CHAPTER 20 Global Policy

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to

* Define the key terms at the end of the chapter.
* Describe the changes in outlook and priorities that characterized the United States’ emergence as a superpower following World War II.
* Outline the basic consensus that characterized U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War.
* Explain why that consensus broke down.
* Show how foreign policy issues have become more “intermestic” since the end of the Cold War.
* Describe the impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on U.S. foreign policy strategy and choices.
* Discuss the impact of trade and investment policies on foreign policy.
* Outline the president’s chief powers in the area of foreign policy, and list the devices presidents have used to avoid congressional limitations on those powers.
* Describe the roles played by the Department of State, Department of Defense, National Security Council, and Central Intelligence Agency in making foreign policy.
* Identify other players in the foreign policy–making process.
* Assess the limits of public opinion as a guide for foreign policy.

# Global Policy and the Challenge of Democracy

The United States faces numerous global challenges today. Global warming could create serious hazards in the near future. Although many scientists now believe in global warming, numerous skeptics remain, and the Bush administration chose *not* to place any limits on our greenhouse gases. We also have problems with our trade imbalance, debt owed to foreign countries, and competition for jobs in our free trade world. The United States is currently grappling with the outsourcing of jobs to foreign countries, and we are learning that globalization brings both costs and benefits.

Policymakers may want a stable and clean environment, but they also want economic prosperity. Achieving these goals may lead the United States to consider some revolutionary ideas. Is green technology profitable? Can we turn from a fossil fuel society to incorporate more wind, solar, and nuclear power? Will we think of something else? In the midst of all this, can we still fight a war on terror and keep up the pressure on human rights violators? Whereas recent research has suggested that the American public is generally consistent in its foreign policy views and responsive to candidates’ foreign policy positions, it is still hard to see the making of foreign policy as the outcome of a majoritarian process.

Certainly the foreign policy arena is full of examples of pluralistic politics in action. Ethnic groups, foreign governments, businesses, and unions may all lobby in support of foreign policy interests. But in foreign policy, the president still remains the most important actor.

Chapter Overview

The United States is becoming more and more sensitive to the needs of the global environment. We now track carbon footprints and have had an extensive debate on global warming. What pushed us forward were the higher gas prices, which sent everyone scrambling to find their own niche in the new green economy. Although many citizens are calling for U.S. greenhouse gas restrictions, we cannot do anything that will further damage our already weakened economy. Our government is tasked with the delicate job of balancing our environmental needs against our economic needs and making sure that both benefit from our foreign policy.

## Making Foreign Policy: The Constitutional Context

Under the Constitution, the president is clearly the chief actor in foreign policy matters, but as elsewhere in the system, Congress has several prerogatives that serve as checks on his powers. However, presidents have frequently used tools like executive agreements, economic treaties, undeclared wars, discretionary funds, and transfers of authority to sidestep constitutional limitations on their foreign policy powers. The War Powers Resolution (1973) was an attempt by Congress to limit the ability of the president to sustain undeclared wars. The resolution has not been successfully implemented.

## Making Foreign Policy: Organization and Cast

The major organizations responsible for formulating and conducting foreign affairs are the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the National Security Council (NSC), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The Department of State has the most to do with the overall conduct of foreign affairs, yet it has a relatively small staff (especially in comparison with the Department of Defense) and has often been criticized for its inertia. The Department of Defense manages U.S. military forces and provides civilian control over the military. The NSC advises the president on how best to coordinate and balance domestic, foreign, and military affairs. The CIA gathers intelligence about the actions and intentions of foreign powers. It also performs certain covert operations. The CIA is one of the most prominent agencies of the U.S. Intelligence Community. The CIA has been the focus of recent criticism due to faulty intelligence about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

Due to globalization and interdependence of social, environmental, and economic issues with political matters, other cabinet level agencies gather and contribute to the Intelligence Community. The Department of Agriculture offers farming assistance abroad. The Commerce Department monitors trade regulations; this prevents other nations from gaining access to advanced U.S. technology. The Department of Energy monitors foreign nuclear weapons programs. The number of players involved in making foreign policy has increased to include numerous nonprofit agencies and several state governments.

