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Chairman is appointed for a two-year term by the president.

A Volunteer Military The United States has used two methods of staffing its armed forces—by

conscription, or compulsory military service, and by using volunteers. Conscription was first used during the Civil War and was implemented during World War I and world War II.

By executive order President Richard Nixon suspended conscription, or the draft, in 1973. Since then membership in the military has been voluntary. Nixon's order, however, did not repeal the law that created the Selective Service System that administered the draft. For that reason, males between the ages of 18 and 25 could be required to serve if conscription is reinstated.

Military Registration Since 1980 all young men who have passed their eighteenth birthdays have been required to register their names and addresses with local draft boards. Though women are not eligible to be drafted, they may volunteer to serve in any branch of the armed services. All military services are now committed to the goal of increasing the number of female recruits.

GOVERNMENT Online

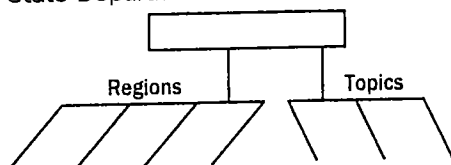


Student Web Activity Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 22—Student Web Activities** for an activity about the State and Defense departments.

Section 3 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to show the organizational structure of the State Department.



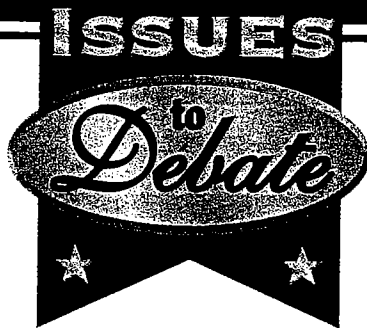
- 2. Define** embassy, consulate, consul, passport, visa, conscription.
- 3. Identify** Foreign Service, Joint Chiefs of Staff.
- 4. What are the powers of Congress in military matters?**

Critical Thinking

- 5. Demonstrating Reasoned Judgment** Do you think an armed forces of volunteers will perform better or worse than one of draftees?

Concepts IN ACTION

Separation of Powers What foreign policy goals do you think the State Department should carry out today? Review the major foreign policy goals of the United States outlined in Section 1. Choose the two goals that you think are most important today. Present a two-minute speech outlining why you think these goals are the most important.



WHEN SHOULD MILITARY FORCE BE USED?

The goals of U.S. foreign policy are to maintain national security and world peace, protect free trade, support democratic governments, and promote the humane treatment of people in other nations. When national security is threatened, most people support the use of military force. Should military force be used to promote other goals such as intervening in a civil war to support a democratic government?

POST-COLD WAR INTERVENTION

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has faced many different situations that have required the nation's military to give advice on, negotiate, and police conflicts throughout the world. The scope of these military actions has ranged from two full-blown wars against Iraq (1990, 2003) to sending troops into Somalia (1992) to protect deliveries of food during a civil war. Since 1989 the United States has sent troops into such areas as Panama (1989), the Persian Gulf (1990, 2003), the Balkans (1991), Somalia (1992), Haiti (1994), Bosnia-Herzegovina (1995), and Afghanistan (2002).

SOLVING PROBLEMS

Diplomacy is always the first choice when trying to resolve a conflict. However, if diplomacy fails, the United States has resorted to other means. Economic and political sanctions placed on a conflicting country have been used in some instances. Forging alliances with other nations through the United Nations can also place pressure on a nation. If those methods fail, the show or use of military force is usually a final option.



Debating the Issue

IS MILITARY FORCE JUSTIFIED WHEN NATIONAL SECURITY IS NOT AT STAKE?

Was national security at stake in each intervention listed above? How do you think the United States should have dealt with those conflicts?

KEY ISSUES

- ✓ What foreign policy goals do you think prompted the United States to get involved in each of the conflicts?
- ✓ What would the probable outcome of each of the conflicts have been if the United States had not intervened?
- ✓ What are the possible consequences if a world power, such as the United States, does not get involved in international conflicts?

Debate Divide the class into five groups. Each group should choose one of the conflicts listed above and research the role the United States played in that conflict. Then each group should divide into two teams. One team should use the facts that each of the groups has gathered to justify the United States's actions in the conflict. The other team should prepare an alternative policy that the United States could have implemented to handle the situation.

Vote Team members should vote on each issue to see what percentage of the class favors military intervention.

