

Foreign Policy and National Defense

Chapter Preview

In the early 1990s, leaders from the Middle East met with then President Bush, who urged Israel and the Arab states to put aside longstanding feuds and create a peaceful future. A Palestinian delegate compared President Bush's role at the conference to an old Arab folktale.

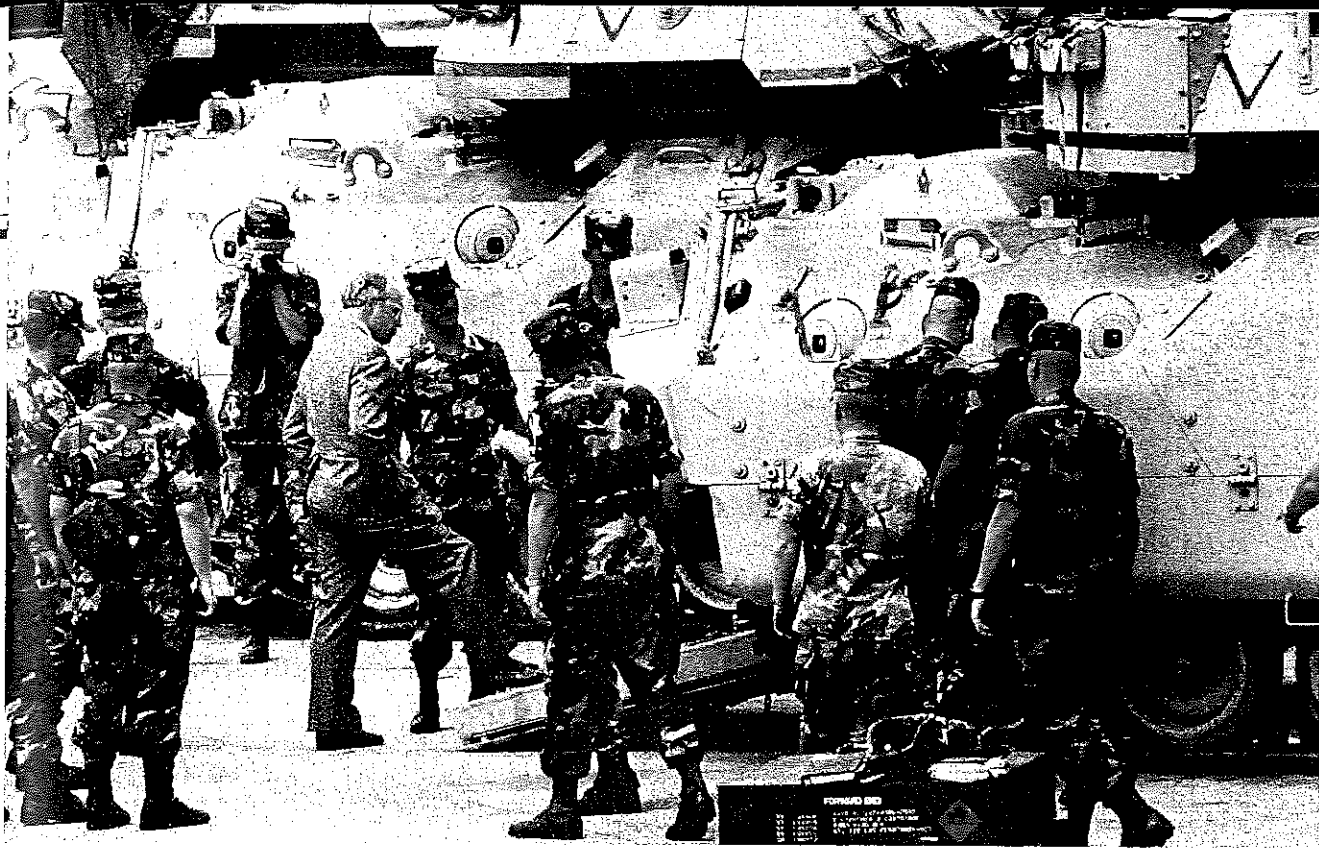
A caliph, or Islamic ruler, discovers a poor woman boiling a pot of stones. She explains that she hopes her children will fall asleep before she has to tell them that there is no food. The tale ends happily as the caliph bestows plenty of food on the woman and her children. "We hope," the Palestinian said, "that America will be the caliph." Is this the role of the United States in foreign affairs? This chapter is about the character of our country's foreign policy and its relation to national security.

Before you read this chapter:

- Describe three ongoing situations that point up the fact that the post-cold war world is indeed a dangerous place.
- Predict the primary goal of United States foreign policy.

As you read, focus on the main objective of each section. Understand:

1. The historic and continuing goal of America's foreign and defense policies.
2. The foreign and defense policy-making structure.
3. The role of other federal agencies in making and carrying out foreign and defense policies.
4. The major features of American foreign policy, past and present.
5. The purposes of American foreign aid and defense alliances and the role of the United Nations.



▲ **“On-the-Spot” Military Briefing** Dick Cheney was civilian head of the Defense Department in the Bush administration. Cheney was the first Secretary of Defense who had to implement large cuts in the defense budget.

I Foreign and Defense Policy: An Introduction

Find Out:

- Why must the United States have a policy for its relationship with the rest of the world?
- What makes up a nation’s foreign policy?
- Which officials are primarily responsible for United States foreign policy?

Key Terms:

isolationism, foreign policy

Do you know where your shoes were made? The odds are that they are not American-made, that they came instead from Mexico or Korea or Italy or somewhere else abroad. What about your shirt or blouse and your pants or skirt? Where were they made? And what about your stereo, compact disc player, television set, watch, umbrella, baseball glove, bicycle?

Those questions, and their answers, ought to begin to suggest to you why the topic of this section is so vitally important to you.

From Isolationism to Internationalism

Through much of this nation’s history, American politics turned largely on questions of domestic concern. For more than 150 years, the American people were chiefly interested in what was happening at home. For most Americans, foreign affairs were matters of little or no concern to them. This country’s relationships with countries abroad were largely shaped by a policy of **isolationism**—a purposeful refusal to become generally involved in the affairs of the rest of the world.

The past 50 years have been marked by a profound change in the place of the United States in world affairs, however. That historic shift from isolationism to internationalism brought major changes in American foreign and defense policies. World War II finally convinced the

American people that neither they nor anyone else can live in isolation—that in many ways, whether we like it or not, the world of today is indeed “one world.”

That this is one world—that it is, in reality, a “global village”—can be seen most clearly in terms of the nation’s security. The well-being of everyone in this country and in fact the very survival of the United States are closely affected by much that happens elsewhere on the globe. If nothing else, the realities of ultra-rapid travel and of instantaneous worldwide communications make that point abundantly clear.

Wars and other political upheavals anywhere on the globe have a decided impact on the interests of the United States—and on the daily lives of every American. Four times in this century the United States has become involved in major wars thousands of miles from its shores; and in several other instances this nation has committed its forces to lesser, but still significant, battles abroad. The nation’s security has also been threatened by other events elsewhere on the globe—by the acts of terrorists in Europe and Asia, by racial strife in South Africa, by revolu-



▲ **Foreign Policy in Action: 1979** President Jimmy Carter congratulates Egypt’s President Sadat (left) and Israeli Prime Minister Begin (right) on the signing of the Camp David Accord. The agreement, initiated by President Carter, ended more than 30 years of armed hostilities between Egypt and Israel.

tions in Latin America, Arab-Israeli conflicts in the Middle East, and by many others.

Economic conditions elsewhere also have a direct effect on and in this country. Japanese automobiles, European steel, Arab oil, Brazilian coffee, Italian shoes, and all of the many other things that Americans buy from abroad make that fact an obvious one, every day.

The world of the 1990s cannot be described as “one world” in all respects, however. Relations between the United States and what used to be the Soviet Union have improved remarkably over the past few years, yes: but as you have read, the world remains a dangerous place. Iraq’s 1990 invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent Gulf War in 1991 is major proof of that fact. So, too, is the unrest that has followed the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, continuing Arab-Israeli enmities in the Middle East, civil wars in Afghanistan, Morocco, Sri Lanka, and other places, and much more.

Most Americans agree that in such a divided world it is only through policies that are designed to promote and protect the security and well-being of all nations that the security and well-being of the United States can be assured. As President Bush has put it, America’s goal is

“ . . . a world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle, a world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice, a world where the strong respect the rights of the weak.”

Foreign Policy: What It Is

Every nation’s **foreign policy** is actually many different policies on many different topics. It is made up of all of the stands and actions that a nation takes in every aspect of its relationships with other countries—diplomatic, military, commercial, and all others. To put the point another way, a nation’s foreign policy is made up of all of its many foreign policies.

Thus, American foreign policy consists of all of the Federal Government’s official statements and all of its actions as it conducts this nation’s foreign relations. It involves such matters as treaties and alliances, international trade, the defense budget, foreign economic and military aid, the United Nations, nuclear weapons testing, and disarmament negotiations. It also

includes the American position on oil imports, grain exports, immigration, space exploration, fishing rights in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, cultural exchange programs, economic sanctions, computer technology exports, and a great many other matters.

Some foreign policies remain largely unchanged over time. For example, an insistence on freedom of the seas has been a basic part of American policy from the very earliest years of American history. Other policies are more flexible, subject to change as circumstances change. Thus, only a very few years ago, resisting the ambitions of the Soviet Union was a basic part of American foreign policy. Today, the United States and many of the states that once made up the Soviet Union are seeking and building ever closer political, military, and economic ties with one another.

At times the United States can take the lead in world affairs. It can launch new policies and take initiatives that seek to gain support and heighten America's power and prestige abroad. It has done so on a number of occasions, as you will see later in this chapter—including, for example, the Open Door policy in China at the turn of the last century, the Marshall Plan after World War II, and the forging of the coalition of nations that defeated Iraq in the Persian Gulf War in 1991.

Very often, American policy must be defensive in nature. Leaders must adjust it to meet the actions of some other country. Thus, containment—resisting the spread of Soviet influence—became a basic part of United States foreign policy soon after World War II.

As you will read, this policy of containment began with the Truman Doctrine in 1947, in direct response to the Soviet Union's policy of aggressive expansion in the immediate postwar years; and it was to remain a basic part of American policy until the collapse of the Soviet Union and its communist empire in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The President's Responsibilities

The President is both the nation's chief diplomat and the commander in chief of its armed

forces. As you have seen, Congress also has significant powers in the fields of foreign and military affairs, especially with its power of the purse, its power to declare war, and in the Senate's role in the treaty-making and the appointment processes.¹ But, as you have also seen, it is the President who dominates those policy fields. Both constitutionally and by tradition, the President bears the major responsibility for both the making and conduct of foreign policy.²

The President depends on a number of officials and agencies to meet the immense responsibilities that come with his role as chief diplomat and commander in chief. Recall, you considered the National Security Council, in the Executive Office of the President, in Chapter 14, Section 5. Here, you will look at the other elements of what is often called the foreign policy bureaucracy. You will begin with the Departments of State and Defense, and then encounter several others.

Section 1 Review

1. **Identify:** isolationism, foreign policy
2. Why can the foreign and defense policies of the United States be properly called this country's national security policy?
3. (a) In what ways does this nation exist in "one world"? (b) In what ways does it not?
4. Of what does a nation's foreign policy consist?
5. Who is the commander in chief of the nation's armed forces?

Critical Thinking

6. **Distinguishing Fact from Opinion** (p. 19) The text says the world remains a dangerous place. (a) Do you agree with this statement? (b) Why or why not?



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2 The Departments of State and Defense

Find Out:

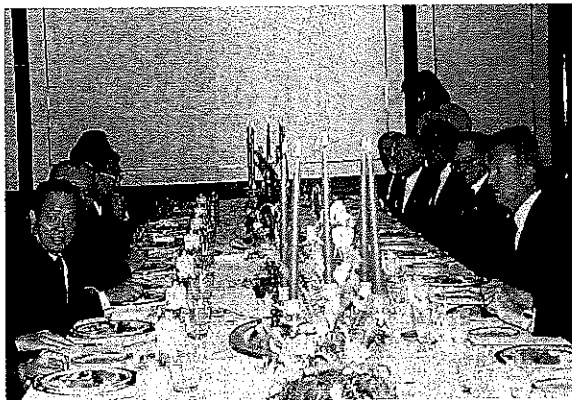
- What is the secretary of state's key role in the making and conduct of foreign policy?
- How is the State Department organized?
- What is the key role of the secretary of defense in the making and conduct of national security policy?
- How is the Department of Defense organized?

Key Terms:

right of legation, ambassador, passport, visa, diplomatic immunity

As Alexander Hamilton noted in *The Federalist* No. 72, the Framers expected that “the actual conduct” of the nation’s foreign affairs would be in the hands of “the assistants and deputies of the Chief Magistrate.”

As you will see in this section, many of the President’s “assistants and deputies” in the field of foreign affairs are in the State Department. In addition, the Department of Defense assists the President in the conduct of military affairs.



▲ **Secretary of State** James Baker (right, front), the highest ranking official in the Bush cabinet, visited China in November 1991. The amount of influence that the secretary of state has on foreign policy is decided by the President.