## A Review of U.S. Foreign Policy

The Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which advocated an isolationist policy and nonintervention in European politics, dominated U.S. foreign policy in most of the nineteenth century. World War II and its aftermath brought a decisive change, as globalism replaced isolationism. Following the war, the United States became a superpower and adopted a policy of containment to limit Soviet expansion. The pillars of containment were military, economic, and political. Militarily, the United States agreed to station a large force permanently in Europe. Economically, the Marshall Plan provided millions in aid which helped rebuild and reenergize much of Western Europe. Politically, the United States forged many alliances through the North American Treaty Organization (NATO). Even with all three pillars in place, containment required the threat of nuclear retaliation to keep the Soviets in check.

In the first decade or so of the containment policy, the United States relied heavily on nuclear deterrence to hold the Soviets in check. The shift from near-exclusive reliance on nuclear deterrence to flexible response under President Kennedy created a need for greater military spending. In addition, Kennedy committed himself to nation-building policies in the developing world. The commitment the United States made to nation building in Vietnam cost well over 58,000 American lives and badly damaged the U.S. foreign policy consensus.

President Nixon pursued a policy of détente toward the Soviet Union and also opened the way for relations with the People’s Republic of China. The post-Vietnam era saw Jimmy Carter’s attempt to base foreign policy on human rights, and Ronald Reagan’s reemphasis on military strength and anticommunism as the backbone of U.S. foreign policy. With the decline of communism in Eastern Europe, the United States’ chief adversary paled in strength. But no clear, consistent foreign policy vision emerged to help policymakers balance the conflicting demands of establishing a stable world order, promoting the creation of free institutions, and creating a level of international economic equality adequate to protect against instability.

Late in 1990, Saddam Hussein ordered Iraq’s military to take over the small oil country of Kuwait. George H. W. Bush successfully crafted a coalition of international support to push Saddam Hussein’s army from Kuwait in 1991. Bill Clinton committed the United States to a broader international role as he sought to enlarge the number of free-market economies and engage global security and economic challenges. After 9/11, George W. Bush asserted the nation’s right to preemptively attack potential threats, and engaged in two major military campaigns, one in Afghanistan and one in Iraq. Bush has broadened the role of the military and reasserted the role of the United States as a global superpower.

## Global Policy Issue Areas

In the post–Cold War era, defense and military issues continue to be important. But the end of the Cold War shifted attention to new foreign policy issue areas that highlight the extent to which the United States exists in an interdependent community of nations. Economically, the United States is linked to the rest of the world through aid, trade, and investment. The United States must also weigh the advantages and risks of ignoring human rights violations. The inequality between rich and poor nations is growing; this will raise tensions and make future negotiations difficult. Environmentally, Americans are finding that the choices and activities of one nation may have an ecological impact on the rest of the world. Additionally, the United States has to contend with its overabundance of smog and toxic emissions. When other nations have problems at home, it can make trade difficult.

## The Public and Global Policy

Historically, the public has paid little attention to traditional concerns of foreign policy issues. Recently, however, there has been a steady increase in the percentage of people who believe the United States should play an active part in world affairs. The making of foreign policy does not closely adhere to majority rule. Interest groups, including ethnic groups, business groups, unions, and others, are becoming increasingly involved in the process. The media also help shape the process, particularly through their function as agenda setters.

Key Terms

executive agreement

Intelligence Community

isolationism

Cold War

containment

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

nation building

Nixon Doctrine

détente

peace through strength

enlargement and engagement

preemptive action

global policy

sovereign wealth funds

free trade

comparative advantage

fair trade

managed trade

protectionists

# RESEARCH RESOURCES

What is the U.S. policy toward Myanmar or Morocco or Burkina Faso or Argentina? You can find the answers by consulting *Background Notes on Countries of the World,* a series of loose-leaf publications prepared by the Department of State. This material is also accessible online through the State Department’s web page at <[http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn](http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/)>. These notes give information on the history, population, economy, and government of every country in the world, with a summary of the current status of each country’s relations with the United States. These notes are also very useful for travelers. The Department of State’s website also provides information on policy issues as well as U.S. policy toward nations and regions. Check their home page at <[http://www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov/)>.

