

EDITION

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Essentials



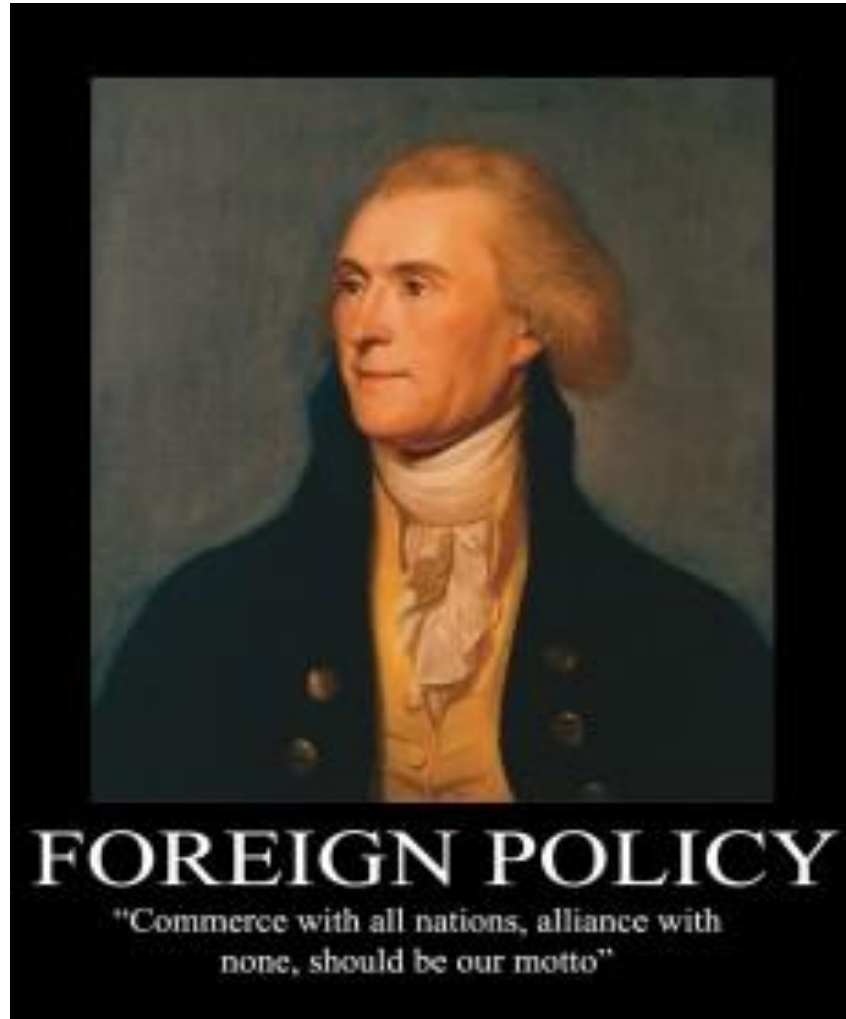
CHAPTER 15

Foreign Policy

Chapter Goals

- Explain how foreign policy is designed to promote security, prosperity, and humanitarian goals.
- Describe the structure and roles of the major organizations and players in U.S. foreign-policy making.
- Describe the means the United States uses to carry out foreign policy today.
- Explain the foreign policy problems facing American policy makers today.

Foreign Policy



Foreign Policy Goals Are Related

Foreign Policy:

- Programs and policies that determine America's relations with other nations and foreign entities.
- Techniques and strategies that are used to achieve a nation's goals in the international arena.
- Foreign policy includes diplomacy, military and security policy, international human rights policies, trade policy, and international energy policy.

Foreign Policy Goals Are Related

Three main goals of U.S. foreign policy are:

- Security - protection from foreign threats.
- Economic prosperity – promoting free trade and free markets.
- Human rights – preventing the oppression of individuals around the world. Maintaining a stable world.

