

Foreign Affairs and National Security

Section Preview

OBJECTIVES

1. Define foreign policy, and understand the difference between isolationism and internationalism.
2. Explain the functions, components, and organization of the Department of State.
3. Summarize the functions, components, and organization of the Department of Defense and the military departments.

WHY IT MATTERS

Foreign policy includes all the stands and actions a nation takes in its relationships with other nations. The State Department carries out the President's diplomatic policies. The armed forces provide the nation's defense, but are under civilian control of the President.

POLITICAL DICTIONARY

- ★ domestic affairs
- ★ foreign affairs
- ★ isolationism
- ★ foreign policy
- ★ right of legation
- ★ ambassador
- ★ diplomatic immunity

In *The Federalist* No. 72, Alexander Hamilton noted that the "actual conduct" of America's foreign affairs would be in the hands of "the assistants or deputies of the chief magistrate," the President. Today, most of the President's "assistants or deputies" in the field of foreign affairs are in the State Department. Those presidential aides in the closely related field of military affairs are located in the Department of Defense.

Foreign affairs have been of prime importance from the nation's very beginnings, more than a dozen years before Hamilton penned his comment in *The Federalist*. Indeed, it is important to remember that the United States would have

been hard pressed to win its independence without the aid of its ally, France.

Isolationism to Internationalism

With the coming of independence, and then for more than 150 years, the American people were chiefly concerned with **domestic affairs**—with events at home. **Foreign affairs**, the nation's relationships with other nations, were of little or no concern to them. Through that period, America's foreign relations were very 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 60 years have been marked by a profound change in the place of the United States in world affairs, however. World War II finally convinced the American people that neither they nor anyone else can live in isolation—that, in many ways, and whether we like it or not, the world of today is indeed "one world." The well-being of everyone in this country—in fact, the very survival of the United States—is affected by much that happens elsewhere on the globe. If nothing else, the realities of ultra-rapid travel and instantaneous communications make it clear that we now live in a "global village."

Wars and other political upheavals abroad have an impact on the United States and on the daily lives of the American people. Four times over the past century the United States fought



Benjamin Franklin (center), the first American diplomat, is received at the French court in 1778. Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette are seated at right.

major wars abroad; and in several other instances the nation committed its armed forces to lesser, but significant, foreign conflicts. The nation's security has also been threatened by terrorists in Europe and Asia, as well as at home, by racial strife in southern Africa, by Arab-Israeli conflicts in the Middle East, and by other events in many other places around the globe.

Economic conditions elsewhere also have a direct effect on and in this country. Japanese automobiles, European steel, oil from the Middle East, coffee from Brazil, Italian shoes, and expanding trade with China underscore the fact that every day Americans buy from other countries. American companies also sell their products in foreign markets, and often manufacture them abroad, as well. The American economy has become part of a truly global economy, linked by international banking, multinational corporations, and worldwide investments that transcend national boundaries.

Clearly, today's world cannot be described as "one world" in all respects, however. It remains, in many ways, a very fractured and dangerous place. Acts of international terrorism; civil wars in Sri Lanka, Colombia, Morocco, and the Congo; unrest in what was once the Soviet Union; drug cartels in Latin America and in Southeast Asia; the behavior of Iraq and other "rogue states"; the emerging dangers of chemical and of biological weapons—all of this, and more, make the point abundantly clear. In the interconnected yet divided world of today, only those polices that protect and promote the security of *all* nations can assure the security and the well-being of the United States.

Foreign Policy Defined

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. In short, it includes everything that that nation's government says and everything that it does in world affairs.

Thus, American foreign policy consists of all of the Federal Government's official statements



▲ **Secretary of State** Diplomats meet with foreign leaders to negotiate treaties, discuss world problems, and promote national policies. Here, Secretary of State Colin Powell shakes hands with Chinese Vice Premier Qian Qichen (left).

and all of its actions as it conducts this nation's foreign relations. It involves 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 aspects of foreign policy remain largely unchanged over time. For example, an insistence on freedom of the seas has been a basic part of American policy from the nation's beginnings. Other policies are more flexible. Only a few years ago, resisting the ambitions of the Soviet Union was a basic part of American foreign policy. Today, the United States and much of the former Soviet Union are seeking closer political, military, and economic ties.

The President is both the nation's chief diplomat and the commander in chief of its armed forces. Constitutionally and by tradition, the President bears the major responsibility for both the making and the conduct of foreign policy. The President depends on a number of officials and agencies—Hamilton's "assistants or deputies"—to meet the immense responsibilities that come with this dual role.