The State Department

The State Department, headed by the secretary of state, is the President’s right arm in foreign affairs. The secretary is named by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate. It is to the secretary and to the Department of State that the President looks for advice in both the formulation and conduct of the nation’s foreign policy.

The secretary of state ranks first among the members of the President’s cabinet. This is true in part because of the importance of the office, but it is especially the case because the Department of State was the first of the now 14 executive departments created by Congress.

The Department of Foreign Affairs, which had first been created in 1781 under the Articles of Confederation, was re-created by Congress in 1789 as the first major unit in the executive branch under the Constitution. Later that same year, its name was changed to the Department of State, and President Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson as the nation’s first secretary of state. For 200 years now, 59 other men, many of them quite distinguished, have held that important post.

The duties of the secretary relate almost solely to foreign affairs today: to the making and conduct of policy and to managing the work of the department, its many overseas posts, and its more than 25,000 employees.³

Some Presidents have relied heavily on the secretary of state; others have chosen to keep foreign policy more tightly in their own hands. In either case, the secretary has been an important and influential officer in every administration.

Organization and Key Components

The department is organized along both geographic and functional lines. Some of its

³The secretary does have some domestic responsibilities. Thus, when Richard Nixon resigned the presidency on August 9, 1974, his formal, legal announcement of that fact had to be submitted to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Over the years, the secretary and the department have had (and been relieved of) various domestic functions—including, for example, publishing the nation’s laws, issuing patents, and supervising the decennial census.

agencies, such as the Bureau of African Affairs and the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, deal with matters involving certain countries or regions of the world. Other agencies have more broadly defined responsibilities, such as the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs and the Bureau for Refugee Programs. Most of these bureaus are headed by an assistant secretary and include several "offices"—for example, the Passport Office and the Visa Office in the Bureau of Consular Affairs.

The Foreign Service More than 4,200 men and women now represent the United States abroad as members of the Foreign Service.

Under international law⁴ every nation has the **right of legation**—the right to send and receive diplomatic representatives. An ancient practice, its roots can be traced back to the Egyptian civilization of 6,000 years ago.

The Second Continental Congress named this nation's first foreign service officer in 1778, when it chose Benjamin Franklin to be America's minister to France.

Ambassadors Today the United States is represented by an ambassador stationed at the capital of each state the United States recognizes.⁵ American embassies are found in more than 150 countries around the world today.

The President appoints ambassadors, with Senate consent, and they serve at the President's pleasure. Some of their posts are much desired political plums, and whenever a new President moves into the White House, he typically makes many new appointments. Too often, Presidents have appointed people to ambassadorships and other major diplomatic posts as

⁴International law consists of those rules and principles that guide sovereign states in their dealings with one another and their treatment of foreign nationals (private persons and groups). Its sources include treaties, decisions of international courts, and custom, with treaties being the most important source today.

⁵See page 362. An ambassador's official title is *Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary*. When the office is vacant or the ambassador is absent, the post is usually filled by a next-ranking Foreign Service officer in the embassy. That officer, temporarily in charge of embassy affairs, is known as the *chargé d'affaires*.



▲ **America Abroad** Foreign Service officers represent the United States abroad. Shirley Temple Black was American ambassador to Ghana from 1974 to 1976, and envoy to Czechoslovakia from 1987 to 1993.

reward for their support—financial and otherwise—of the President's election to office.

President Truman named the first woman as an ambassador, to Denmark, in 1949. President Johnson appointed the first African American (also a woman), as ambassador to Luxembourg in 1965. Today, several women, African Americans, and other minority persons hold high rank in the Foreign Service.

Each American **ambassador** is the personal representative of the President of the United States, and he or she reports to the President through the secretary of state. Each of them must keep the President fully informed of events in the host country, negotiate diplomatic agreements, protect the rights of American citizens abroad, and do whatever else is in the best interests of the United States.⁶

⁶The United States also has some 120 consular offices abroad. There, Foreign Service officers promote American interests in a multitude of ways—e.g., encouraging trade, gathering intelligence data, advising persons who seek to enter this country, and aiding American citizens who are abroad and in need of legal advice or other help.

To carry out these duties effectively, an ambassador must have the closest possible contacts with the leaders of the host country as well as with its people. A well-grounded knowledge of the language, history, customs, and culture of that country is an almost indispensable qualification for the job. To help with their duties, ambassadors have the assistance of a number of skilled advisors.

Special Diplomats Those persons whom the President names to certain other top diplomatic posts also carry the rank of ambassador—for example, the United States representative to the UN and the American member of the North Atlantic Treaty Council; see Section 5. The President also gives the personal rank of ambassador to those who take on special assignments abroad—for example, representing the United States at an international conference on arms limitations.

Passports A **passport** is a certificate issued by a government to its citizens who travel or live abroad. Passports entitle their holders to the privileges accorded to them by international custom and treaties. Few states will admit persons who do not hold valid passports. Legally, no American citizen may leave the United States without a passport, except for trips to Canada, Mexico, and a few other nearby places.

The State Department's Passport Office now issues some four million passports to American citizens each year. Passports are not the same as visas. A **visa** is a permit to enter another state and must be obtained from the country one wishes to enter. Most visas to enter this country are issued at American consulates abroad.

Diplomatic Immunity

In international law, every sovereign state is supreme within its own boundaries, and all persons or things found within its territory are subject to its jurisdiction.

As a major exception to that rule of international law, ambassadors are regularly granted **diplomatic immunity**. That is, they are not subject to the laws of the state to which they are accredited. They cannot be arrested, sued, or taxed. Their official residences (embassies) cannot be entered or searched without their consent, and their official communications, papers, and

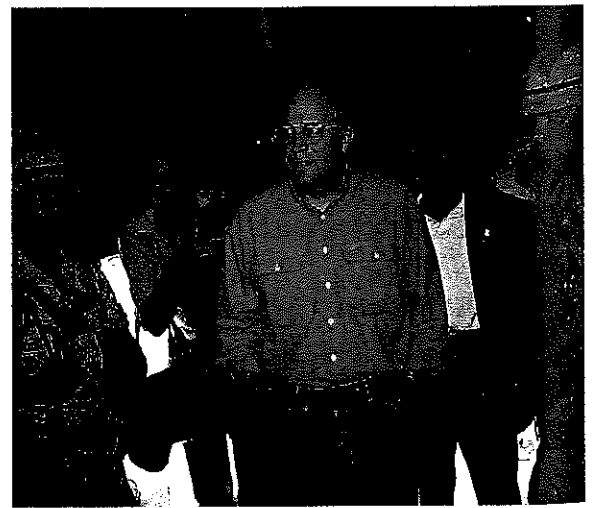
other properties are protected in the same way. All other embassy personnel and their families normally receive this same immunity.

Diplomatic immunity is essential to the ability of every nation to conduct its foreign relations. The practice assumes that diplomats will not abuse their privileged status. If a host government finds a diplomat's conduct unacceptable, that official may be declared *persona non grata* and expelled from the country. The mistreatment of diplomats is a major breach of international law.

Diplomatic immunity is a generally accepted practice. But there are exceptions. The most serious breach in modern times occurred in Iran in late 1979. Militant followers of the Ayatollah Khomeini seized the American embassy in Teheran on November 4 of that year; 52 Americans were taken hostage and held for 444 days. The Iranians finally released the hostages moments after Ronald Reagan became President on January 20, 1981.

The Defense Department

A nation's military policies are an integral part of its foreign policy. Karl von Clausewitz, the Prussian general and military philosopher, put that point in these oft-quoted words more than 150 years ago: "War is the continuation of political relations by other means."



▲ **Moral Support** Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (foreground) visits United States troops stationed in Saudi Arabia in August 1990.

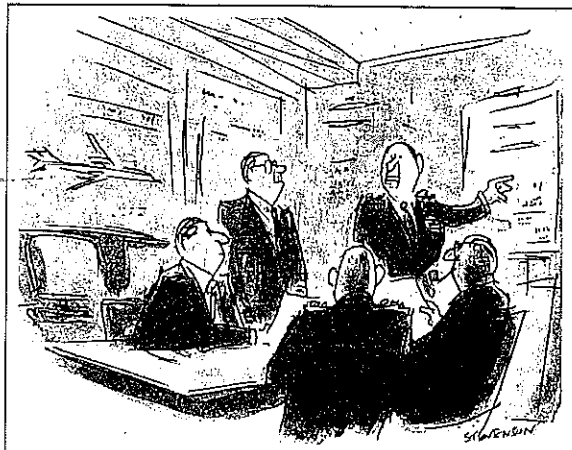
Congress established what is today called the Defense Department in the National Security Act of 1947. It is the present-day successor to two historic cabinet-level agencies: the War Department, created by Congress in 1789, and the Navy Department, created in 1798.⁷

Civil Control of the Military The authors of the Constitution understood, absolutely, the importance of the nation's defense. They emphasized that fact clearly in the Preamble, and they underscored it in the body of the Constitution by mentioning defense more frequently than any other governmental function.

The Framers also saw the dangers inherent in military power. They knew that its very existence can pose a threat to free government. For that reason, the Constitution is studded with provisions to keep the military always subject to the control of the nation's civilian authorities.

Thus, the Constitution makes the elected President the commander in chief of the armed forces. To the same end, it gives wide military powers to Congress—that is, to the elected representatives of the people.⁸

The United States has obeyed the principle of civilian control throughout its history. That principle has been a major factor in the making of defense policy, and in the creation and the



"No, no. When I say this new secret weapon can slip past their defenses undetected, I'm not referring to the Russians, I'm referring to Congress."

Drawing by Stevenson; © 1986 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

▲ **Interpreting Political Cartoons** The system of checks and balances ensures that the military remains subject to civilian control. How does this cartoonist convey the opinion that this check on the military is necessary?

staffing of the various agencies responsible for the execution of that policy. The point is clearly illustrated by this fact: The National Security Act of 1947 provides that the secretary of defense cannot have served on active duty in any of the armed forces for at least 10 years before being named to that post.

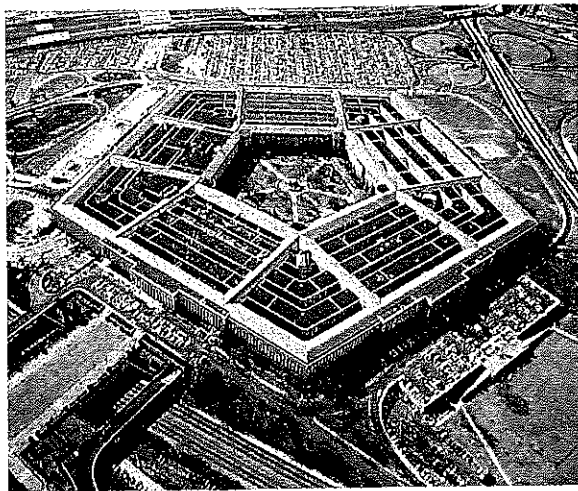
The Secretary of Defense The Defense Department is headed by the secretary of defense, who is appointed by the President subject to Senate confirmation. The secretary, who serves at the President's pleasure, has two major responsibilities: (1) as the President's chief aide and adviser in making and carrying out defense policy; and (2) as the operating head of the Defense Department, with its more than 1.8 million men and women in uniform and more than one million civilian employees.

The secretary's huge domain is often called the Pentagon—because of its massive five-sided headquarters building on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, across from the Capitol. Year in and year out, its operations take a large slice of the federal budget—today, in fact, 20 percent of all federal spending. The end of the

⁷Congress created the Defense Department in order to unify the nation's armed forces—that is, to bring the then-separate army (including the air force) and the navy under the control of a single cabinet department. The new department was first called the National Military Establishment; Congress gave it its present name in 1949. The secretary of defense has been known by that title from 1947 on.

⁸Recall that the Constitution makes defense a national function and practically excludes the States from that field. Each State does have a militia, which it may use to keep the peace within its own borders. Today the organized portion of the militia is the National Guard. Congress has the power (Article I, Section 8, Clauses 15 and 16) to "provide for calling forth the militia" and to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining it.

Congress first delegated to the President the power to call the militia into federal service in 1795, and the commander in chief has had that authority ever since. Today the governor of each State is the commander in chief of that State's units of the Army and the Air National Guard, except when the President has ordered those units into federal service.



▲ **Across the River from the Capitol** The Pentagon, which houses the Department of Defense, covers 29 acres and is one of the largest office buildings in the world.

cold war has brought some slight reductions in military spending; still, total outlays for the nation's defense will approach \$280 billion in fiscal year 1993.

Chief Civilian Aides The secretary's chief assistant, the deputy secretary, directs the day-to-day operations of the department. There are a number of other civilians at the top levels of the Pentagon. The most important of them are the two under secretaries, one for policy and the other for acquisitions; the several assistant secretaries of defense, often referred to as ASDs; and the secretaries of the army, the navy, and the air force. All of them are appointed by the President with Senate consent.

Chief Military Aides The five members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff serve as the principal military advisers to the secretary, and to the President and the National Security Council, as well. They are the highest ranking uniformed officers in the armed services: the chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the army chief of staff, the chief of naval operations, the commandant of the Marine Corps, and the air force chief of staff. Each of them is also named by the President, subject to Senate approval.