What about defense policy? Where can you find information on defense and foreign policy? Start with the Department of Defense’s official website at <[http://www.defenselink.mil](http://www.defenselink.mil/)>. How do you discover how U.S. defense spending compares with the defense spending of other countries? Try *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers,* published annually by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, a part of the federal government. Another source for research into weapons systems is the *Defense and Foreign Affairs Handbook* (Washington, DC: Defense and Foreign Affairs), which includes descriptions of the defense capabilities of nations around the globe. It offers a handy guide to who’s who in politics and defense, as well as a list of corporations that supply armaments to the government and descriptions of the kinds of products they supply. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) publishes an annual yearbook on armaments, disarmament, and international security. Much of their data is available online through their website at <<http://www.sipri.se>>. For a respected source critical of defense spending, try the Center for Defense Information at <[http://www.cdi.org](http://www.cdi.org/)>. For a pro-defense spin, visit the Heritage Foundation’s National Security site at <[http://www.heritage.org/research/features/nationalsecurity](http://www.nationalsecurity.org/)>.

# Using Your Knowledge

1. Select an important foreign policy issue (such as U.S. policy toward Iran or nuclear nonproliferation). Visit the Department of State’s website to find current U.S. policy. Have there been debates in Congress on the issue? If so, what positions have been stated? Finally, research public opinion on the issue.

2. Using Internet resources, trace U.S. defense spending over the past decade. How does it compare to the defense spending of other NATO nations, such as the United Kingdom Britain or France?

# Getting Involved

## Careers in Foreign Affairs

Students interested in careers in international affairs often hope to work for the Department of State. As this chapter points out, the bad news is that positions as foreign-service officers are highly competitive. There is good news, though, namely, that there are many other opportunities to work for the U.S. government in the area of international affairs. There are also opportunities to be involved in international affairs working for nongovernment organizations.

**Foreign Service*.***As the text mentions, the first hurdle for those seeking a foreign-service appointment in the Department of State is a written examination. To obtain further information, visit the Department of State’s careers website at <[http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/hr](http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/hr/)>.

**Other Departments in International Affairs*.***There are many other ways to pursue a career in international affairs. Here is a short list of other federal departments and agencies that deal with international matters.

The Department of Agriculture runs international affairs and commodity programs as well as marketing and inspection programs. Try browsing the department’s career website at <[http://www.usda.gov/wps/portal/!ut/p/\_s.7\_0\_A/7\_0\_1OB?navtype=MA&navid=CAREERS](http://www.usda.gov/wps/portal/%21ut/p/_s.7_0_A/7_0_1OB?navtype=MA&navid=CAREERS)>.

To learn more about CIA positions, visit their website at <[https://www.cia.gov/careers/index.html](http://www.cia.gov/employment/)>.

You might be interested in the International Trade Administration of the Department of Commerce. This organization tries to promote overseas markets for U.S. goods. Their website is at <<http://www.commerce.gov/JobsCareerOpportunities/index.htm>>.

The Peace Corps at <[http://www.peacecorps.gov](http://www.peacecorps.gov/)> accepts volunteers for two-year terms in over seventy countries. The agency also has its own staff of regular employees overseeing operations. For further information, contact the Peace Corps, Office of Personnel, 1990 K Street, NW, Washington, DC 20526.