Security and Military Strength

- **To many, the chief goal of foreign policy is security. Physical Security is still an important policy goal.**
- Traditionally, the United States has been concerned with dangers posed by hostile foreign **nation-states**.
Ex Russia, North Korea, Iran, China, etc.
- But today, security also involves threats posed by terrorist groups and other hostile non-state actors.
 - **Non-state actors:** groups other than nation-states that attempt to play a role in the international system; terrorist groups are one type of non-state actor.

Guarding Against National Threats

Policy makers have to be concerned with physical security as well.

The United States relies on an enormous military apparatus.

- **The Department of Defense** – Formally the Department of War.
 - Created in 1947 to coordinate the activities of American military establishment.
 - Consists of the commanders of the various military branches that comprise the Joint chiefs and their staffs.
 - Designed to formulate a unified military strategy.

Guarding Against National Threats

The United States also relies on intelligence-gathering institutions for protection.

- **The Intelligence Community**- consists of government agencies engaged in activities varying from information gathering to covert operations.
 - Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
 - Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
- **Covert Actions** – Intelligence activities that are primarily involved in information gathering, but can also includes destabilizing foreign governments, undermining their economy, fomenting unrest among the population, assassinations etc.

U.S. Foreign Policy

Three major themes have guided U.S. foreign policy.

- **Isolationism** – avoiding foreign entanglements.
- **Global engagement / Internationalism**- After World War II, the U.S. emerged with its economy strong and the only nation with operating nuclear weapons.
- **Containment** – Preventing the spread of communism and the influence of the Soviet Union.

Early U.S. Foreign Policy

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, U.S. security was guided by the principle of isolationism.

- **Isolationism:** avoidance of involvement in the affairs of other nations.
- The founders were mistrustful of European governments and avoided any permanent alliances.
- America was militarily weak that it could not influence world affairs even if it wanted to.
- **The Monroe Doctrine** - In 1823 President Monroe codified American Isolationist foreign policy by stating that the United States would not accept foreign intervention in the Western Hemisphere.
- Policy continues till the end of the 19th century and the start of the war with Spain.
- The Great War (WW1) help move the United States onto the world stage.

Foreign Policy after World War II

- World War II ended isolationism and ushered in a new security policy known as containment.
- The era of U.S. confrontation with the Soviet Union (from the 1940s to 1990) is known as the **Cold War**.
- The Cold War – After WW2, the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union started to deteriorated along political, economic and ideological lines leading to an unofficial confrontation.
- The U.S. and its allies established the concept of **Containment**, as a policy designed to curtail the political and military expansion of a hostile power and primarily designed to check the growing power of the Soviet Union.

Foreign Policy during the Cold War

- **Containment policy** continued with the Truman Doctrine where President Truman announced to congress in 1947 that the United States will contain Soviet expansion into the rest of Europe.
 - Will help countries prevent a communist take over.
 - Provide economic assistance plan to help suffering countries and prevent communist influence.
- The United States also adopted a policy of **deterrence** toward the Soviet Union: an effort to prevent hostile action by promising to retaliate forcefully against an attacker.
- The United States built a strong military to ward off possible Soviet aggression against the nation and its allies.
 - The era of U.S. confrontation with the Soviet Union (from the 1940s to 1990) is known as the **Cold War**.

Security and Military Strength in the Cold War



Symbol of American
Foreign and Military
Policy.

When ever there is
trouble around the
globe, the President of
the United States
always asks,
*“Where is the nearest
carrier?”*

Deterrence and Non-State Actors

- A policy of deterrence requires that a nation not only possess large military forces but also convince potential adversaries with *certainty* that it is willing to fight if attacked.
- Dealing with nonstate actors, however, makes deterrence difficult.
- Unlike nation-states, terrorists may believe they can attack and melt away, leaving the United States with no one against whom to retaliate. The threat of massive retaliation does not deter them.
 - **Nation-states:** political entities consisting of a people with some common culture and government.

Countering New Security Threats

- Terrorism has become a major challenge facing the United States and other nations. The United States waged war on terrorism after the September 11 attacks.
- President George W. Bush adopted a preventive war policy.
 - Under the policy, the United States declared it would strike first against terrorist groups and rogue states to disable threats before they could harm the United States.
 - The “global war on terror” and the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 are examples of preventive war policy.