The Armed Forces Policy Council is the department's major planning and decision-

making body. The secretary of defense chairs its meetings. Its other members are the deputy secretary; the two under secretaries; the secretaries of the army, the navy, and the air force; and the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Military Departments

The three military departments—the Departments of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force—are major units (sub-cabinet departments) within the Department of Defense. Each is headed by a civilian secretary, named by the President and directly responsible to the secretary of defense. The nation's armed forces—the army, the navy, and the air force—operate within that unified structure.⁹

The Department of the Army The army is the largest of the armed services, and also the oldest. The American Continental Army, now the United States Army, was established by the Second Continental Congress on June 14, 1775—more than a year before the Declaration of Independence.

The army is essentially responsible for military operations on land. The army must be ready (1) to defeat any attack on the United States itself and (2) to take swift and forceful action to protect American interests in any other part of the world. It must organize, train, and equip its active duty forces—the Regular Army—and its reserve units—the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve—for those purposes. All of its forces are under the direct command of the army's highest ranking officer, the chief of staff.

The Regular Army is the nation's standing army, the heart of its land forces. There are now some 600,000 men and 70,000 women on active duty in the army—officers and enlisted

⁹The United States Marine Corps is a separate branch of the armed forces, but, for organizational purposes, it is located within the Navy Department.

The Coast Guard is also a branch of the armed forces. It is organized as a military service, with a present strength of some 37,000 commissioned officers and enlisted personnel. Since 1967, the Coast Guard has been located in the Department of Transportation. At the President's direction, the Coast Guard becomes a part of the United States Navy.

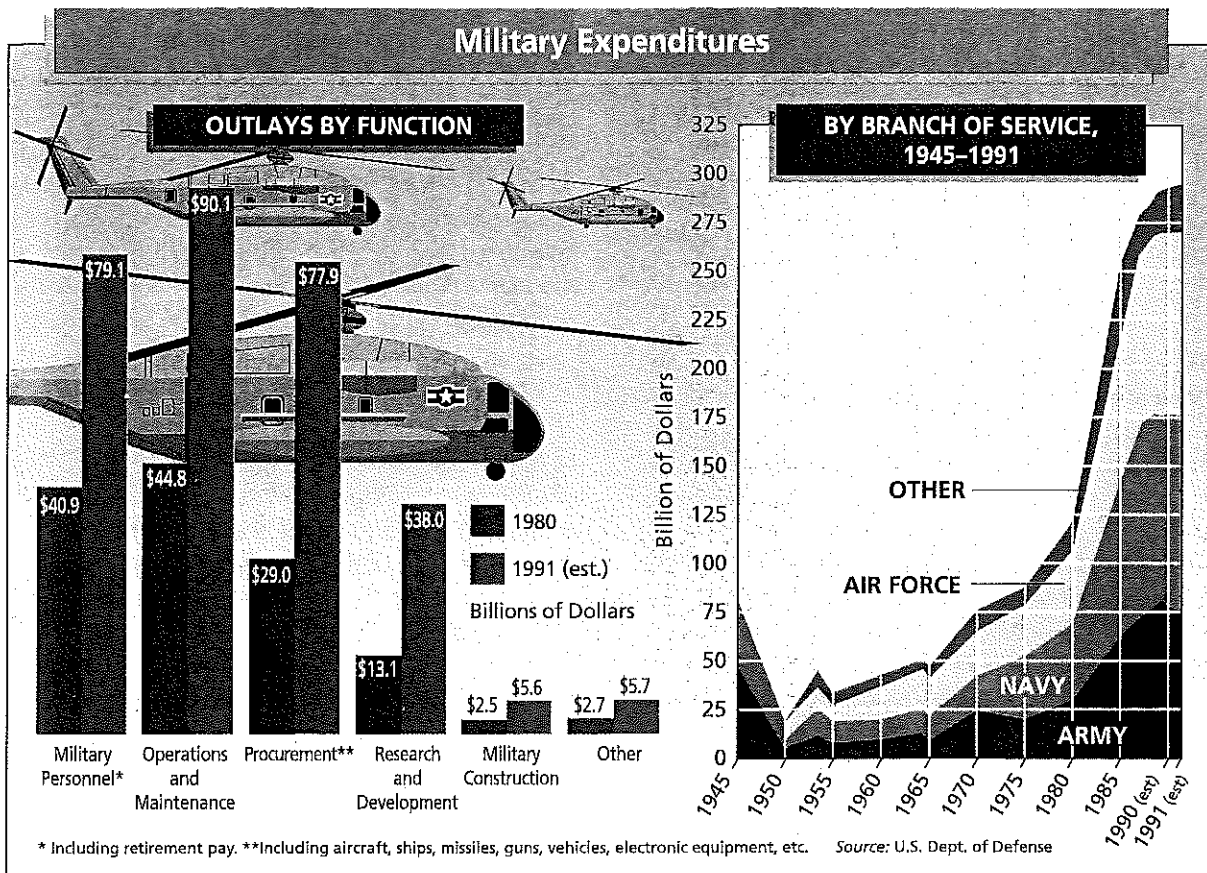
personnel, professional soldiers, and volunteers. The United States is downsizing the army in the post-cold war environment of the 1990s; its authorized strength is scheduled to drop to 618,000 in 1993. Women now serve in all of the Regular Army's units; by law, however, they are barred from direct combat roles—in the army, as well as in each of the other armed services.

The army's combat units are made up of soldiers trained and equipped to fight enemy forces. The infantry takes, holds, and defends land areas. The artillery supports the infantry, seeks to destroy enemy concentrations with its heavier guns, and gives anti-aircraft cover. The armored cavalry also supports the infantry, using armored vehicles and helicopters to spearhead assaults and oppose enemy counteroffensives.

The other units of the army provide the many services and supplies for the soldiers in those combat organizations. They could not fight without the help of those other troops: the soldiers of the engineer, quartermaster, signal, ordnance, transportation, chemical, military police, finance, and medical corps.

The Department of the Navy The United States Navy was first formed as the Continental Navy—a fledgling naval force formed by the Second Continental Congress on October 13, 1775. From that day to this, its major responsibility has been sea warfare and defense.

The chief of naval operations (CNO) is the navy's highest ranking officer and is responsible for its preparations and readiness for war and for



Interpreting Graphs How does the growth in military spending in the 1980s compare with its growth in other decades? After examining outlays by function, determine what area of military spending has increased the most since 1980. On what was the increase spent?



▲ **Toward Peace in Our Time** The 1991 closing of Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines followed a volcano eruption that caused damage to much of the base.

its use in combat. Some 550,000 officers and enlisted personnel, including nearly 50,000 women, serve in the navy today; their number is slated to drop to 536,000 in 1993.

The United States Marine Corps was established by the Second Continental Congress on November 10, 1775. Today it operates as a separate armed service, within the Navy Department but not under the control of the chief of naval operations. Its commandant answers directly to the secretary of the navy for the efficiency, readiness, and performance of the corps.

The marines are essentially a combat-ready land force for the navy. They have two major combat missions: (1) to seize or defend land bases from which the ships of the fleet and the navy and marine air arms can operate and (2) to carry out other land operations essential to a naval campaign. Today some 180,000 men and nearly 10,000 women serve in the USMC.

The Department of the Air Force The air force is the youngest of the military services. Congress established the United States Air Force and made it a separate branch of the

armed forces in the National Security Act of 1947. However, its history dates back to 1907, when the army assigned an officer and two enlisted men to a new unit, the Aeronautical Division of the army's Signal Corps. They were ordered to take "charge of all matters pertaining to military ballooning, air machines and all kindred subjects."

Today the USAF is the nation's first line of defense. It has primary responsibility for military air and aerospace operations. In time of war, its major duties are to defend the United States, attack and defeat enemy air, ground, and sea forces, strike military and other war-related targets in enemy territory, and provide transport and combat support for land and naval operations. The air force played a major role in the swift defeat of Iraq during the Persian Gulf War.

The air force now has about 500,000 officers and enlisted personnel, including more than 60,000 women—all under the direct command of the chief of staff of the air force. The authorized strength of the USAF is now set at 458,000 for 1993.

Section 2 Review

1. **Define:** right of legation, ambassador, passport, visa, diplomatic immunity
2. What is the secretary of state's first responsibility?
3. (a) What is the Foreign Service? (b) What are the principal duties of an ambassador?
4. For what reason does the Constitution provide for civilian control of the military?
5. What are the two major roles of the secretary of defense?
6. Briefly describe the basic military components of the Defense Department.

Critical Thinking

7. **Identifying Assumptions** (p. 19) Consider the fact that women are not allowed to engage in combat. What does this fact suggest about attitudes toward women in the military and in society at large?

3 Other Foreign/Defense Policy Agencies

Find Out:

- What federal agencies, in addition to the Departments of State and Defense, are involved in making and carrying out foreign and defense policies?
- What roles do these departments play?

Key Term:

draft

How many federal agencies, in addition to the Departments of State and Defense, are involved with the nation's foreign affairs? Dozens of them. The Immigration and Naturalization Service deals with those who come here from abroad. The Customs Service combats international smuggling operations. The Public Health Service works with the United Nations and foreign governments to conquer diseases and meet other health problems in many parts of the world. The Coast Guard keeps an iceberg patrol in the North Atlantic to protect the shipping of all nations. . . .

A recitation of this sort could go on and on. But, as you will see, this section deals with those other agencies that are most directly involved in the foreign and defense policy fields.

The Central Intelligence Agency

The CIA is a key part of the foreign policy establishment. Created by Congress in 1947, the CIA works under the direction of the National Security Council. The "agency," as it is often called, is headed by a director appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

On paper, the CIA has three major tasks: (1) to coordinate the information-gathering activities of all State, Defense, and other federal agencies involved in the areas of foreign affairs and national defense, (2) to analyze and evaluate all data collected by those agencies, and (3)² to

brief the President and the National Security Council—that is, keep them fully informed of all of that intelligence.

The CIA is far more than a coordinating and reporting body, however. It also conducts its own worldwide intelligence operations. In fact, it is a major "cloak-and-dagger" agency. Much of the information it gathers comes from such more or less open sources as foreign newspapers and other publications, radio broadcasts, travelers, satellite photos, and the like. But a large share of information comes from its own secret, covert activities. Those operations cover the full range of espionage.

The CIA's work is regularly shrouded in deepest secrecy. Even Congress has generally shied away from more than a surface check on its activities. Indeed, the agency's operating funds are disguised in several places in the federal budget each year.

When Congress established the CIA it recognized the need for such an organization in a trouble-filled world—and most agree that that need continues today. But Congress also saw the dangers inherent in a supersecret intelligence agency that operates outside the realm of public scrutiny and knowledge. Therefore, the National Security Act of 1947 expressly denies the CIA the authority to conduct any investigative, surveillance, or other clandestine activities within the United States. The agency has not always obeyed that command, however.

The United States Information Agency

The United States Information Agency (USIA) is basically a propaganda unit. Its mission is to promote the image of the United States and to sell its policies and its way of life abroad.

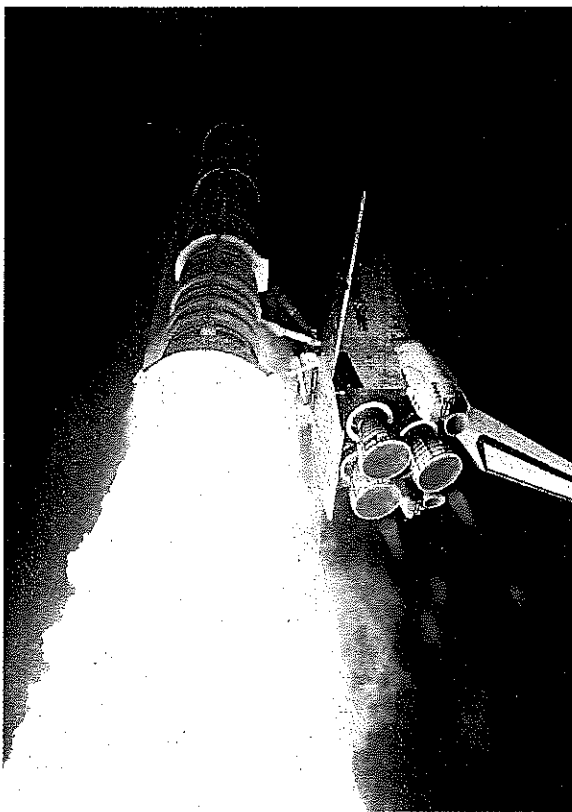
The USIA works to sell the United States in a number of ways: by making radio and television broadcasts; distributing publications; producing films and tapes; sponsoring academic exchange programs; organizing cultural exchanges for athletes, artists, and leaders in professional fields such as medicine and politics; and using various other channels. It operates more than 200 libraries, film centers, and other posts in some 130 foreign countries.