Foreign Policy In Action

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

mutual defense alliance, regional security pact, multilateral treaty, bilateral treaty, collective security, sanction

Find Out

- What are the main alliances of the United States today?
- What are some ways the United States can influence the policies of other nations?

Understanding Concepts

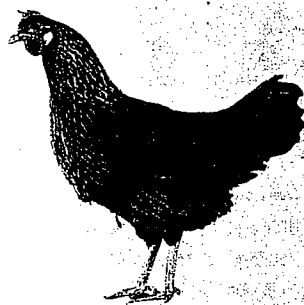
Growth of Democracy What changes in the role of NATO are consistent with the promotion of democracy in Europe?

COVER STORY

Playing Chicken

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, APRIL 2, 1997

A dispute between the United States and the European Union over chickens and turkeys is threatening to erupt into a trade war. At the center of the controversy are differences in each side's meat-inspection system. EU officials contend that poultry processed in U.S. plants does not meet European health standards and cannot be imported. An EU import ban would cost U.S. industry \$50 million to \$86 million annually. American officials say they will respond by blocking \$300 million in EU meat exports to the U.S. The EU denounced the threat as counterproductive to an agreement. Neither side is optimistic that a deal is near.



Target of controversy

The desire to preserve national security and economic well-being often can lead to conflicts between nations. To minimize the danger to national security, the United States tries to settle such conflicts peacefully and to negotiate agreements with foreign governments. The tools that are available include alliances, programs of foreign aid, economic sanctions, and, in extreme circumstances, military action.

Alliances and Pacts

Throughout history, when nations felt a common threat to their security, they negotiated mutual defense alliances. Nations that became allies under such alliances usually agreed to support each other in case of an attack.

Through such alliances the United States has committed itself to defending the regions of Western Europe and the North Atlantic, Central and South America, and the island nations of the South Pacific. The United States has signed mutual defense treaties with nations in these three regions. The treaties that protect these areas are referred to as regional security pacts.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

In 1945 the United States and leaders of the war-torn nations in Western Europe agreed to protect each other from domination by the Soviet Union. The mutual defense treaty that was the basis for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) stated: "The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all."

During the Cold War, NATO countered the military might of the Soviet Union by stationing troops from the United States, West Germany, Great Britain, and other NATO nations on military bases across Western Europe under a single NATO commander. By providing this framework of military security, NATO gave the

TIME

For the Record

Difficult Diplomacy A president's career often hinges on how he deals with international incidents. Just ask Jimmy Carter. In 1979 anti-American students in Iran held 52 members of the U.S. embassy hostage in Tehran. President Carter tried unsuccessfully to get the Americans released by using economic pressure, diplomacy, and finally military force. The frustrating situation angered Americans and is widely believed to have contributed to Carter's loss to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 election. After promising to release Iranian assets, Reagan got the hostages—who had spent 444 days in captivity—released, thus boosting his popularity.

nations of Western Europe time to establish solid democratic governments and strong, free-market economies. While primarily a military alliance, NATO has also served as a useful place for American and European policy makers to meet regularly and discuss mutual problems.

The end of the Cold War also meant the end of NATO's original purpose, but it was not the end of NATO. Since the major military threat to its members ended in the early 1990s, the alliance has been redefining itself in two ways.

First, NATO has expanded its mission to include crisis intervention and peacekeeping in other areas of the world. When war broke out in Bosnia in 1995, NATO intervened with air strikes that brought an end to the fighting. Then in 1999 NATO used a massive bombing campaign followed by the insertion of NATO peacekeeping troops to halt Serbian aggression in the province of Kosovo. Another crisis intervention occurred in 2001 when NATO troops moved into Macedonia to stop the fighting between the country's ethnic Macedonian majority and an ethnic Albanian minority. After the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United

States, NATO countries pledged military and other kinds of assistance in the war on terrorism.

Second, NATO has expanded its membership. In 1999 three former Warsaw Pact nations—Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic—were invited to join. Russia was made a NATO partner in 2002. While not the same as membership, partnership allowed Russia to take an active role in alliance discussions. Seven other former Communist countries—Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia—entered the alliance in 2004. This growth in membership means that the global responsibilities of the United States have increased. Expansion also means that the United States could become involved in more peacekeeping missions such as those in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Macedonia. President George W. Bush has supported expansion of NATO membership. "All of Europe's new democracies," he stated, "should have the same chance for security and freedom and the same chance to join the institutions of Europe."