Countering New Security Threats

- Terrorism from dissident groups, rebels, revolutionaries and various Islamist groups engage in terrorism in order to threaten governments, people and the peace of the world.
- Ethnic tensions and political instability in many regions of the world provide challenges to the U.S.
- Iran has continued to develop nuclear weapons in the face of sanctions imposed by the United Nations.

Countering New Security Threats

- Civil wars in a number of African states in the last two decades.
- In Central and South America, the United States has encouraged economic development and democracy throughout the continent.
- The rise of China as a major military and economic power with nuclear weapons and missile capability.

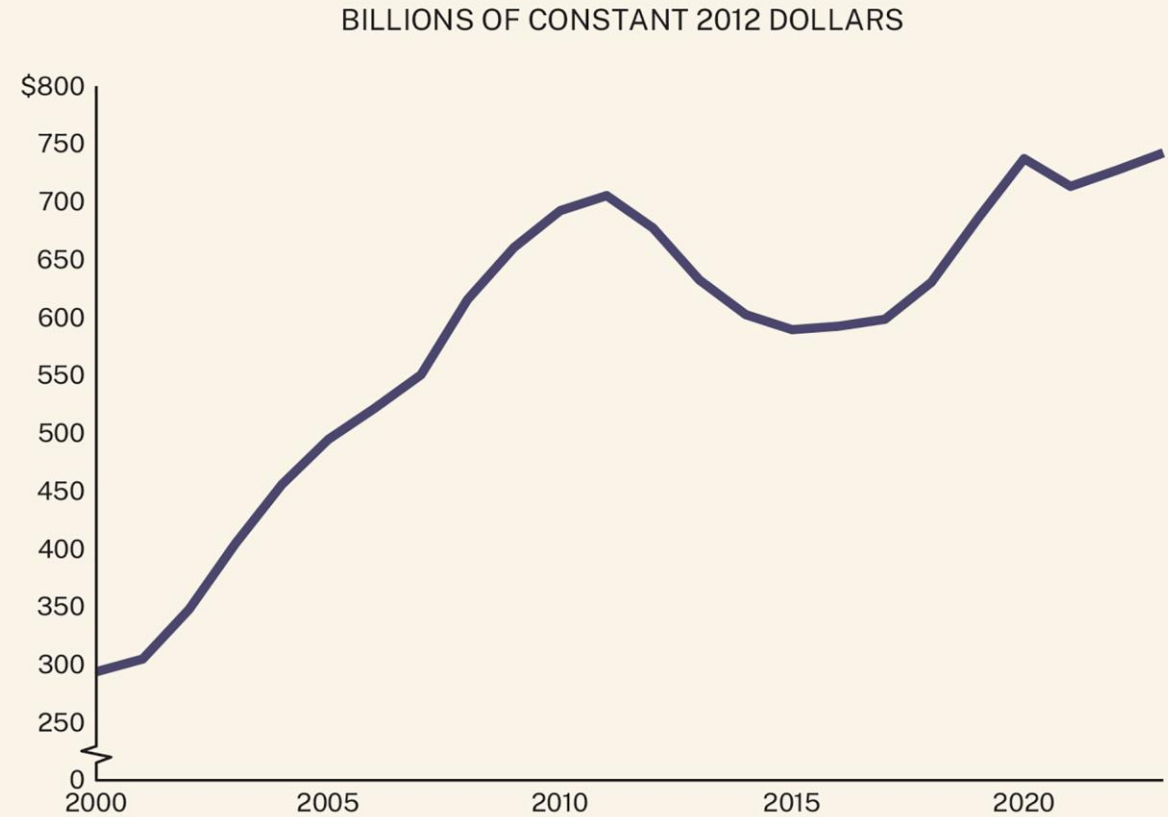
Diplomacy, Sanctions, and Collective Action

President Obama and President Trump took different approaches.