The USIA is best known for the Voice of America. The VOA's round-the-clock radio programs are beamed in more than 40 languages to audiences all over the world.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration

The modern space age is only some 35 years old. It began on October 4, 1957, when the Soviet Union put its first satellite, *Sputnik I*, in space. The first American satellite, *Explorer I*, was fired into orbit a few months later, on January 31, 1958. From that point on, a great number of space vehicles have been thrust into the heavens by both of the superpowers.

NASA is an independent agency created by Congress in 1958 to handle this nation's space programs. Today, the scope of those programs



▲ **Outer Space** *Atlantis* lifts off from the Kennedy Space Center in Florida. NASA's space shuttle program carries out publicly and privately funded projects and top-secret military missions.

is truly extraordinary. NASA's work now ranges from basic research that focuses on the origin, evolution, and structure of the universe to explorations of outer space and the development of a permanently occupied space station to be deployed sometime in the latter 1990s.

The military importance of NASA's work can hardly be exaggerated, but Congress has ordered the space agency to bend its efforts "to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all humankind," as well. NASA's research and development efforts have opened new frontiers in several fields: in astronomy, physics, and the environmental sciences, in communications, medicine, and weather forecasting, and in many more.

NASA conducts its operations at a number of flight centers, laboratories, and other installations throughout the country. Among the best known are the Kennedy Space Center, at Cape Canaveral in Florida; the Johnson Space Center, near Houston, Texas; the Ames Research Center and the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, both in California; and the Goddard Space Flight Center, at Greenbelt, Maryland.

Over the years, NASA's accomplishments were so many, its programs so successful, that space flights and space probes seemed to become almost routine. Tragedy struck on January 28, 1986, however. The space shuttle *Challenger* exploded moments after liftoff from Cape Canaveral, and all of its seven-member crew died.

NASA appears to have recovered from the disaster to the point where it now tries to launch as many as 10 space vehicles each year, some of them with secret military payloads.

The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

The ACDA is responsible for American participation in arms limitations and disarmament negotiations with other nuclear powers. Its director also serves as the principal adviser to the President, the National Security Council, and the secretaries of state and defense in all matters dealing with those policy areas.

Much of the agency's work has centered on nuclear test ban and arms limitations talks with the former Soviet Union. Those discussions

were held periodically since the late 1950s, most often in Geneva, Switzerland. American-Soviet relations were at best unfriendly and most often hostile well into the late 1980s. Even so, the two superpowers managed to conclude several agreements.

The most recent major U.S.-Soviet arms agreement, the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), was signed by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev at a summit meeting in Moscow in 1991. That pact obligated both nations to destroy up to half of all their intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) over the ensuing seven years. The treaty was intended to be a step toward the eventual elimination of all missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads over long distances.

The United States and the Soviet Union ratified the Intermediate Range Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty in 1988. That agreement called

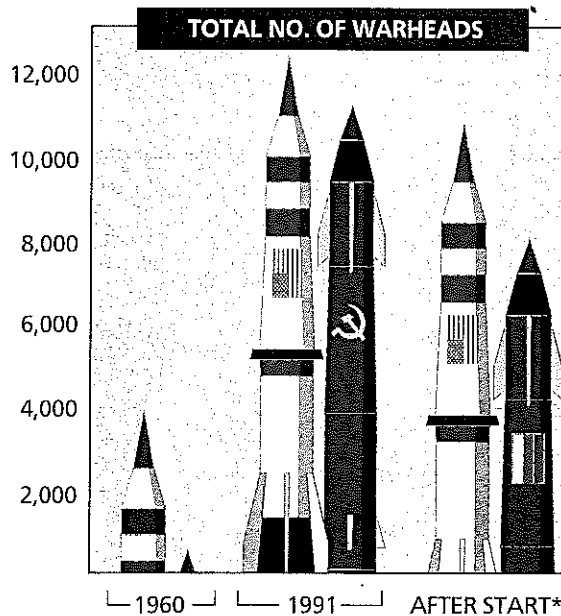
on both nations to eliminate *all* intermediate range missiles—those capable of delivering warheads 300 to 3,400 miles—and this goal had been achieved by 1992.

The successes of the 1980s and early 1990s assumed added importance with the breakup of the Soviet Union in late 1991 and the resulting potential for political turmoil in that region.

The Selective Service System

Through most of American history, the armed forces have depended on voluntary enlistments to fill their ranks. But from 1940 to 1973, the **draft**—conscription, compulsory military service—was a major source of military manpower. At present, the draft, which is administered by the Selective Service System, exists only on a standby basis.

Reductions in Warheads Following START



*After the break-up of the Soviet Union in December 1991, most warheads were concentrated in Russia.
Source: Newsweek, July 29, 1991.

Interpreting Graphs START, ratified by President Bush and then Soviet President Gorbachev in July 1991, is an ambitious plan to phase out both countries' stocks of intercontinental ballistic missiles. World leaders (inset) were briefed on START when Bush visited London the same month. What does the graph show about the build-up of United States/Soviet warheads since 1960?

How to Register for the Draft

In 1980 the Selective Service System was reinstated. All eligible males must register for military service.

1. Determine whether you must register. All male citizens and aliens must register within 30 days after their 18th birthday. Exceptions include those already on active duty with the armed forces and nonimmigrant aliens.
2. Determine where you should go to register. You can register for the draft at any United States post office.
3. Complete a registration form. The form will ask for such information as your name, address, sex, date of birth, social security number, and current telephone number.
4. Date and sign the form in the presence of a clerk at the post office. Be sure to use ink on the form.

Interpreting Charts This chart goes through the steps necessary to register for military service. Which major segment of the population is not included in the draft?

Conscription has a long history in this country. Several colonies and later nine States required all able-bodied males to serve in their militia. However, in the 1790s Congress rejected proposals for national compulsory military service.

Both the North and the South did use a limited conscription program in the Civil War. It was not until 1917, however, that a national draft was first used in this country, even in wartime. More than 2.8 million of the 4.7 million men who served in World War I were drafted under the terms of the Selective Service Act of 1917.

The nation's first peacetime draft came with the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940, as World War II raged in Europe. More than 10 million of the 16.3 million Americans in uniform in World War II entered the service under that law.

The World War II draft was ended in 1947. The crises of the postwar period, however, quickly moved Congress to revive the draft with the Selective Service Act of 1948. From 1948 to 1973, nearly 5 million young men were drafted.

Mounting criticisms of compulsory military service, fed by opposition to Vietnam policy, led many Americans to call for an end to the draft in the late 1960s. Fewer than 30,000 men were drafted in 1972, and selective service was suspended in 1973. The draft law is still on the books, however.

The draft law places a military obligation on all males in the United States between the ages of 18 1/2 and 26. Over the years in which the draft operated, it was largely conducted through hundreds of local selective service boards. All young men had to register for service at age 18. The local boards then selected those who were to enter the armed forces.

As of 1980, the registration requirement was back in place. President Carter reactivated it, and his executive order is still in force. All young males are required to sign up soon after they reach their 18th birthday.¹⁰

Section 3 Review

1. **Identify:** draft
2. Why is it incorrect to view national security policy only in terms of the President and the State and Defense departments?
3. What is the primary function of each of these governmental agencies: (a) the USIA? (b) NASA? (c) ACDA?
4. What is the status of the selective service system today?

Critical Thinking

5. **Checking Consistency** (p. 19) Is the concept of an intelligence agency whose actions can be kept secret from the people consistent with the principle of popular sovereignty?

★

¹⁰The President's power to order the induction of men into the armed forces expired on June 30, 1973. If the draft is ever to be reactivated, Congress must first renew that presidential authority. Recall that the Supreme Court first upheld the constitutionality of the draft in the *Selective Draft Law Cases* in 1918. The Court also found its all-male features constitutional in *Rostker v. Goldberg* in 1981; see pages 521, 555.

What You Can Do

Helping Victims of Natural Disasters

On December 7, 1988, a devastating earthquake struck the Soviet Republic of Armenia. In the days following, aftershocks continued to terrify the local population. The official death toll was estimated to be about 40,000; as many as 400,000 Armenian men, women, and children were left homeless amid the twisted rubble of crumbled buildings. The only possible good that could be gleaned from this massive tragedy was the selfless outpouring of aid that flooded into the Soviet Union from around the world.

International Relief Efforts

As the United States government responded immediately with offers of medicine, medical equipment, doctors, and trained rescue teams, United States citizens of all ages amassed money, clothing, and other supplies under the auspices of the American Red Cross. The Red Cross is an organization whose goal is to relieve human suffering. It has chapters in the United States and in more than 135 countries around the world. Based in Washington, D.C., the work of the American Red Cross depends on more than 10 million volunteers, including students, veterans, and senior citizens. In Glendale, California, a relief group collected \$7 million in pledges. Equally significant, students of a school in California sent \$800—the money for their school lunches. Relief aid also poured in from churches, synagogues, and colleges, as well as many private organizations.

A New Era

Two months after the earthquake, an article by Soviet citizen Anna Lerina appeared in *Soviet Life*. Through this medium, she

expressed some thoughts and feelings concerning the help that came from American citizens: "For the first time since the Second World War, the Soviet Union accepted humanitarian aid from the government of the United States. The unprecedented bridge of relief aid to Armenia that has spanned thousands of miles and many years of mistrust serves as another confirmation that the United States and the Soviet Union can live in peace and friendship."

By the end of 1991 the Soviet Republic of Armenia was an independent nation. The optimism and words of friendship expressed by the Soviet woman in *Soviet Life* were reinforced when the United States was prompt in officially recognizing Armenian independence. It is one of twelve new republics that marked the demise of the Soviet Union and the beginning of a new world order.



Getting Involved

- 1. Identify** a need in your global or local community similar to the one addressed in this case. Or, identify an organization in your global or local community that helps victims of natural disasters.
- 2. Formulate** a plan for organizing volunteer efforts to help remedy this problem and identify resources which could be used in your plan. Or, formulate a plan for the organization you have chosen to help.
- 3. Predict** any problems or objections you might encounter in implementing your plan.

4 American Foreign Policy: Past and Present

Find Out:

- What was United States foreign policy for its first 150 years?
- What are the basic elements of American foreign policy today?
- What was the impact of the cold war on American foreign policy?

Key Terms:

collective security, deterrence, containment

Why should you know as much as you can about history? Let a leading historian answer the question: "History is our social memory. Our memories tell us who we are, where we belong, what has worked and what has not worked, and where we seem to be going."¹¹

A complete history of America's foreign relations cannot be told in these pages, of course. But you will find a review of the major themes and highlights of that history here.

Foreign Policy from Independence Through WWI

As you read in Section 1, American foreign policy was largely built on a policy of isolationism for its first 150 years. At the time, isolationism seemed a wise policy to most Americans. The United States had a great many problems of its own, a huge continent to explore and settle, and two oceans to separate it from the rest of the world. That policy did not demand a complete separation, however. From the first, the United States developed economic and diplomatic ties abroad. In fact, isolationism was, over time, more a statement of America's desire for noninvolvement outside the Western Hemisphere than within it.

¹¹Robert Kelly, *The Shaping of the American Past* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1978), 2nd ed., page xxxiii.

The Monroe Doctrine James Monroe gave the policy of isolationism a wider shape in 1823. In an historic message to Congress, he proclaimed what has been known ever since as the Monroe Doctrine. In his message, President Monroe restated America's intentions to stay out of the affairs of Europe. He also warned the nations of Europe—including Russia, then in control of Alaska—to stay out of the affairs of North and South America. He declared that the United States would look on

“any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.”

At first, most Latin Americans took little notice of the doctrine. They knew that it was really the Royal Navy and British interest in their trade that protected them from European domination. Later, as the United States became more powerful, many Latin Americans came to view the doctrine as a selfish policy designed to protect American interests, not their independence.

Continental Expansion By the Treaty of Paris, which officially ended the Revolutionary War in 1783, the United States held title to all of the territory from the Great Lakes in the north to Spanish Florida in the south and from the Atlantic coast westward to the Mississippi.

The United States began to fill out the continent almost at once. President Jefferson negotiated the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and at a single stroke, the nation's size was doubled. With the Florida Purchase in 1819, the nation completed its expansion to the south.

Through the second quarter of the 19th century, the United States pursued what most Americans believed was this nation's "Manifest Destiny": the expansion of its boundaries to the Pacific Ocean. Texas was annexed in 1845. The United States obtained the Oregon Country by treaty with Great Britain in 1846. Mexico ceded what today makes up most of the southwestern quarter of the lower 48 states after its defeat in the Mexican War of 1846–1848. The southwestern limits of the United States were rounded out by the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. In 1867 the United States bought Alaska from Russia and so became a colonial power.

The United States, a World Power The United States emerged as a first-class power in world politics with the Spanish-American War in 1898. With Spain's decisive defeat, America gained the Philippines and Guam in the Pacific and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean. Cuba became independent, under American protection. Hawaii was also annexed in 1898.

By 1900, the United States had become a colonial power with interests extending across the continent, to Alaska, to the tip of Latin America, and across the Pacific to the Philippines.