## Internships

If you contemplate a career in the field of international affairs or foreign policy, you may want to take a closer look. Some of the possibilities for internships in government, as well as in think tanks and with interest groups, include the following:

With the U.S. Government

The Department of State offers both paid summer internships and work-study internships. These internships are highly competitive and may even include work overseas. The lead time for obtaining Department of State internships is fairly long, since successful applicants may need to be put through a security clearance. Applications for summer are usually due around November 1. For further information, visit <<http://www.careers.state.gov/student/index.html>>.

The CIA offers internships paid at the rate of $300 to $375 per week. These are available at its Langley, Virginia, headquarters as well as elsewhere. Its undergraduate internships are open to minority and disabled students in their junior and senior years of college. Applications for summer spots are due early—September 30! For more information, visit <<https://www.cia.gov/careers/student-opportunities/index.html>>.

The Peace Corps also offers a year-round, two- to six-month internship program in its HQ’s offices. These internships are unpaid. Applicants must submit a Standard Form 171 Personal Qualifications Statement. For more information and to apply, visit their website at <<http://www.peacecorps.gov/index.cfm>>.

Outside Government

The Center for Defense Information gives students with an interest in defense policy and related public policy issues the opportunity to serve as research and outreach assistants. These competitive, paid internships are offered in spring, summer, and fall. The deadlines are October 15 for spring, March 15 for summer, and July 1 for fall. For further information, visit their website at <[http://www.cdi.org](http://www.cdi.org/)> or contact the Intern Coordinator, Center for Defense Information, 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

The Heritage Foundation conducts research and publishes papers on a wide variety of international political, economic, and security issues and offers internships during the fall and spring semesters. To find out more, visit their website at <<http://www.heritage.org/About/Internships>>.

Sample Exam Questions

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. What 1997 treaty, designed to reduce greenhouse emissions, did President Bush decline to support when he became president in 2001?

a. Oslo Accords

b. Nairobi Agreement

c. Warsaw Pact

d. Treaty of Paris

e. Kyoto Treaty

2. Which of the following would *not* be considered a problem attributable to globalization?

a. global warming

b. lowered food production

c. increasing trade deficit

d. increasing national debt

e. competition for jobs due to free trade

3. A pact between the United States and another country concerning their joint activities, which needs no formal approval from the U.S. Senate is called a(n)

a. preemptive action.

b. comparative advantage.

c. flexible response.

d. executive agreement.

e. détente.

4. What document, passed over President Nixon’s veto, requires the U.S. president to consult with Congress before involving U.S. troops in hostilities and to notify Congress within forty-eight hours of such an intervention?

a. War Powers Resolution

b. Marshall Plan

c. détente

d. NATO Accords

e. executive agreement

5. What executive cabinet department was the first to be created by Congress in 1789?

a. State Department

b. Treasury Department

c. Justice Department

d. War Department

e. none of these

6. Which U.S. executive agency conducts signal intelligence using supercomputers, satellites, and other high-tech equipment?

a. Central Intelligence Agency

b. National Security Council

c. Federal Bureau of Investigation

d. NATO Headquarters Intelligence Agency

e. National Security Agency

7. The U.S. policy to stop Soviet expansion during the Cold War was called

a. the Marshall Plan.

b. flexible response.

c. containment.

d. mutual assured destruction.

e. preemptive action.

8. President Clinton’s policy following the collapse of communism to increase the spread of market economies and increase the U.S. role in global affairs was called

a. the Clinton Doctrine.

b. preemptive action.

c. détente.

d. enlargement and engagement.

e. comparative advantage.

9. What group of advisers assists the president in molding a coherent approach to foreign policy by integrating and coordinating details of domestic, foreign, and military affairs?

a. National Security Agency

b. Department of Defense

c. National Security Council

d. State Department

e. Central Intelligence Agency

10. Which foreign policy served to scale back U.S. overseas commitments by linking commitments to interests?

a. Monroe Doctrine

b. Truman Doctrine

c. Carter Doctrine

d. Nixon Doctrine

e. Clinton Doctrine

11. Which is *not* true of the international liberals?

a. They use international government to protect the environment.

b. They use international government to improve conditions of workers.

c. They use international government to aid children in foreign countries.

d. They use international government to advance the rights of women.

e. They use international government to provide subsidies to national businesses.