- The Obama administration emphasized diplomacy, sanctions, and collective action. Getting other nations to participate.
- President Trump, however, said that the United States was ready to use overwhelming force against its adversaries.
 - Trump called North Korean leader Kim Jong-un “Little Rocket Man” and declared that force would thwart Kim’s ambitions.
 - While President Trump’s tone was belligerent, he avoided military entanglements during his time in office.
 - Trump, however, said that the United States was ready to use overwhelming force against its adversaries and would pursue its own interests regardless of the views of allies.

U.S. Spending on National Defense

FIGURE 15.1 | U.S. Spending on National Defense since 2000*



*Data for 2021, 2022, and 2023 are estimated.

SOURCE: Office of Management and Budget, "Table 3.1 — Outlays by Superfunction and Function: 1940–2025," www.whitehouse.gov/omb/historical-tables/ (accessed 3/7/22).

Economic Prosperity

A second major goal of U.S. foreign policy is to promote American economic prosperity.

U.S. international economic policy is intended to:

- Expand domestic employment
- Maintain access to foreign energy supplies
- Promote foreign investment in the United States
- Lower the price U.S. citizens pay for goods and services
- Protect American economic interests at home and abroad

Economic Prosperity: Trade Policy

- International trade is a key element of American's economic policies.
- Promote American goods and services on the world market.
- Promote and maintain international trade and monetary practice worldwide to ensure American prosperity.
- Many Americans benefit from free trade as consumers, but many industries and their employees are hurt by free trade if jobs move overseas.
 - The U.S. is a member of the most important international organization for free trade: the **World Trade Organization**.
 - The U.S. is also a member of a regional free trade zone, the **United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement (UMSCA)**.

Promoting American Ideals Overseas: Human Rights

A third major goal of U.S. foreign policy is to make the world a better place for all.

- Maintain a stable world order that allow the people of the world to prosper and grow free from war, disease and economic instability.
- Some Americans believe the United States has an obligation to protect human rights and help the world's poor.
- Others would say that the United States should spend our resources at home only.

Promoting American Ideals Overseas: Human Rights

Many Americans views human rights and humanitarian policies as a form of “soft power,” serving American interests and winning friends.

- The U.S. is a party to most major international human rights agreements.
- This is a lower priority in American foreign policy than security or economic interests.
- The United States does recognize an obligation to assist nations facing emergencies.
- Also, the U.S. generally favors democratically elected governments and opposes regimes that fail to honor electoral outcomes.

Who Makes American Foreign Policy? The President

The president is the leading figure in the conduct of American foreign policy and can directly set foreign policy strategies.

Constitutional Powers of the President

- *Article 2 Section 1* of the Constitution provides the President the power to:
 - Make Treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate.
 - Executive Agreements with other foreign leaders.
 - Appoints Ambassadors and receives Ambassadors.
 - Recognize foreign governments.
 - War Powers- CIC of the military and approve covert operations and intelligence efforts.

Who Makes American Foreign Policy? The President

Constitutional Powers of the President

- Informal Techniques of Presidential Leadership
- Presidential Charm and personality.
- Access to Strategic Intelligence.
- Can use his power as chief legislature to convince congress to appropriate funds to various diplomatic initiatives.
- Use of the Bully Pulpit to influence public opinion.

The Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy

The bureaucracy includes key leaders in decisions on foreign policy.

- **State Department:** The State Department is executive department responsible for the routine matters of international diplomacy that make up much of America's foreign policy. The department oversees more than 300 U.S. embassies, consulates, and diplomatic missions around the world.
- **National Security Council (NSC):** The NSC resides within the Executive Office of the President. It oversees America's foreign policy institutions, synthesizes information coming from the bureaucracy, and helps the president develop foreign policy.

The Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy

- **Department of Defense:** The Defense Department employs more than 2 million military and civilian personnel. Each branch of the military is headed by a chief of staff and collectively they constitute the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS).
- **Intelligence Agencies:** Agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the Director of National Intelligence (DNI), are responsible for collecting, analyzing, and making recommendations based on foreign intelligence.
- **The National Security Agency (NSA):** The NSA is a highly influential, and controversial, intelligence agency. The NSA effectively reports directly to the president and provides the results of its worldwide electronic surveillance efforts.