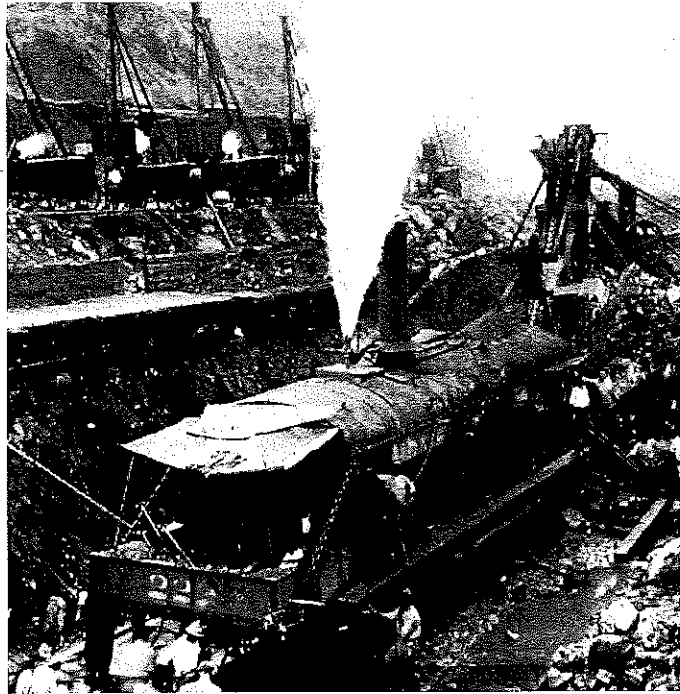
The Good Neighbor Policy The threat of European intervention, which gave rise to the Monroe Doctrine, declined in the last half of the 19th century. That threat was replaced by problems within the hemisphere. Political instability, revolutions, unpaid foreign debts, and injuries to citizens and property of other countries plagued Central and South America.

Under what came to be known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, the United States began to police Latin America in the early 1900s. Several times, the marines were used to quell revolutions and other unrest in Nicaragua, Haiti, Cuba, and elsewhere.

In 1903 Panama revolted and became independent of Colombia, with American blessings. In the same year, the United States gained the right to build a canal across the isthmus. In 1917 the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark to help guard the canal. These and other steps were resented by many in Latin America. They complained of "the Colossus of the North," of "Yankee imperialism," and of "dollar diplomacy" (and many still do).

This country's Latin American policies took an important turn in the 1930s. Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary was replaced by Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, a conscious attempt to win friends to the south.

The central provision of the Monroe Doctrine—the warning against foreign encroachments—is now set out in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Pact) of 1947. Still, the United States is, without question, the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere, and the Monroe Doctrine is still a vital part of American foreign policy. The American



▲ **"Yankee Imperialism"** The Panama Canal, built by the United States as a shorter trade route to the Pacific, opened in 1914. Many Latin American nations resented the presence of the United States in the region.

invasions of Grenada in 1983 and of Panama in 1989 underscored that point.

The Open Door in China Historically, American foreign policy interests have centered on Europe and on Latin America. America's involvements in the Far East reach back to the mid-1800s, however. Forty-five years before the United States acquired territory in the far Pacific, the navy's Commodore Matthew Perry had opened Japan to American trade.

By the latter years of the 19th century, America's thriving trade in Asia was seriously threatened. The British, French, Germans, and Japanese were each ready to take slices of the Chinese coast as their own exclusive trading preserves. In 1899 Secretary of State John Hay announced this country's insistence on an Open Door Policy. That doctrine promoted equal trade access for all nations and a demand that China's independence and sovereignty over its own territory be preserved.

The other major powers came to accept the American position, however reluctantly. Relations between the United States and Japan worsened from that point on until the climax at Pearl Harbor in 1941. Over the same period, the United States built increasingly strong ties with China; but those ties were cut when communists won control of the Chinese mainland in 1949. For nearly 30 years, the United States and the People's Republic of China refused to recognize one another.

The realities of world politics finally forced a reshaping of American-Chinese relations in the 1970s. President Nixon made an historic visit to Beijing in 1972, and full-fledged diplomatic ties were reestablished in 1979.

Still, the People's Republic is a totalitarian state, and American policy reflects that fact—



FOOD WILL WIN THE WAR

You came here seeking Freedom
You must now help to preserve it

WHEAT is needed for the allies
Waste nothing

UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATION

▲ **Poster Art** World War I launched the era of the propaganda poster. What technique does this poster use to convince Americans to save for the war effort?

though many argue that it does not do so strongly enough. The Chinese government's brutal response to prodemocracy demonstrations by thousands of students in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989 will likely color American-Chinese relations for years to come.

The Two World Wars

Germany's submarine campaign against American shipping in the North Atlantic forced the United States out of its isolationist cocoon in 1917. America entered World War I "to make the world safe for democracy."

With the defeat of Germany and the Central Powers, however, this nation pulled back from the involvements brought on by the war. The United States refused to join the League of Nations, which had been conceived by President Woodrow Wilson. Briefly, the nation returned to its historical isolationism.

America's commitment to isolationism was finally ended by World War II. The United States became directly involved in the war when the Japanese suddenly attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. From that point on, together with the British, the Soviets, the Chinese, and other allies, this country waged an all-out effort to defeat the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan). America supplied most of the materials that were essential to victory. Within a short time, the United States was transformed into the world's mightiest military power.

Foreign Policy from 1945 to Today

World War II led to an historic shift from a position of isolationism to one of internationalism. This nation's foreign policy has been cast in that newer direction for nearly 50 years now. Even so, the overall objective of that policy remains what it has always been: the protection of the security of the United States. The major features of current American foreign policy are all, as you will see, reflections of that overriding goal.

Peace Through Collective Security

The United States, and most of the rest of a war-weary world, looked to the principle of

collective security to keep international peace and order after World War II. That is, America hoped to forge a world community in which all or at least most nations would agree to act together against any nation that threatened the peace.

To that end, the United States took the lead in creating the United Nations in 1945. The organization's charter declares that the UN was formed to promote international cooperation and so "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . and to maintain international peace and security"; see pages 450–453.

It soon became clear that the future of the world would not be shaped in the UN alone, however. Rather, international security would depend largely on the nature of the relations between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. These relations, never very close, quickly deteriorated—and for the next 40 years American foreign policy was built around that fact.

Relations between the superpowers have improved dramatically in recent years. Still, collective security remains a cornerstone of American policy. The United States has supported the United Nations and other efforts to further international cooperation. And, because the UN did not immediately fulfill the dreams on which it was founded, the United States soon took another path to collective security—a network of regional alliances, as you will see.

The principle of collective security was at work in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, too. The United States led the diplomatic and then the military effort to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait—an effort supported by the United Nations and nearly all of its member states.

Deterrence The policy of deterrence is another major plank of current American foreign policy. It was begun under President Truman, as the antagonisms between the United States and the Soviet Union grew after World War II. Every President since has maintained it.

Deterrence is the policy of making the country and its allies so militarily strong that its very strength will deter (discourage, prevent) any attack. As President Bush has said, "Weakness tempts aggressors. Strength stops them."

Resisting Soviet Aggression

One cannot hope to understand either recent or current American foreign policy without a grounding in the long years of the cold war—the more than 40 years in which relations between the two superpowers were at least tense and, more often than not, distinctly hostile.

The United States had planned to work with the Soviet Union, particularly through the UN, to build international cooperation and keep the peace in the postwar world. Those plans were quickly dashed, however.

At the Yalta Conference in early 1945, Soviet Premier Josef Stalin had agreed with President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill that "democratic governments" would be established by "free elections" in the liberated countries of Eastern Europe. Instead, the Soviets imposed communist governments on those countries.

As they devoured Eastern Europe, the Soviets also attempted to take over the oil fields of Iran, to the south. At the same time, the Soviets supported communist guerrillas in a civil war in Greece. And, pursuing the historic Russian dream of a "window to the sea," they demanded military and naval bases in Turkey.

The Truman Doctrine and Containment

The United States began to counter the Soviet Union's aggressive actions in the early months of 1947. The Truman Doctrine marked the first step in that long-standing process. Both Greece and Turkey were in danger of falling under the Soviet Union's control. At President Harry Truman's urgent request, Congress approved a massive program of economic and military aid, and both countries were saved. In his message to Congress, the President declared that it was now

"the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures."

The Truman Doctrine soon became part of a broader American plan for dealing with the Soviet Union. From mid-1947 on through the 1980s the United States followed the policy of **containment**. That policy was rooted in the

belief that if communism could be contained within its existing boundaries it would collapse under the weight of its internal weaknesses.

The United States and the Soviet Union confronted one another often during the cold war years. Two of those confrontations were of major, near-war proportions: in Berlin in 1948–1949 and in Cuba in 1962. And, during that same time, the United States fought two wars against communist forces in Asia.

The Berlin Blockade At the end of World War II, the city of Berlin, surrounded by Soviet-occupied East Germany, was divided into four sectors. One sector, East Berlin, was controlled by the Soviet Union. The other three sectors, comprising West Berlin, were occupied by the United States, Britain, and France.

In 1948 the Soviets tried to force their former allies to withdraw from West Berlin. They clamped a land blockade around the city, stopping the shipment of food and supplies to the western sectors. The United States mounted a massive air-lift that kept the city alive until the blockade was lifted, a year and a half after it had begun.



▲ **Executive Action: 1962** Shortly after he ordered the removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba, President Kennedy inspected military installations at Key West, off the Florida coast.

The Cuban Missile Crisis The United States and the Soviet Union came perilously close to a nuclear conflict during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

Cuba had slipped into the Soviet orbit soon after Fidel Castro gained power there in 1959. By mid-1962, huge quantities of Soviet arms and thousands of Soviet “technicians” had been sent to Cuba. Suddenly, in October, the build-up became unmistakably offensive in character. Aerial photographs revealed the presence of several Soviet missiles capable of nuclear strikes against this country and much of Latin America.

Immediately, President Kennedy ordered a naval blockade of Cuba to prevent the delivery of any more missiles. Cuba and the Soviet Union were warned that the United States would attack Cuba unless the existing Soviet missiles were removed.

After several tense days, the Soviets backed down. Rather than risk all so far from home, they returned the weapons to the Soviet Union.

The Korean War The Korean War began on June 25, 1950. South Korea (the UN-sponsored Republic of Korea) was attacked by communist North Korea (the People’s Democratic Republic of Korea). Immediately, the UN’s Security Council called on all UN members to help South Korea repel the invasion.

The war lasted for more than three years. It pitted the United Nations Command, largely made up of American and South Korean forces, against Soviet-trained and -equipped North Korean and communist Chinese troops. Cease-fire negotiations began in July 1951, but fighting continued until an armistice was signed on July 27, 1953. Final peace terms have never been agreed to.

The long and bitter Korean conflict did not end in a clear-cut UN victory. The war cost the United States 157,530 casualties, including 33,629 combat dead, and more than \$20 billion. South Korea’s military and civilian casualties ran into the hundreds of thousands, and much of Korea, north and south, was laid to waste.

Still, the invasion was turned back, and the Republic of Korea was saved. Perhaps more importantly, for the first time in history, armed forces fought under an international flag against aggression. There is no telling how far that

aggression might have carried had the United States not come to the aid of South Korea.

The War in Vietnam In the years following World War II, a Vietnamese nationalist movement, seeking independence from France and made up mostly of communist forces led by Ho Chi Minh, fought and defeated the French in a lengthy conflict. Under truce agreements signed at Geneva in 1954, what had been French Indochina was divided into two zones: a communist-dominated North Vietnam, with its capital in Hanoi, and an anticommunist South Vietnam, based in Saigon.

Almost at once, communist guerrillas (the Viet Cong), supported by North Vietnamese, began a civil war in South Vietnam. The Eisenhower administration responded with economic and then military aid to Saigon. This aid was increased by President Kennedy. But, even with stepped-up U.S. support to South Vietnam, the Viet Cong—and growing numbers of North Vietnamese supplied with mostly Soviet and some Chinese weapons—continued to make major gains.

It was President Johnson who, in early 1965, committed the United States to full-scale war.