At the same time, many European leaders have observed that the United States is less interested in NATO now than it was during the Cold War. They note that the United States is becoming more concerned with threats to its national security that arise outside of Europe. Further, they note that in recent years, the United States has spent more than twice as much on its own national defense than all of the other NATO members combined have spent on their own countries' defenses. As a result, many European leaders believe that the United States is now less concerned about cooperating with its allies and more willing to act on its own in dealing with global threats to American security.

Latin America and the Pacific In 1947 the United States and its Latin American neighbors signed the Rio Pact. Among its provisions is this statement:

"An armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States, and, consequently, each one of the . . . contracting parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack. . . ."

—Rio Pact, 1947

Since 1947 most Latin American nations and the United States have participated in the Rio Pact.

Following its revolution, Cuba withdrew from the pact in 1960. In 1948 the United States signed a related treaty, establishing the **Organization of American States (OAS)**. Unlike the Rio Pact, the OAS is primarily concerned with promoting economic development.


The United States also has a regional security pact with Australia and New Zealand. The ANZUS Pact, signed in September 1951, obliged Australia, New Zealand, and the United States to come to one another's aid in case of attack. In 1984 the government of New Zealand adopted a policy that excluded nuclear weapons and nuclear-powered ships from the nation's ports and waters. In response to this policy, the United States announced in 1986 that it would no longer guarantee New Zealand's security under the ANZUS treaty.

Bilateral Treaties of Alliance NATO, the Rio Pact, OAS, and ANZUS are all examples of multilateral treaties. Multilateral treaties are international agreements signed by several nations. The United States has also signed bilateral treaties of alliance. A bilateral treaty is an agreement that involves only two nations.

One bilateral treaty, signed in 1951, makes the United States an ally of Japan. A similar treaty, also signed in 1951, pledges the United States to the defense of the Philippines. A third bilateral treaty, signed in 1953, makes the United States an ally of South Korea.

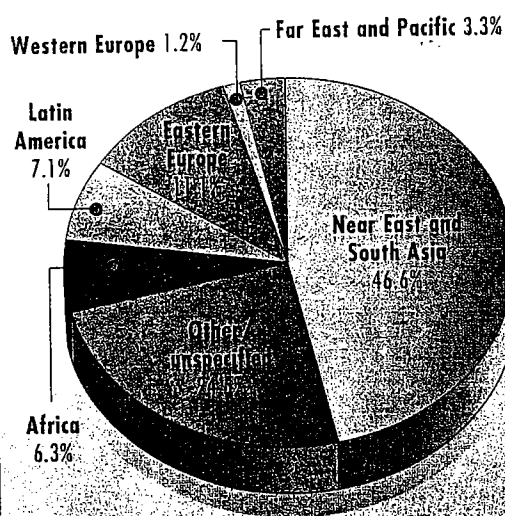
The United States has alliances with almost 50 nations. These nations can count on the military support of the United States in case of an attack. The objective of these treaties is to provide collective security for the United States and its allies. Collective security is a system by which the participating nations agree to take joint action against a nation that attacks any one of them.

Foreign Aid Programs

 Military alliances are one benefit that the United States may offer to friendly nations. American leaders can also offer military support in the form of grants or loans to purchase American armaments. Economic aid is another benefit American leaders can offer. Economic aid has long been used to forge closer ties between the United States and the world's developing nations. Since

U.S. Foreign Aid

Principal Recipients By Region, 2000




Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2002 (Washington, D.C.: 2002).

Critical Thinking The United States spent over \$16 billion in foreign aid during the 2000 fiscal year. What government body or agency appropriates funds for foreign aid?

the end of World War II, this aid has had two purposes. One purpose has been to establish friendly relations with these nations. The second purpose has been to help these nations emerge as eventual economic partners.

Many developing nations have problems satisfying even the minimum needs of their people for food, housing, and education. They urgently need loans and technical assistance. Since 1946 the United States has provided more than \$300 billion in economic aid worldwide and about \$160 billion in military aid. Today the Agency for International Development (AID), an agency of the State Department, administers American programs of economic aid. AID has considerable independence, however, and dispenses loans and technical assistance to countries throughout the world with very little direction from the secretary of state.


Economic Sanctions

 Alliances and economic benefits are two methods of influencing the policies of other nations. The withdrawal or denial of benefits is a third diplomatic strategy. American policy makers sometimes use this strategy when they deal with governments that follow policies the U.S. dislikes.