Voices on Government

Condoleezza Rice was named National Security Advisor by President George W. Bush in 2001. During the administration of George H. W. Bush, she helped bring democratic reforms to Poland and played a vital role in crafting many of the Bush administration's policies with the former Soviet Union. In a speech regarding national security challenges for the George W. Bush administration, she had this to say:



“ Our interests and our values have to go hand in hand. In fact, our interests are reinforced by our values and vice versa. There is no doubt that American interests are better advanced today in a world in which more countries share our values of individual liberty, of freedom of the press, of human rights, and of human dignity. ”

Evaluating the Quotation

State in your own words what Rice means when she says, “Our interests and our values have to go hand in hand.” In what circumstances might a nation’s interests and values not go hand in hand?

The State Department

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

The Secretary of State

The secretary of state ranks first among the members of the President’s Cabinet. This ranking is because of the importance of the office, but also because the State Department was the first of the now 14 executive departments to be created by Congress.

The Department of Foreign Affairs had first been created in 1781 under the Articles of Confederation. It was re-created by Congress in 1789 as the first major unit in the executive branch under the Constitution. Later that year, its name was changed to the Department of State.

President Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson as the nation’s first secretary of state. The first woman to hold the post, Madeleine Albright, was appointed by President Clinton in 1997. Colin Powell, secretary of state under President George W. Bush, is the first African American to hold the office. Today, the duties of the secretary relate almost solely to foreign affairs: to the making and conduct of policy and to managing the work of the department, its many overseas posts, and some 25,000 employees.¹

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 Components

The Department of State is organized along both geographic and functional lines. Some of its agencies, such as the Bureau of African Affairs and the Bureau of Near East Affairs, deal with matters involving particular regions of the world.

Other agencies have more broadly defined responsibilities, such as the Bureau of Arms Control and the Bureau for Political–Military Affairs. Most bureaus are headed by an assistant secretary and include several “offices.” For example, both the Office of Passport Services and the Office of Visa Services are found in the Bureau of Consular Affairs.

The Foreign Service

Some 6,000 men and women now represent the United States abroad as members of the Foreign Service. Under international law every nation has the **right of legation**—the right to send and receive diplomatic representatives.² The right of

¹The 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 publishing the nation’s laws, issuing patents and supervising the decennial census.

²International law consists of those rules and principles that govern sovereign states in their dealings with one another and in their treatment of foreign nationals (private persons and groups). Its sources include treaties, decisions of international courts, and custom. Treaties are the most important source today.

legation is an ancient practice. Its history 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. That year, it chose Benjamin Franklin to be America's minister to France.

Ambassadors

An **ambassador** is an official representative of the United States appointed by the President to represent the nation in matters of diplomacy. Today, the United States is represented by an ambassador stationed at the capital of each state the United States recognizes.³ American embassies are found in more than 160 countries around the world today.

The United States also has some 120 consular offices abroad. There, Foreign Service officers promote American interests in a multitude of ways, such as 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.

Some ambassadorships are much desired political plums. Too often, Presidents have appointed people to ambassadorships and other major diplomatic posts as a 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.

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.

³See page 400. 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*.



▲ **From Here to There** Americans usually need passports to travel abroad. Nepal, shown here, is one nation that requires foreign visitors to have visas.

The President also gives the personal rank of ambassador to those diplomats who take on special assignments abroad, such as 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 countries 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.