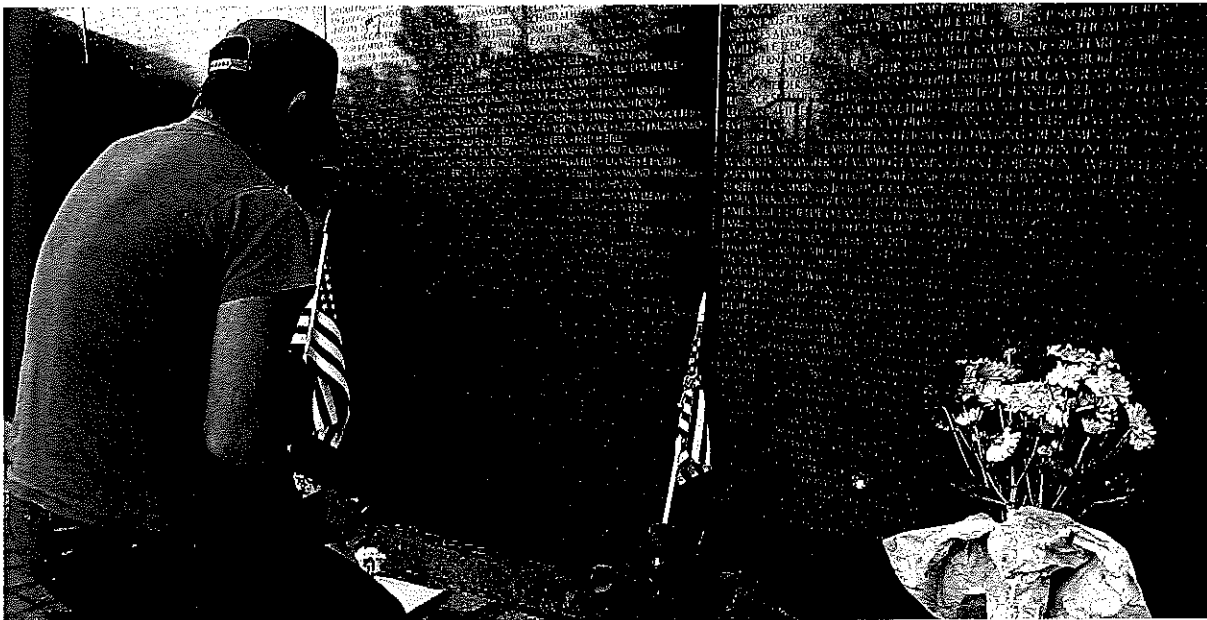
By 1968, more than 540,000 Americans were involved in a fierce ground and air conflict.

In 1969, President Nixon began what he called the “Vietnamization” of the war. Over the next four years, American troops were pulled out of combat. Finally, a cease-fire agreement was signed in early 1973, and the last American units were withdrawn. (In spite of the cease-fire, the war between North and South Vietnam went on. By 1975, South Vietnam had been overrun, and the two Vietnams became the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.)

The ill-fated war in Vietnam cost the United States a staggering \$165 billion and, irreplaceably, more than 57,000 American lives. In addition, the war caused many to lose faith in the workings of the American political system.

Détente and the Return to Containment

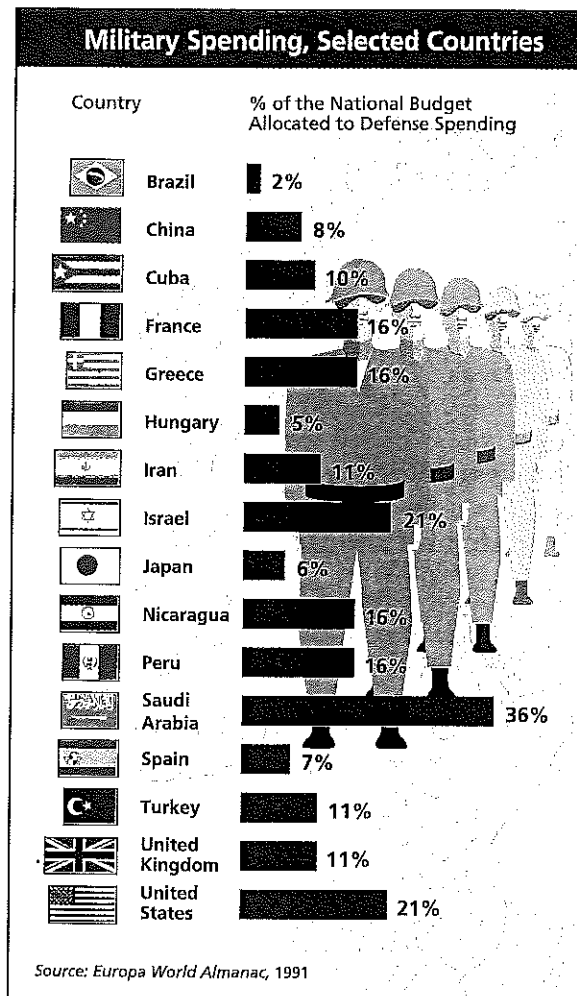
As the United States withdrew from Vietnam, the Nixon administration embarked on a policy of *détente*. The term is French, meaning “a relaxation of tensions.” The policy included a purposeful attempt to improve relations with the Soviet Union and, separately, with China.



▲ **Lest We Forget** Americans were deeply divided by the war in Vietnam. This granite memorial in Washington, D.C., is meant to be a national symbol of healing and forgiveness.



Global Awareness



Interpreting Graphs This graph shows the percentage of the national budget allocated to defense spending in various countries. Since the chart lacks political and economic information, can you safely conclude that nations that spend the most for defense are the most militaristic? Why, or why not?

President Nixon flew to Beijing in 1972 to begin a new era in American-Chinese relations. His visit paved the way to further contacts and, finally, to formal diplomatic ties between the United States and the People's Republic.

Less than three months later, Nixon journeyed to Moscow. There, he and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev signed the first Strategic Arms

Limitations Talks agreement, SALT. It was a five-year pact in which both sides agreed to a measure of control over their nuclear weapons.

Relations with mainland China have improved fairly steadily since the 1970s. Efforts at détente with the Soviets, however, proved less successful. Moscow continued to apply its expansionist pressures and provided economic and military aid to revolutionary movements around the world.

The short-lived period of détente ended altogether when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979. From that point, first the Carter and then the Reagan administration placed a renewed emphasis on containing Soviet power.

The End of the Cold War

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union improved remarkably after Mikhail Gorbachev gained power in Moscow in 1985. By the 1990s, the cold war had ended.

Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev paved the way to the end of the cold war at four summit conferences. They met first in Geneva in 1985, and then in Reykjavik, Iceland, in 1986, in Washington in 1987, and in Moscow in 1988. Those meetings helped ease longstanding tensions, and they produced a major disarmament pact, the INF Treaty in 1987.

President Bush met with the Soviet leader at Malta in late 1989, in Washington in 1990, and in Washington, London, and Moscow in 1991. Those meetings reaffirmed the friendlier American-Soviet environment. They also produced commitments from both sides to eliminate a portion of their long-range nuclear missiles, to cut stockpiles of chemical weapons, and to reduce the levels of conventional forces.

Clearly, Mikhail Gorbachev deserves a large share of the credit for the fundamental change in the Soviets' approach to world affairs. However, another key factor has been the economic and political chaos that ultimately brought the collapse of the Soviet Union itself in 1991. You will read more about these critical developments in chapters 22 and 23.

The historic fact that the cold war is at long last over can and should be seen in this light: The American policy of containment, first put in place in 1947, finally realized its goal.

Von Government



General Colin L. Powell,
as chairman of the Joint
Chiefs of Staff

On United States Foreign Policy in a Changing World

“Now the task is keeping democracy alive, not fighting and containing communism. Now the task is helping the dozens of democracies that are just being born. Now the task is teaching the basics of government of the people, by the

people, and for the people—to the people. Now the task, in the words of the playwright-turned-president [of Czechoslovakia] Vaclav Havel, is to continue ‘approaching democracy’—to do so with hundreds of thousands of new recruits.”

Section 4 Review

1. **Define:** collective security, deterrence, containment
2. Why did the policy of isolationism make sense to the United States in its early years?
3. Briefly trace this nation’s policy toward Latin America and the Western Hemisphere.
4. What decisive impact did World War II have on the shape of American foreign policy?
5. Briefly describe the major political and military events of the cold war.

Critical Thinking

6. **Testing Conclusions** (p. 19) The text states that “the American policy of containment . . . finally realized its goal.” What evidence can you find to support this statement?



5 Foreign Aid, Defense Alliances, and the United Nations

Find Out:

- What are the purposes of foreign aid?
- Why does the United States maintain a network of regional security alliances?
- Why was the United Nations created?
- What are the UN’s purposes, organization, and membership?

Key Terms:

foreign aid, regional security alliance, UN Security Council

Do you know this ancient saying: “Those who help others help themselves”? You will see that that maxim underlies two other and basic elements of present-day American foreign policy: foreign aid and security alliances.

Foreign Aid

Foreign aid—economic and military aid to other countries—has been a basic feature of American foreign policy for more than 50 years now. It began with the Lend-Lease program of the early 1940s, in which the United States gave nearly \$50 billion in food, munitions, and other supplies to its allies in World War II. Since then, this country has sent some \$450 billion in aid to more than 100 countries.

Foreign aid became a part of the containment policy with American aid to Greece and Turkey in 1947. Under the Marshall Plan, named for its author, Secretary of State George C. Marshall, the United States poured some \$13.15 billion into 16 nations in Western Europe between 1948 and 1952.

Foreign aid policy has taken several directions over time. Immediately after World War II, American aid was primarily economic in form. Over the years since then, however, military assistance has assumed a large role in aid policy. Until the mid-1950s, Europe received the lion’s share of American help. Since then,

the largest amounts have gone to nations in Asia and Latin America.

On balance, most aid has been sent to those countries regarded as the most critical to the realization of this country's foreign policy objectives. Over the past 25 years, South Vietnam, Israel, and Taiwan have been the major recipients of military aid. India has received the most in economic assistance.

Most foreign aid money must be used to buy American goods and services. So, most of the billions spent for that aid amount to a substantial subsidy to both business and labor in this country. Most of the economic aid programs are administered by the independent Agency for International Development (AID), in close cooperation with the Departments of State and Agriculture. Most military aid is channeled through the Defense Department.

Security Through Alliances

Over the past four decades, the United States has constructed a network of **regional security alliances** built on mutual defense treaties. In each of those treaties, the United States and the other countries involved have agreed to take collective action to meet aggression in a particular part of the world.

The North Atlantic Treaty, signed in 1949, established NATO, the 16-member North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The alliance was formed to promote the collective defense of Western Europe, particularly against the threat of Soviet aggression. Each member country has agreed that "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or in North America shall be considered an attack against them all."¹²

NATO was originally composed of the United States and 11 other countries: Canada, Great Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands,

¹²In answer to NATO, the Soviets formed the Warsaw Treaty Organization (the Warsaw Pact) in 1955. The Pact created a Moscow-based mutual defense alliance among Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. The Warsaw Pact did not survive the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; it was formally dissolved in 1991.

Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. Greece and Turkey joined the alliance in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982. When East and West Germany united in 1990, that new state joined NATO.

NATO has been the cornerstone of American foreign policy in Europe ever since its creation. The end of the cold war has not diminished NATO's role. In 1991 the NATO Council reiterated the organization's mission in these words: "To deter and defend against any threat of aggression against the territory of any member state."

Other Alliances The Rio Pact, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, was signed in 1947. In it, the United States, Canada, and now 32 Latin American countries have agreed "that an armed attack by any state against an American state shall be considered as an attack against all the American states." The treaty pledges those countries to the mutual peaceful settlement of all disputes. In effect, the Rio Pact is a restatement of the Monroe Doctrine.

In addition to NATO and the Rio Pact, the United States is involved with a number of regional security alliances. For example, the ANZUS Pact of 1951 unites Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

The Japanese Pact also dates from 1951. After six years of American military occupation, the allies of World War II (but not the Soviet Union) signed a peace treaty with Japan. At the same time, the United States and Japan signed a mutual defense treaty. In return for American protection, the United States is permitted to maintain land, sea, and air forces in and about Japan.

The Philippines Pact was also signed in 1951. It, too, is a mutual defense agreement. The pact remains in force, but disagreements over its redrafting prompted the withdrawal of all American military forces from the Philippines in 1992. The Korean Pact, signed in 1953, pledges this country to come to the aid of South Korea should it be attacked again.

The Taiwan Pact was in effect between the United States and Nationalist China from 1954 to 1980. The United States and the People's Republic of China established full diplomatic relations in 1979. At that time, the United States withdrew recognition of the Nationalist

Chinese government; it also served the one-year notice required by the 1954 treaty to abrogate (end) that agreement.

The United States and the Middle East
The American network of regional alliances is far-reaching. It does not cover all of the globe, however—and most notably today, not the Middle East.

The Middle East is both oil-rich and conflict-ridden. America's foreign policy interests in the region have, for decades, been torn in two quite opposite directions: by its long-standing support of Israel, and by the critical importance of Arab oil.

Israel was established as an independent state by the United Nations in 1948. Carved out of what had been British-controlled Palestine,

Israel has been in continuous conflict with its Arab neighbors. Some Arab nations and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have been committed to the destruction of Israel.

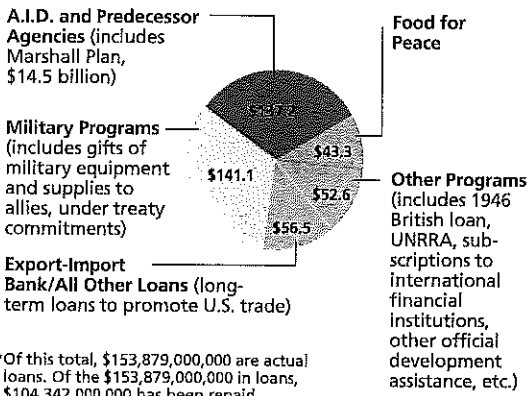
In spite of its support for Israel, the United States has made considerable efforts to promote friendly relations with most Arab states in the region.