The President and Foreign Policy



Congress and Foreign Policy

Congress can exercise broad influence over foreign policy.

- Congress has the constitutional power to declare war but has rarely done so.
- Congress has the power of the purse and controls the financing necessary for war, defense, and other measures.
- Congress, however, rarely refuses to fund military actions that the president has initiated; that would be politically unpopular.

Congress and Foreign Policy

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and, to a lesser extent, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, are key players in setting foreign policy.

- Confirm state department officials.
- Hold hearings on proposed treaties
- Refer treaties for full senate vote on ratification.

Congressional Armed Services and Intelligence committees also play a role.

- Provide oversight on the military (DOD & DOE) and intelligence bureaucracy.

Interest Groups Pressure Foreign Policy Decision Makers

- Interest groups can influence foreign policy.
 - Arms suppliers and defense contractors.
- Economic groups often hold the most influence, but it varies by year and issue.
 - Corporate farms / heavy machinery / Financial Corp.
- There are also influential groups with strong attachments to, and identification with, their country of national origin.
 - Example: Cuban American groups
- Human rights groups have become more prominent in recent decades
 - Example: Amnesty International

Tools of Modern American Foreign Policy: Diplomacy

Diplomacy refers to the representation of a government to other governments.

- The purpose of diplomacy is to promote national values or interests by peaceful means.
- American ambassadors are tasked with:
 - maintaining good relations with foreign governments
 - promoting a positive view of the United States abroad
 - securing information about foreign governments that might be helpful to the United States in its international dealings

Tools of Foreign Policy: The United Nations

- The **United Nations** (UN) is often underestimated as a tool of U.S. foreign policy.
- The UN, founded in 1945, can be used to shape world opinion.
 - Ineffective in its primary mission to avoid conflict.
 - Failed to prevent the invasion of Ukraine by Russia in 2022
- The UN's supreme body is the General Assembly.
 - It comprises one representative of each of the 193 member states.
 - Each member representative has one vote.
 - Important issues require a two-thirds majority vote.

Tools of Foreign Policy: The United Nations



Tools of Foreign Policy: The United Nations Security Council

- The UN Security Council has considerable power and may be called into session at any time.
- Each member must be present at UN headquarters at all times.
- The council is composed of 15 members.
 - 5 permanent (United States, United Kingdom, France, China, and Russia)
 - 10 elected by the General Assembly
- Permanent members have veto power over any proposal.

Tools of Foreign Policy: The United Nations Security Council



Tools of Foreign Policy: Monetary Structures

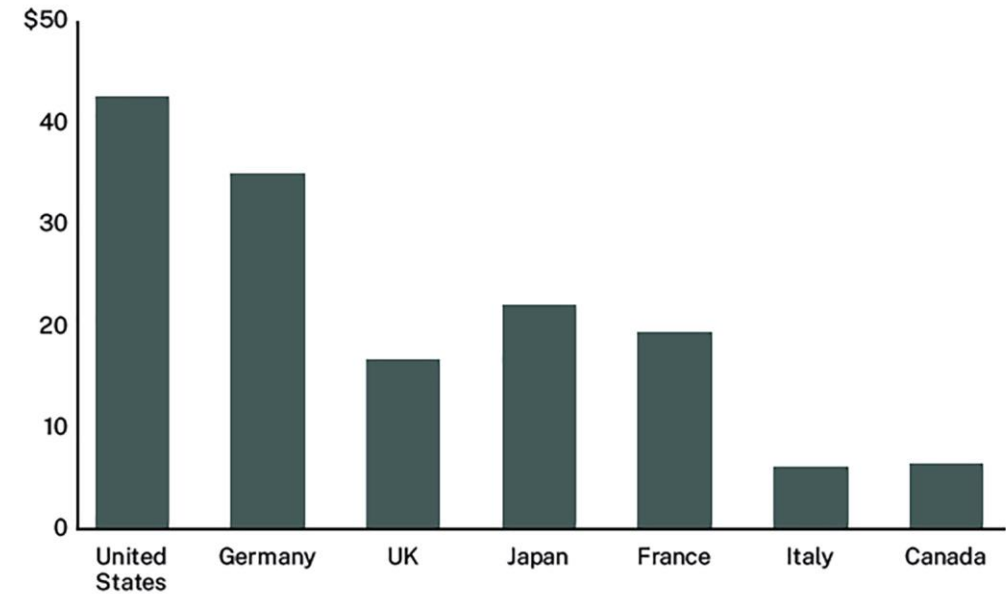
- In 1944, the United States brought together its allies in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create a new economic structure for the postwar world.
- One major goal was to prevent economic instability that might lead to political instability and war.
- The new structure would give the United States and its allies greater leverage in the economic and political affairs of developing countries.
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank): provides development aid to poor countries through long-term capital investments
- **International Monetary Fund:** provides loans and facilitates international monetary exchange