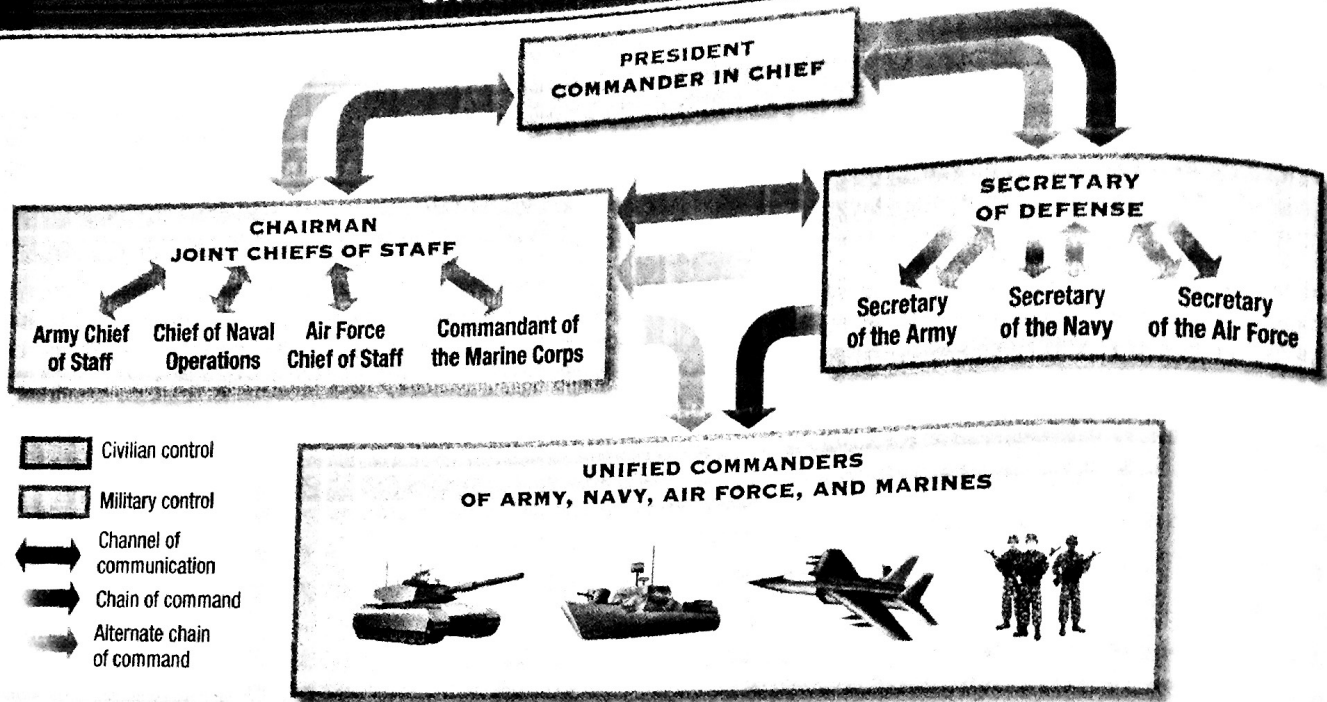
The State Department's Passport Office now issues some six million passports to American citizens each year. Passports are not the same as visas. A visa is a permit to enter another state and must be obtained from the country one wishes to enter. Trips to most foreign countries require visas. Most visas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

Diplomatic Immunity

In international law, every sovereign state is supreme within its own boundaries. All persons or things found within the state's territory are subject to its jurisdiction.

As a major exception to that rule, ambassadors are regularly granted **diplomatic immunity**.

Civilian Control of the Military



Interpreting Charts This chart shows the chain of command of the American military services. **Who advises the president on military matters?**

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. 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 considered a major breach of international law.

Diplomatic immunity is a generally accepted practice. There are exceptions, however. 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; 53 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

Congress established what is today called the Department of Defense 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.

Congress created the Defense Department in order to unify the nation's armed forces. It wished to bring the then-separate army (including the air force) and the navy under the control of a single Cabinet department. Today, there are more than 1.4 million men and women in uniform, and nearly 700,000 civilians also work for the Defense Department.

Civil Control of the Military

The authors of the Constitution understood 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 recognized the dangers inherent in military power. They knew that its very existence can pose a threat to free

government. And so the Constitution is studded with provisions to make sure that the military is 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.⁴

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 staffing of the various agencies responsible for the execution of that policy. The importance of civilian control 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 Department of Defense is headed by the secretary of defense, whose appointment by the President is subject to Senate confirmation. The secretary, who serves at the President's pleasure, has two major responsibilities. He is (1) the President's chief aide and advisor in making and carrying out defense policy, and (2) the operating head of the Defense Department.

The secretary's huge domain is often called the Pentagon—because of its massive five-sided headquarters building in Virginia, across the Potomac River from the Capitol. Year in and year out, its

⁴Recall 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 orders those units into federal service.

⁵The 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 35,000 commissioned officers and enlisted personnel. Since 1967, the Coast Guard has been part of the Department of Transportation. In time of war or at any other time the President directs, the Coast Guard becomes a part of the United States Navy.