With the active involvement of President Carter, Israel and Egypt negotiated a peace treaty, which became effective in 1979. That agreement, the Camp David Accord, ended more than 30 years of hostilities between those two countries. But no other Arab state would join that peace-building effort.

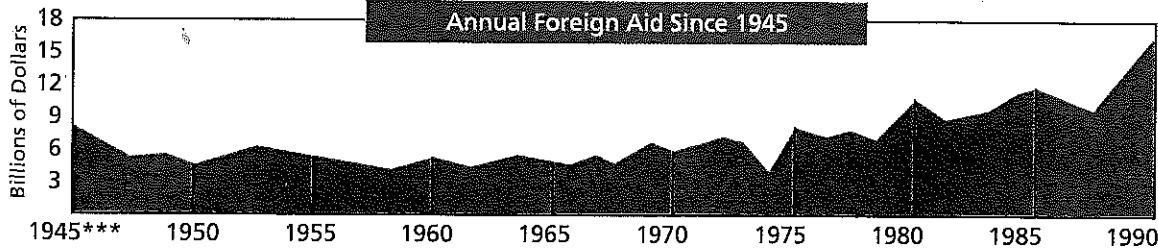
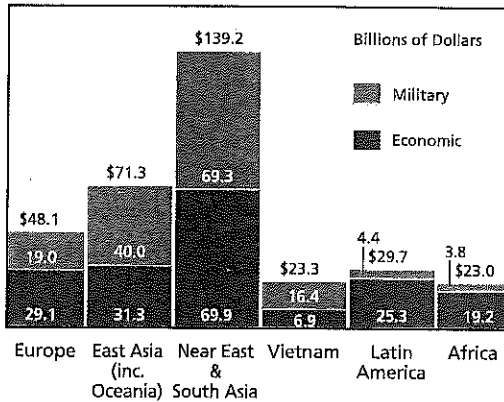
A new attempt to bring peace to the region was mounted by Secretary of State James Baker in 1991, and the Soviet Union joined the United

American Foreign Aid (U.S. Overseas Loans & Grants)

What the U.S. has distributed since the end of World War II (July 1, 1945–Sept. 30, 1990)
TOTAL \$430,578,000,000*



Where the U.S. Distributed Aid (through Sept. 30, 1990)**



*** Includes period July 1945–Dec. 1946

Sources: Agency for International Development, Office of Planning and Budgeting; Office of Management and Budget

Interpreting Graphs According to the bar graphs above, which region(s) has (have) received the largest share of American foreign aid?

States in sponsoring what is hoped will be a continuing series of Arab-Israeli negotiations.

Since the late 1970s, many of America's problems in the Middle East have involved a non-Arab country, Iran. Iran has been fiercely anti-Western, and especially anti-American for more than a decade now. Iranian militants seized the American embassy in Teheran in late 1979, and 52 Americans were held hostage for more than a year. Through the 1980s the government of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was quite apparently involved in several acts of terrorism in the Middle East and Europe. The Iranians were also implicated in the taking of several Americans and others as hostages in Lebanon.

In 1988, a UN-sponsored cease-fire halted the Iran-Iraq war. That conflict had begun in 1980, when Iraq's President Saddam Hussein ordered the Iraqi military to attack Iran. The long and bitter struggle threatened world access to Middle East oil—and prompted President Reagan to order the navy to escort oil tankers plying the perilous Persian Gulf in 1987 and 1988.

Saddam Hussein launched another invasion in August of 1990. This time, Iraqi forces overran small, oil-rich Kuwait and threatened the security of America's close ally, Saudi Arabia.

President Bush demanded the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's legitimate government. He also ordered a huge deployment of American military might to the Persian Gulf region. That operation was code-named Desert Shield. By early 1991 it brought American troop strength in the Gulf region to more than 500,000—the largest massing of American power since Vietnam.

The American response was backed by most of the world community. A multinational (but mostly American) military force was established. The United Nations Security Council imposed economic sanctions on Iraq, hoping to bring a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

Iraq refused to withdraw from Kuwait, however; and its continued stubbornness finally triggered the Persian Gulf War. That brief conflict, code-named Desert Storm, began in mid-January with sustained air attacks on Iraqi positions. On February 24th, American, British, Saudi, and other allied forces commenced a

massive ground attack that in just 100 hours drove Iraq's troops from Kuwait.

The United Nations

The decisive change in American foreign policy that occurred during and immediately after World War II is strikingly illustrated by this country's participation in the United Nations.

The United Nations was formed at the UN Conference on International Organization, which met in San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945. There, the representatives of 51 nations—the victorious allies of World War II—drafted the United Nations Charter. The charter is a treaty among all of the UN's member-states, and it serves as the body's constitution.

The United States became the first nation to ratify the UN Charter. The Senate approved it by an overwhelming vote, 89–2, on July 24, 1945. The charter was then ratified in quick order by the other states that had taken part in the San Francisco Conference. The charter went into force on October 24, 1945, and the UN held its first formal meeting, a session of the General Assembly, in London, on January 10, 1946.

The UN Charter

The charter is a lengthy document. It opens with an eloquent preamble, which declares that the UN was created “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.” The body of the document begins in Article I with a statement of the organization's purposes. They are the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations between and among all nations, and the promotion of justice and cooperation in the solution of international problems.

Membership Today the UN has 179 members. Under the charter, membership is open to those “peace-loving states” that accept the obligations of the charter and are, in the UN's judgment, able and willing to carry out those obligations. New members may be admitted by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly, upon recommendation by the Security Council.

Basic Organization The charter sets forth the complicated structure of the UN, built

around six "principal organs": the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

The General Assembly

The General Assembly has been called "the town meeting of the world." Each of the UN's members has a seat and a vote in the assembly.

The General Assembly meets once a year, normally in September. Most of its sessions are held at the UN's permanent headquarters in New York. Special sessions may be called by the secretary-general, either at the request of the Security Council or a majority of the UN members.

The assembly may take up and debate any matter within the scope of the charter,¹³ and it may make whatever recommendation it chooses to the Security Council, the other UN organs, and any member-state. The recommendations it makes to UN members are not legally binding on them. Yet they do carry weight because they have been approved by a significant number of the governments of the world.

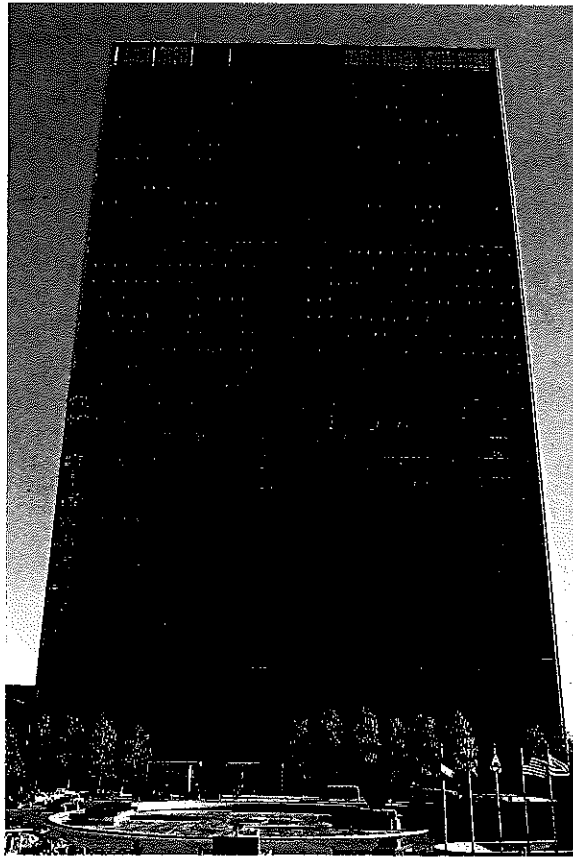
The assembly elects the 10 nonpermanent members of the Security Council, the 54 members of the Economic and Social Council, and the elective members of the Trusteeship Council. With the Security Council, the assembly also selects the secretary-general and the 15 judges of the International Court of Justice. The assembly also shares with the Security Council the power to admit, suspend, or expel members. It alone may propose amendments to the charter.

The Security Council

The **UN Security Council** is made up of 15 members. Five of them—the United States, Britain, France, Russia (the Soviet Union's old seat), and China—are permanent members.¹⁴ The 10 nonpermanent members are chosen by the General Assembly for two-year terms; they

¹³Except those matters currently under consideration by the Security Council.

¹⁴In 1971 the People's Republic of China replaced the Nationalist Chinese regime on Taiwan as a permanent member of the Security Council and acquired China's membership in the UN in all other respects.



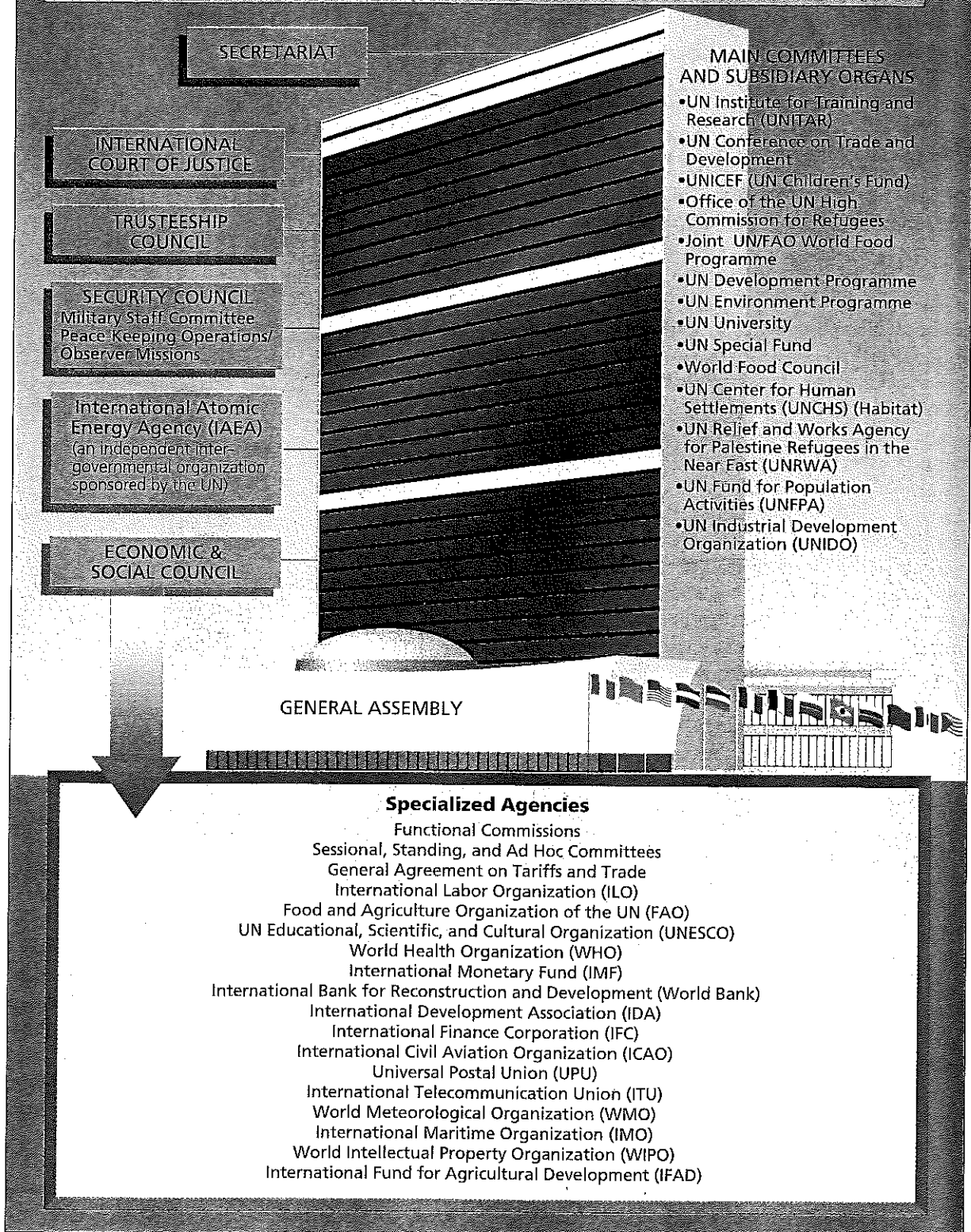
United Nations The UN headquarters is located in New York City. The organization was formed in 1945 to work for a more peaceful and secure world for all people.

cannot be immediately reelected. The council meets in continuous session.

The Security Council bears the UN's major responsibility for maintaining international peace. It may take up any matter involving a threat to or a breach of that peace. It may adopt measures ranging from calling on the parties to settle their differences peacefully to placing economic and/or military sanctions on an offending nation. The only time the Security Council has undertaken a military operation against an aggressor came in Korea in 1950. It has provided UN peacekeeping forces in several trouble spots, however—most notably in the Middle East.