12. A foreign policy power explicitly assigned to the president under the Constitution is the power to

a. declare war.

b. receive ambassadors.

c. conclude executive agreements.

d. raise revenue for the armed forces.

e. all of the above.

13. Which of the following agencies does the Agency for International Development (AID) work with on a regular basis?

a. Central Intelligence Agency

b. Department of Agriculture

c. Peace Corps

d. Defense Department

e. all of the above

14. Which U.S. president used a policy of peace through strength during his administration?

a. Jimmy Carter

b. Ronald Reagan

c. George H. W. Bush

d. Bill Clinton

e. George W. Bush

15. Which of the following is true about the United States’ active role in world affairs?

a. Neither the public nor the foreign policy elites support an active role.

b. The public does not support an active role, but the foreign policy elites do.

c. The public supports an active role, but the foreign policy elites do not.

d. Both the public and the foreign policy elites support an active role.

e. The foreign policy elites have only recently begun to support an active role.

16. Approximately what percentage of the federal budget is devoted to foreign aid?

a. 1 percent

b. 5 percent

c. 15 percent

d. 25 percent

e. 35 percent

17. After the end of the Cold War, what new kind of policy replaced our policy of containment?

a. enlargement and engagement policy

b. disengagement policy

c. détente policy

d. global policy

e. preemptive policy

18. Creating order through the use of international agreements to outlaw unfair business practices is called

a. flexible response.

b. fair trade.

c. free trade.

d. comparative advantage.

e. managed trade.

19. Which of the following is *not* one of the big emerging markets (BEM) the United States. is interested in?

a. Indonesia

b. Mexico

c. Brazil

d. South Africa

e. none of the above

20. An economic policy to allow businesses in different nations to sell and buy goods without paying tariffs or having other limitations is called

a. flexible response.

b. fair trade.

c. free trade.

d. comparative advantage.

e. managed trade.

21. An executive agreement

a. has no legal standing.

b. has the legal status of a treaty.

c. requires ratification by the Senate.

d. is outside the range of presidential power.

e. is a power reserved for the president by the Constitution.

22. When did the United States break out of its policy of isolationism and become a superpower?

a. after the Civil War

b. after World War I

c. after World War II

d. during the Vietnam War

e. after the 9/11 terrorist attacks

23. The War Powers Resolution

a. greatly diminished the ability of presidents to conduct undeclared wars.

b. played no role in the George W. Bush administration’s decisions related to the war on terror.

c. increased the role of the House of Representatives in foreign policy choices.

d. resulted in a major reorganization of the Department of Defense.

e. failed to diminish the ability of the president to conduct undeclared war.

24. Which is *not* true for the international conservatives?

a. They favor spending for national defense.

b. They favor support of U.S. intelligence agencies.

c. They favor placing U.S. forces under the command of international organizations.

d. They favor using the military only to fight in defense of vital national interests.

e. They oppose other nations monitoring human rights conditions in the United States.

25. What organization was created in 1995 in order to regulate trade among the NATO nations and is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland?

a. World Trade Organization

b. World Economic Council

c. Economic Council Organization

d. International Committee on Economics

e. Economic Trade Council

Essay Questions

1. How has globalization affected U.S. foreign policy choices and strategies?

2. What role did NATO play in U.S. foreign and defense policy for Europe that came as part of the aftermath of World War II and the effort of containment?

3. Describe the major approaches to managing trade. What are the advantages and drawbacks of each?

4. Which agencies play a major role in our foreign policy, and what are their roles?

5. What role has the United States played concerning major environmental issues?

Answers to Multiple-Choice QuestionS

1. e

2. b

3. d

4. a

5. a

6. e

7. c

8. d

9. c

10. d

11. e

12. b

13. e

14. b

15. d

16. a

17. d

18. b

19. d

20. c

21. b

22. c

23. e

24. c

25. a