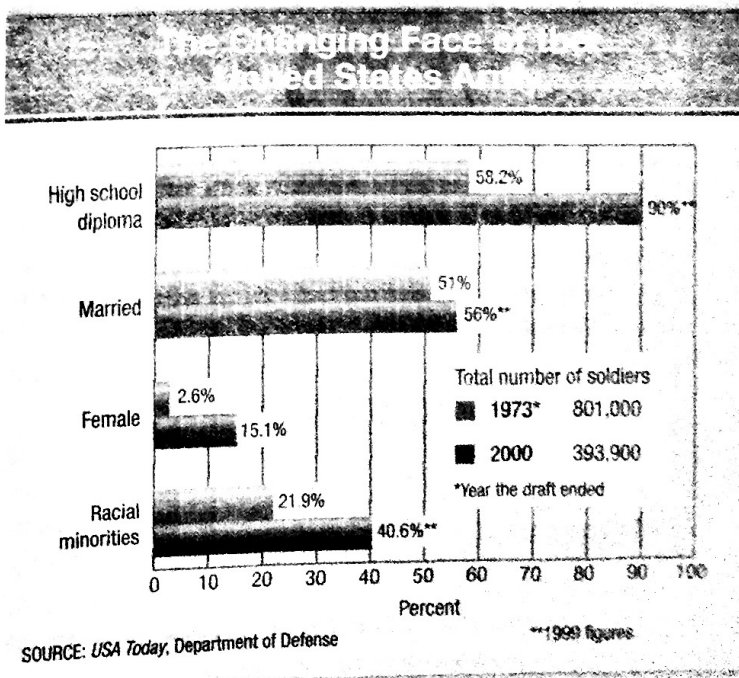
operations take a large slice of the federal budget—today, in fact, one sixth of all federal spending. The war on global terrorism has forced increased military outlays; total spending for the nation's defense will run to at least \$350 billion in fiscal year 2002.

Chief Military Aides

The five members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff serve as the principal military advisors to the secretary of defense, and to the President and the National Security Council. They are 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. The highest ranking uniformed officers in the armed services, the members of the Joint Chiefs are named by the President, subject to Senate approval.

The Military Departments

The three military departments—the Departments of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force—are major units and sub-Cabinet departments within the Department of Defense.⁵ Each is headed by a civilian secretary, named by the



Interpreting Graphs The make-up of the U.S. Army has changed since the draft ended and it became an all-volunteer force. **In what ways has the army become more diverse?**



"Wisht I could stand up an git some sleep."

Interpreting Political Cartoons Bill Mauldin, who served in the U.S. Army during World War II, drew cartoons "for and about the soldiers because I knew what their life was like." His work appeared in the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*. **According to this cartoon, what was it like to be a combat soldier?**

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.

The Department of the Army

The army is the largest of the armed services, and 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 a ground-based force, and it is responsible for military operations on land. It 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. To these ends, it must organize, train, and equip its active duty forces—the Regular Army—as well as its reserve units—the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve. All of its forces are under the direct

command of the army's highest ranking officer, the army chief of staff.

The Regular Army is the nation's standing army, the heart of its land forces. There are now some 410,000 men and 71,000 women on active duty in the army—officers and enlisted personnel, professional soldiers, and volunteers. The army has been downsized dramatically in the post-cold war era. There were more than 700,000 men and women on active duty when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

Women now serve in all of the Regular Army's units. Over recent years, their roles have come to include many combat-related duties in the army and in each of the other armed services, as well.

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 in support of combat troops. Combat soldiers could not fight without the help of members 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 created 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 is the navy's highest ranking officer and is responsible for its preparations and readiness for war and for its use in combat. The navy's ranks also have been thinned in the post-cold war period. Today, some 365,000 officers and enlisted personnel, including 50,000 women, serve in the navy.

The Second Continental Congress established the United States Marine Corps on November 10, 1775. Today, it operates as a

separate armed service within the Navy Department, but it is not under the control of the chief of naval operations. Its commandant answers directly to the secretary of the navy.

The marines are 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 air power of the navy and marines can operate, and (2) to carry out other land operations essential to a naval campaign. Today, some 160,000 men and 10,000 women serve in the USMC.

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 called the Aeronautical Division of the army's Signal Corps. These three men 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,



▲ These Navy fighter pilots serve on the aircraft carrier USS Dwight D. Eisenhower. *Critical Thinking* Do you think women should fly combat missions in wartime? Explain your answer.

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 now has about 350,000 officers and enlisted personnel, including more than 65,000 women—all under the direct command of the chief of staff of the air force. The authorized strength of the USAF has been cut by more than 150,000 men and women since 1991.

Section 1 Assessment

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. What is the difference between **foreign affairs** and **domestic affairs**?
2. (a) What is the policy of **isolationism**? (b) During what period was this policy favored by most Americans?
3. Name five kinds of policies that are a part of United States **foreign policy**.
4. How does an **ambassador** exercise the **right of legation**?

Critical Thinking

5. **Drawing Conclusions** (a) Explain how tyranny might result when the military is not kept under civilian control.
(b) Name one nation where such a situation occurred.

6. **Analyzing Information** Why do you think the right of legation has been honored by nations for thousands of years?



Take It to the Net

7. Read more on the debate about isolationism versus internationalism. Make a chart noting four or five points for each side of the argument, and rank each point on a scale of 1 (least convincing) to 5 (most convincing). Then state your own position on the issue. Use the links provided in the Social Studies area at the following Web site for help in completing this activity. www.phschool.com