On procedural questions—routine matters—decisions of the Security Council can be made by the affirmative vote of any nine members. On the more important matters—substantive

The United Nations



SECRETARIAT

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

SECURITY COUNCIL
 Military Staff Committee
 Peace-Keeping Operations/
 Observer Missions

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
 (an independent inter-governmental organization sponsored by the UN)

ECONOMIC & SOCIAL COUNCIL

MAIN COMMITTEES AND SUBSIDIARY ORGANS

- UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)
- UN Conference on Trade and Development
- UNICEF (UN Children's Fund)
- Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees
- Joint UN/FAO World Food Programme
- UN Development Programme
- UN Environment Programme
- UN University
- UN Special Fund
- World Food Council
- UN Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS) (Habitat)
- UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)
- UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA)
- UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Specialized Agencies

- Functional Commissions
- Sessional, Standing, and Ad Hoc Committees
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- International Labor Organization (ILO)
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO)
- UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
- World Health Organization (WHO)
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
- International Development Association (IDA)
- International Finance Corporation (IFC)
- International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
- Universal Postal Union (UPU)
- International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
- World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
- International Maritime Organization (IMO)
- World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)

▲ **Interpreting Charts** This chart shows the principal organs and agencies of the United Nations. The Secretariat, with some 18,000 employees, is the administrative body of the organization. From what you have read, which body within the United Nations has the most power?

questions—at least nine affirmative votes are also needed. But a negative vote by any one of the permanent members is enough to kill any substantive resolution.¹⁵ Because of that veto power, the Security Council is effective only when and if the permanent members are willing to cooperate with one another.

Other Important UN Bodies

In addition to the General Assembly and Security Council, the UN has several important bodies.

The Economic and Social Council The Economic and Social Council is made up of 54 members elected by the General Assembly to three-year terms. The council is responsible to the assembly for carrying out the UN's many economic, cultural, educational, health, and related activities.

The Trusteeship Council The UN Charter requires each member to promote the interests and well-being of the peoples of all "non-self-governing territories" as a "sacred trust." The Trusteeship Council sets guidelines for the government of all dependent areas and makes rules for the administration of all UN trust territories.¹⁶

The International Court of Justice The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the UN's judicial arm.

All members of the UN are automatically parties to the ICJ Statute. Under certain conditions the services of the court are also available to nonmember states. A UN member may agree to accept the court's jurisdiction over cases in which it may be involved either unconditionally or with certain reservations (exceptions that may not conflict with the ICJ Statute).

¹⁵The veto does not come into play in a situation in which one or more of the permanent members abstains (does not cast a vote). When, on June 25, 1950, the Security Council called on all UN members to aid South Korea to repel the North Korean invasion, the Soviet delegate was boycotting sessions of the Security Council and so was not present to veto that action.

¹⁶There were 11 of those territories originally—most of them former possessions of the defeated Axis Powers of World War II. There are no trust territories today.

The ICJ is made up of 15 judges selected for nine-year terms by the General Assembly and the Security Council. It sits in permanent session at The Hague, in the Netherlands. It handles cases brought to it voluntarily by both members and nonmembers of the UN. The ICJ also advises the other UN organs on legal questions arising out of their activities. If any party to a dispute fails to obey a judgment of the court, the other party may take that matter to the Security Council.

The Secretariat The Secretariat is the civil service branch of the UN. It is headed by the secretary-general, who is chosen to a five-year term by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, an Egyptian, is now the secretary-general. He became the UN's top administrative officer in 1992. In addition to his housekeeping chores, the charter gives him a very important power. He may bring before the Security Council any matter he believes poses a threat to international peace and security.

Section 5 Review

1. **Define:** foreign aid, regional security alliance, UN Security Council
2. What kind of country is generally the recipient of United States foreign aid?
3. What regions do the NATO, Rio, and ANZUS pacts cover?
4. The United States' interests in the Middle East are torn by what two considerations?
5. When, where, and by whom was the UN Charter drafted?
6. (a) What are the UN's principal organs? (b) What are the major functions of the General Assembly and the Security Council?

Critical Thinking

7. **Making Comparisons** (p. 19) Consider the subject of international alliances. (a) Compare the attitudes of early Americans and the foreign policy makers of today. (b) What factors might have led to this shift in attitude?

Critical Thinking

Identifying Alternatives

As a citizen in a democratic society, you will have to make and evaluate a great number and variety of decisions. Some will be simple. Many, however, will be quite complicated. In order to find the best solutions to such problems you must be able to identify alternatives. Mastering this skill will enable you to (1) identify one or more methods to achieve a goal or to solve a problem and (2) recognize the possibility of other goals. Follow the steps below to practice identifying alternatives.

1. Identify the nature of the problem.

Before you can identify possible solutions to a problem, you must understand exactly what the problem is. Read the paragraph below, describing a foreign policy question faced by the United States. (a) What is the ultimate goal of the United States regarding its military spending? (b) What challenges and questions does the nation face in achieving that goal?

2. Identify the interests that must be satisfied and/or conditions that must be met. In any conflict or disagreement, a solution must be acceptable to all sides.

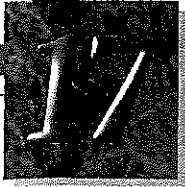
Read the passage below again. (a) What is

the position of those who favor a cut in military spending? (b) What is the view of those who favor a continuation of military spending at levels similar to those during the cold war?

3. Identify possible alternatives. A common technique for identifying alternatives is brainstorming. In a brainstorming session, participants volunteer all sorts of ideas, which are then collected and analyzed. At first some of the ideas may seem odd, and many turn out to be of little value. However, the process often yields unexpected and effective alternatives. Brainstorm ways in which the United States can determine the appropriate level of defense spending. What are some of your ideas?

4. Test your ideas. Once you have generated a list of possible alternatives, you should try to eliminate those that will not work. Examine each idea that you brainstormed by answering the following questions: (a) Is this idea likely to accomplish the goal of providing a strong defense for the United States? Why or why not? (b) Will all parties involved in the debate be satisfied? Why or why not?

With the apparent end of the cold war, the United States faces a reevaluation of its defense needs. Most American leaders agree that the United States needs a strong defense in order to remain secure. However, there is disagreement about how much money the nation must spend in order to build this defense. A number of policy-makers want to take advantage of the diminished threat from the Soviet Union to lower dramatically the nation's defense budget. The resulting so-called peace dividend could then be used to lower the budget deficit and provide more domestic services to the American people. Other analysts insist that in spite of the great changes in the alignment of world military power, the world remains a dangerous place. These leaders point to the Persian Gulf War of 1991 as an example. They insist that the nation continue to invest in its military near the levels of the past in order to ensure the continued ability of the United States to protect its interests around the world.



Chapter-in-Brief

Scan all headings, photographs, charts, and other visuals in the chapter before reading the section summaries below.

Section 1 Foreign and Defense Policy: An Overview (pp. 425–427) Throughout much of American history, relations with other countries were shaped largely by the policy of isolationism. Today, however, the United States understands that its security is directly linked with that of other nations.

For this reason, governmental leaders carefully shape American foreign policy. The President, as chief diplomat and commander in chief, plays the leading role in foreign and military affairs.

Section 2 The Departments of State and Defense (pp. 428–434) The State Department is the President's right arm in the field of foreign policy. The department is headed by the secretary of state, and it is organized along geographic and functional lines. The department includes the Foreign Service and ambassadors who represent the United States around the world. The State Department also issues passports to American citizens.

The Defense Department assists the President in making and conducting military policy. Its secretary must be a civilian, in keeping with the principle of civilian control of the military.

Section 3 Other Foreign/Defense Policy Agencies (pp. 435–438) Besides the Departments of State and Defense, several agencies are closely involved with foreign policy.

The CIA coordinates the government's intelligence gathering. It also analyzes that data. The United States Information Agency promotes American policy and way of life around the world.

The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is responsible for American

participation in arms limitation and disarmament talks. The Selective Service System oversees the draft, which presently exists on a standby basis.

Section 4 American Foreign Policy, Past and Present (pp. 441–447) Isolationism guided American foreign policy for its first 150 years. During that time, the nation expanded; it also promoted such foreign policies as the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door.

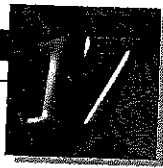
World War I led to a renewed spirit of isolationism in the 1920s and 1930s. World War II put an end to that policy; the war's aftermath saw the beginning of the cold war and the commitment to collective security and deterrence.

During the cold war, the United States pursued containment of communism, particularly through armed conflict in Korea and Vietnam. A period of détente in the 1970s led to better relations with the Soviets and China.

Section 5 Foreign Aid, Defense Alliances, and the United Nations (pp. 447–453) The United States began practicing foreign aid during World War II. Early aid was economic, but military aid has become increasingly important.

Since World War II, the United States has forged a number of regional security alliances. NATO is one example; others include the Rio Pact, ANZUS, the Japanese Pact, the Philippines Pact, the Korean Pact, and the Taiwan Pact.

The United Nations is perhaps the best example of America's full-scale involvement in world affairs. The UN seeks to maintain peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, and promote justice and cooperation in the solution of international problems.



Chapter Review

Vocabulary and Key Terms

isolationism (p. 425)
foreign policy (p. 426)
right of legation (p. 429)
ambassador (p. 429)
passport (p. 430)
visa (p. 430)

diplomatic immunity (p. 430)
draft (p. 437)
collective security (p. 443)
deterrence (p. 443)
containment (p. 443)
foreign aid (p. 447)

regional security
alliance (p. 448)
UN Security
Council (p. 451)

Matching: Review the key terms in the list above. If you are not sure of a term's meaning, look up the term and review its definition. Choose a term from the list above that best matches each description.

1. the right to send and receive diplomatic representatives
2. the rule by which ambassadors are not held subject to the laws of the state to which they are accredited
3. a foreign policy principle based on a world-wide system of security
4. a certificate issued by a government identifying a person as a citizen of a country
5. economic and military aid to foreign countries

True or False: Determine whether each statement is true or false. If it is true, write "true." If it is false, change the underlined word or words to make the statement true.

1. The right of legation is the means by which the Federal Government requires young men to serve in the military.
2. The personal representative of the United States in foreign states is the ambassador.
3. For its first 150 years, American foreign policy was largely one of diplomatic immunity.
4. The UN Security Council bears a major responsibility for maintaining international peace.

Word Relationships: Distinguish between words in each pair.

1. passport/visa
2. foreign policy/foreign aid
3. deterrence/containment
4. collective security/regional security alliance

Main Ideas

Section 1 (pp. 425–427)

1. Briefly describe the historical attitudes of the United States toward foreign affairs.
2. For what reasons must the United States be concerned about events elsewhere in the world?
3. Which individuals and organizations play major roles in the conduct of foreign policy?

Section 2 (pp. 428–434)

4. Which two cabinet-level departments are most responsible for the making and conduct of foreign policy?
5. (a) What are the key components of the State Department in the field of foreign policy? (b) What are their functions?
6. What is the main function of the Department of Defense?

Section 3 (pp. 435–438)

7. List three agencies besides the State Department and the Department of Defense involved with making and/or conducting foreign policy.

8. (a) What is the function of the Central Intelligence Agency? (b) The United States Information Agency?
9. (a) What is the function of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration? (b) The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency?
10. Briefly describe the history of the draft in the United States.

Section 4 (pp. 440-447)

11. Explain the significance of the Monroe Doctrine.
12. Describe two key foreign policy developments of the late 1800s.
13. What two terms describe the broad goals of American foreign policy in the post-World War II era?
14. (a) What was the cold war? (b) What is its status today?

Section 5 (pp. 447-453)

15. Briefly trace the history of the United States policy of foreign aid.
16. What is the function of the several regional security alliances to which the United States is a party?
17. What, according to the UN charter, are the UN's basic purposes?
18. How does the veto power of the UN's Security Council affect its ability to make policy?

Critical Thinking

1. **Identifying Alternatives** (p. 19) (a) In your opinion, what should be the overall goal of American foreign policy? (b) Which of the principles discussed in this chapter seem most likely to help the United States achieve this goal? Explain your answer.
2. **Recognizing Ideologies** (p. 19) President Dwight Eisenhower once said, "Americans, indeed all free men, remember that in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains." What do you think Eisenhower meant by this comment?

3. **Predicting Consequences** (p. 19) Consider the concept of isolationism discussed in Sections 1 and 4. What would you predict might happen if the United States were again to shape its foreign policy around this principle?



Getting Involved

1. **Writing Your Opinion** You are a candidate for President of the United States. Write a speech in which you explain to the voters your view of United States foreign policy. Prepare for your speech by reviewing the foreign policy history of the United States. Select those policies and principles that you feel best serve the interests of the country. Begin the speech by stating why you believe the country must have a clearly defined foreign policy. Then, carefully explain each of the principles and policies that you advocate. Remember, the purpose of your speech is to convince voters to support you in the election. So, explain how you believe your policies will benefit the nation. Revise the speech to correct errors, then draft a final copy.
2. **Class Debate** Hold a class debate on one of the following topics: (a) *Resolved*, That the United States should reinstitute compulsory military service for young men and women. (b) *Resolved*, That the United States favor the abolition of the veto power of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Select teams to debate each side of the selected issue. The rest of the class should evaluate each team's presentation.
3. **Creating a Poster** Create a poster to illustrate your understanding of national security. Remember, your poster can include a combination of words and images to communicate your ideas.