Tools of Foreign Policy: Economic Aid and Sanctions

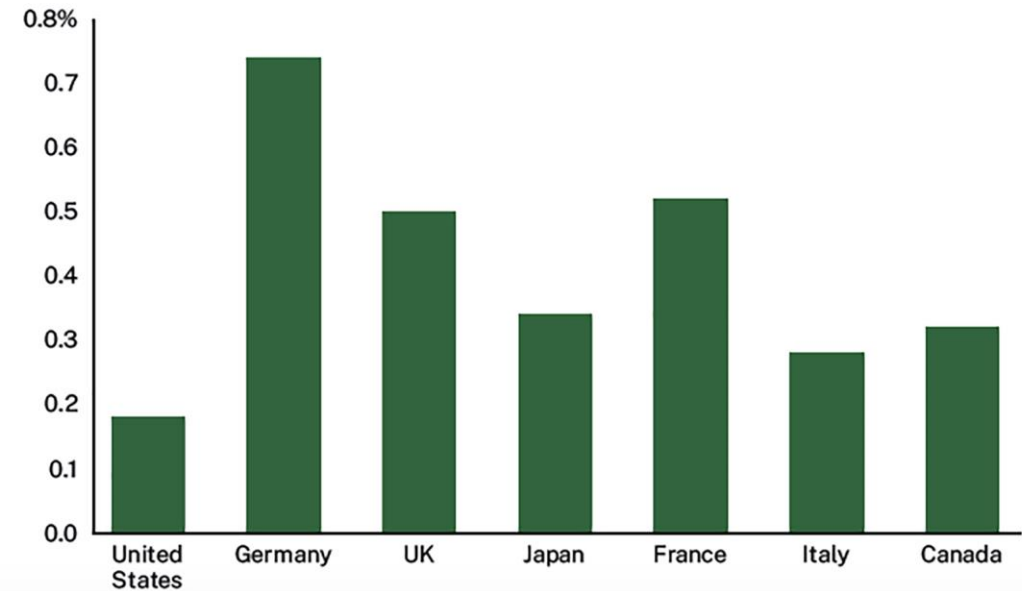
- The United States provides \$50 billion a year in economic aid to other countries.
- Aid is a carrot (a positive incentive that gets countries to take actions that the United States desires).
 - Most aid is designed to promote American security interests or economic concerns.
- Sanctions are a stick (a negative incentive using penalties).
 - They include trade embargoes, bans on investment or on travel, efforts to prevent the World Bank or other international institutions from extending credit

America Side by Side: Foreign Aid in Comparison

FOREIGN AID CONTRIBUTED IN BILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS



FOREIGN AID CONTRIBUTION AS PERCENTAGE OF GNI



Tools of Foreign Policy: Collective Security

- Collective security involves the development of alliances to fend off security threats.
- The first collective security agreement: Rio Treaty
 - It created the Organization of American States (OAS).
 - The treaty stated that armed attack against any of its members “shall be considered an attack against all the American States.”
- The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949.
- It created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which includes the United States, Canada, and most of Western Europe.
 - NATO was created to counter the perceived threat of the former Soviet Union.