One way of withdrawing benefits is by applying sanctions. Sanctions are measures such as withholding loans, arms, or economic aid to force a foreign government to cease certain activities. During this century, the United States has employed sanctions more than 75 times. Sanctions were directed against Iraq beginning in 1990, but most were lifted in 2003 following the war between Iraq and U.S.-led coalition forces.

The United States may also restrict trade with another nation as an economic sanction. In the 1980s President Reagan banned the use of American technology in building a natural gas pipeline in the Soviet Union. He did this to protest the Soviet Union's suppression of a Polish trade union.

The Use of Military Force

 Those who believe that military force is a necessary tool of foreign policy argue that many times in recent history limited military action might have preserved peace. In 1938, for example,

rather than risk war Great Britain and France agreed to allow the German dictator Adolf Hitler to take over part of Czechoslovakia. Thus emboldened, Hitler went on to swallow the rest of that country, a move that eventually led to World War II.

The United States government has used military force to settle disputes with other nations. American troops have been used abroad on a number of occasions. Since World War II, the United States has com-

mitted troops without a declaration of war in Korea, Vietnam, Grenada, Panama, the Persian Gulf region, and in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 2001, President Bush ordered the military to attack Afghanistan as part of the war on terrorism. In 2003 American troops led coalition soldiers into Iraq to defeat Saddam Hussein.

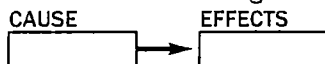


**A U.S. soldier with children
in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina**

Section 4 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

1. **Main Idea** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to show the results that the United States tries to achieve through foreign aid.



2. **Define** mutual defense alliance, regional security pact, multilateral treaty, bilateral treaty, collective security, sanction.
3. **Identify** NATO, OAS.
4. Analyze why NATO is important to the United States.
5. List two mutual defense alliances, besides NATO, in which the United States is a partner.

Critical Thinking

6. **Making Inferences** Why would the stipulation of "an attack against one shall be considered as an attack against all" create a sense of security?

Concepts IN ACTION

Growth of Democracy Research the requirements needed to be Peace Corps volunteers and the kinds of work they perform. Imagine that you are a Peace Corps volunteer who was invited to speak to your class and present the information you have researched.

Skills Technology

Evaluating a Web Site

The Internet has become a valuable research tool. It is convenient to use, and the information contained on the Internet is plentiful. However, some Web site information is not necessarily accurate or reliable. When using the Internet as a research tool, you will need to distinguish between quality information and inaccurate or incomplete information.

Learning the Skill

There are a number of issues to consider when evaluating a Web site. Most important is to check the accuracy of the source and content. The author and publisher or sponsor of the site should be clearly indicated. The information on the site should be current, and the design and organization of the site should be appealing and easy to navigate.

To evaluate a Web site, ask yourself the following questions:

- Are the facts on the site documented?
- Is more than one source used for background information within the site?
- Are the links within the site appropriate and up-to-date?
- Is the author clearly identified?
- Does the site contain links to other useful resources?
- Is the information easy to access? It is properly labeled?
- Is the design appealing?

Practicing the Skill

Visit the following Web site and answer the questions that follow.

<http://www.state.gov>



1. Who is the author or sponsor of the Web site?
2. What links does the site contain? Are they appropriate to the topic?
3. Is the design of the site appealing? Why or why not?
4. How is the home page organized?

Application Activity

Locate two other Web sites about United States foreign policy. Evaluate them for accuracy and usefulness, then compare them to the site featured in this lesson. Be certain to explore the various links that the site includes to conduct a thorough evaluation of the site. Share your findings with the class.



The **Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2** provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

Assessment and Activities

GOVERNMENT



Self-Check Quiz Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 22-Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the chapter test.

Reviewing Key Terms

Choose the letter of the correct term or concept below to complete the sentence.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| a. executive agreement | e. sanction |
| b. internationalism | f. consulate |
| c. foreign policy | g. isolationism |
| d. bipartisan | h. multilateral treaty |
- In the 1800s the U.S. avoided involvement in world affairs, a policy known as ____.
 - Imposing an economic ____ on another nation restricts trade with that nation.
 - The president's foreign policies often have enjoyed ____ congressional support.

- Located in major cities of foreign nations, a ____ promotes American business interests and safeguards American travelers.
- A nation's ____ guides its relations with other countries and groups in the world.
- An international agreement signed by a group of several nations is called a ____.
- The United States now follows a policy of ____ regarding world affairs.
- A pact between the president and the head of a foreign government, called an ____, does not require the Senate's approval.