Tools of Foreign Policy: Military Force

- The most visible instrument of foreign policy is military force.
- The United States is responsible for one-third of the world's total military expenditures.
- Military force is generally considered a last resort.
 - Extremely costly in both human and financial terms
 - Inherently fraught with risk
 - Public support is high for short and decisive military engagements; support drops when conflicts drag on.

Military Force



Tools of Foreign Policy: Soft Power

- Soft power refers to efforts by one nation to influence the people and governments of other nations by persuasion rather than coercion.
- Instruments of soft power include:
 - Development aid
 - Cultural diplomacy
 - Student-exchange programs

Tools of Foreign Policy: Arbitration

The final foreign policy tool is dispute arbitration.

- Arbitration is the resolution of a disagreement by a neutral third party.
- It is considered by some analysts to be a form of “soft power” because it does not rely on military force.
- The International Court of Justice is an international body that handles arbitration.
- The United States relies heavily on the work of arbitral panels to maintain the flow of international trade.

Current Foreign Policy Issues: China and Russia

- China seems determined to expand its military capabilities and replace the United States as the dominant power in Asia.
- The United States has no desire to engage in a military conflict with China but does want to blunt Chinese ambitions.
- Russia was once a superpower and America's chief rival.
 - Russia remains heavily armed but is economically weak.
 - Russia has challenged the United States in the Middle East and in Europe and has meddled in the U.S. elections.

Current Foreign Policy Issues: Nuclear Proliferation in Iran and North Korea

Iran and North Korea present challenges, especially in the realm of nuclear proliferation.

- Iran and the United States have been adversaries since 1979.
- The United States fears that Iran is working toward obtaining nuclear weapons.
 - Agreement was reached with Iran in 2015 that in exchange for the lifting of U.S. sanctions, the Iranians would not build nuclear weapons.
 - Critics of the agreement expressed fears that it would not deter the Iranians and President Trump withdrew the United States from the agreement in 2018.

U.S. efforts to undermine the North Korean regime have been difficult because China will not cooperate.

Current Foreign Policy Issues: Nuclear Proliferation in North Korea

- North Korea has a major backer in China.
 - China regards North Korea as useful in preventing the United States, South Korea, and Japan from dominating the Sea of Japan.
- North Korea has continued to build nuclear warheads and test missiles despite U.S. opposition.

Current Foreign Policy Issues: Trade Policy

Trade is one of the most contentious issues in contemporary international relations.

The United States has accused China and other nations of unfair trade practices.

Trade affects job growth in the United States.

- President Trump argued that trade policies allowed American jobs to be exported to Asia and Mexico.
- One of President Trump's first acts in office was to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).

International Trade



Jeff Gritchen/MediaNews Group/Orange County Register via Getty Imag

Current Foreign Policy Issues: Environmental Policy

The United States supports various environmental protection efforts.

These include the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Montreal Protocol.

However, the United States was criticized for withdrawing from the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, which set limits on nations' emissions of greenhouse gases.

The United States signed the Paris Agreement in 2015 to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

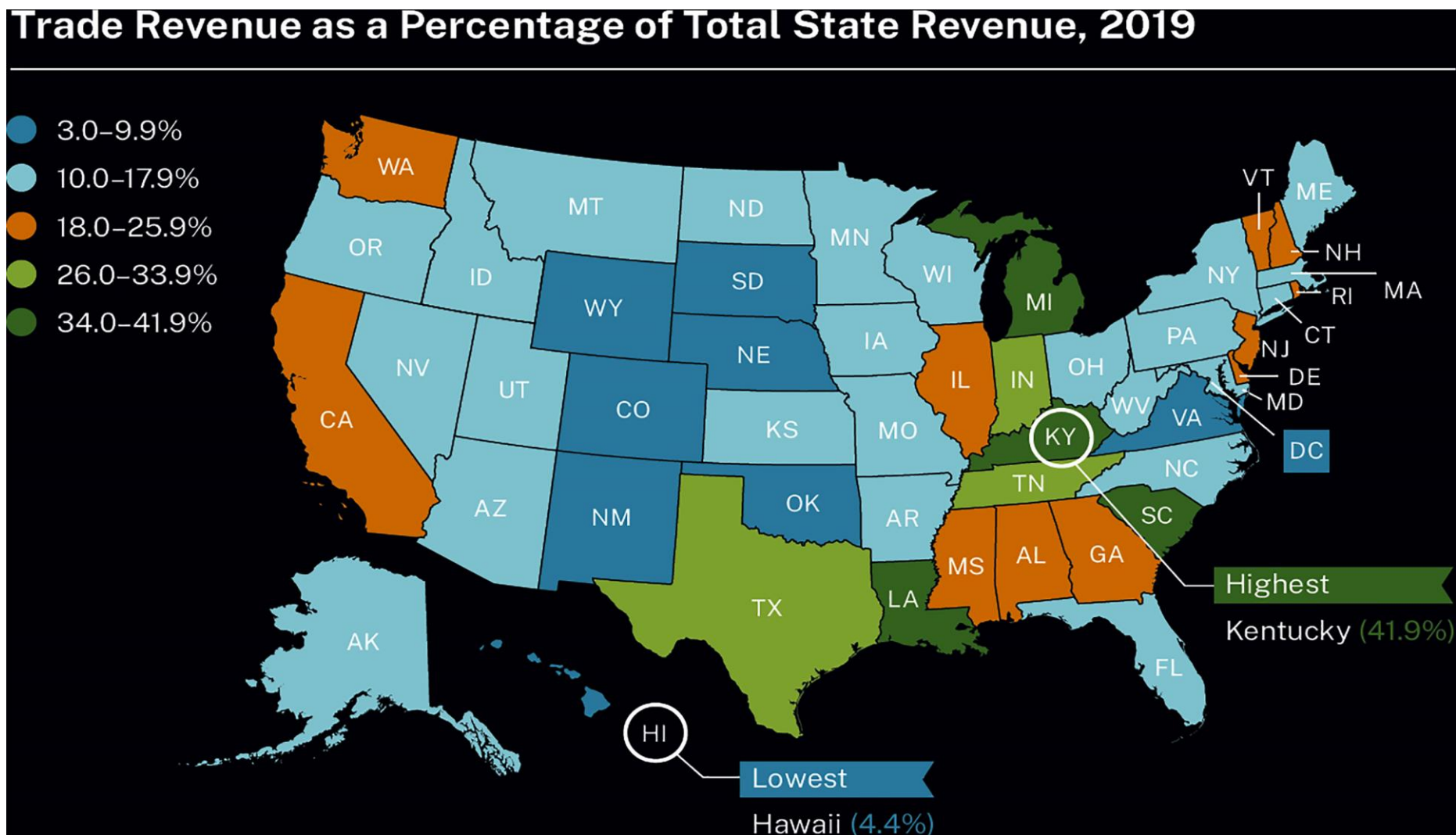
- As president, Trump ended U.S. participation in it, but Biden restored U.S. participation in the Paris Agreement.
- Agreement allows foreign entities to sue the United States in federal court over greenhouse gas emissions.

Readings from Faculty Website

- *The U.S Constitution*

Who Are Americans?:
















Who Benefits from International Trade? Part 1



Who Are Americans?:

Who Benefits from International Trade? Part 2

Top Exported Goods and Trading Partners by State, 2019

States with highest percent of revenue from trade		Top trading partner		Top exported products	
1	Kentucky		Canada		Civilian aircraft parts
2	Michigan		Canada		Motor vehicles
3	Louisiana		Mexico		Oil/petroleum
4	South Carolina		China		Civilian aircraft parts
5	Texas		Mexico		Oil/petroleum
6	Tennessee		Canada		Medical instruments
7	Indiana		Canada		Medicine
8	New Jersey		Canada		Minerals
9	Illinois		Canada		Oil/petroleum
10	Mississippi		Canada		Oil/petroleum