Recalling Facts

- What have been the major characteristics of American foreign policy since 1945?
- Who, in addition to the cabinet, advises the president on foreign policy?
- What four advantages does the president have over Congress in conducting foreign policy?
- Describe the organization of the Department of State.
- What is the responsibility of the Department of Defense in foreign policy?

Chapter Summary

Growth of Foreign Policy

- Isolationism**—United States avoided involvement in world affairs until the late 1800s.
- Internationalism**—United States involvement in world affairs grew with the outbreak of two world wars in the mid-1900s.
- Interdependence**—Key foreign policy issues today include the global economy and global terrorism.

Foreign Policy Powers

- President** serves as head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces.
- Advisers** such as secretaries of state and defense and national security adviser influence the president's foreign policy.
- Congress** has power to declare war and appropriate money; Senate ratifies treaties and confirms diplomatic appointments.

Tools of Foreign Policy

- Alliances and pacts**, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Foreign aid programs** to establish friendly relations with developing nations and help them emerge as economic partners
- Economic sanctions**, such as withholding loans or restricting trade
- Military force** to settle disputes with other nations

State and Defense Departments

- State Department** keeps president informed about international issues, maintains diplomatic relations and negotiates treaties with foreign governments, and protects the interests of Americans traveling or conducting business abroad.
- Department of Defense** supervises the armed forces of the United States and assists the president in carrying out the duties of commander in chief.

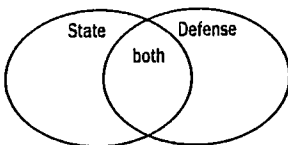
Chapter 22

Understanding Concepts

1. **Public Policy** Many American presidents have achieved more success in foreign policy than in domestic affairs. Explain why this might be so.
2. **Separation of Powers** Should Congress play a greater role in the formation of American foreign policy? Why or why not?

Critical Thinking

1. **Drawing Conclusions** With the changes in world politics after the Cold War, do you believe the role of the CIA will change? Explain.
2. **Synthesizing Information** Use a Venn diagram like the one below to show how the roles of the Departments of State and Defense overlap.

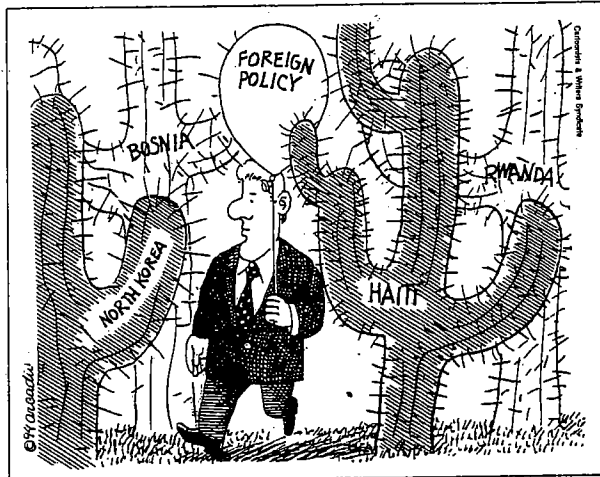


Analyzing Primary Sources

George Kennan was one of the United States's most distinguished diplomats to the Soviet Union in the late 1940s and 1950s. He was also the architect of the U.S. policy of containment, which directed American foreign policy during the Cold War. Read the excerpt detailing Kennan's vision of containment and answer the questions that follow.

"In these circumstances it is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. It is important to note, however, that such a policy has nothing to do with outward histrionics: with threats or blustering or superfluous gestures of outward 'toughness.' . . . [I]t is a sine qua non of successful dealing with Russia that the foreign government

Interpreting Political Cartoons Activity



1. What do the cacti in this cartoon represent?
2. How does this cartoon characterize United States foreign policy?
3. How does this cartoon characterize a president's role in foreign policy?

in question should remain at all times cool and collected and that its demands on Russian policy should be put forward in such a manner as to leave the way open for a compliance not too detrimental to Russian prestige."

1. How does Kennan recommend that the United States deal with the Soviet Union's expansionist tendencies?
2. Do you think that this type of foreign policy practice is relevant today, or similar to any ideas promoted by the U.S. government in its war on terror?

Participating in National Government

Providing foreign aid is a way for the United States to maintain good relationships with foreign nations. Find out how you can contribute to an international relief effort. Outline the results of your research.

