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History and Current Issues for the Classroom

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The U.S. Role in a Changing World



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CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Program

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Four Questions about the U.S. Role in the World

Syria 2011. Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license.



Hundreds of thousands of Syrians protest for democracy and against their authoritarian government in June 2011. Protests have taken place throughout the Middle East and have led to instability in a region important to the United States, particularly for its oil. Should the United States support the protest movements for democratic governance even if it risks instability?



Jeffrey Wolfe. U.S. Army.

In 2003, the United States invaded Iraq after claiming that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction—a claim that proved to be false. In December 2011, the U.S. military withdrew from Iraq ending an eight year occupation. Today, the United States is worried that Iran is trying to develop the ultimate weapon of mass destruction—a nuclear weapon. Should the U.S. experience in Iraq affect how the United States deals with the Iranian nuclear issue?

U.S. Government Photo.



In May 2011, U.S. military forces killed Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden led the terrorist group al Qaeda that attacked the United States on September 11, 2001. The attacks had profound effects that rippled around the world. In the United States, disbelief, patriotism, and anger were followed by sharp changes in U.S. laws and foreign policy. With bin Laden dead, should the United States rethink its approach to security?



UN Photo/Albert Gonzalez Farran.

Women in Darfur, Sudan on their way to gather water. Scarce resources, poverty, and violence have made their lives difficult. These problems are not unique to Sudan. About 2.5 billion people around the world live on less than two dollars a day. Should reducing poverty, disease, and protecting the environment be an important part of U.S. foreign policy?

Introduction: A Changing World

It is clear that not all the people of the world have entered the twenty-first century on the same path. On the one hand, much of the planet seems increasingly connected by a web of trade, technology, and common political values. In this age of globalization, traditional dividing lines based on borders and cultures have blurred. On the other hand, the problems that have haunted humanity throughout history have not disappeared. Violence continues to erupt over questions of land, power, and identity. Billions of people live in grinding poverty. Tyrannical governments use fear and intimidation to maintain their authority. The United States plays an important part role in this complex world.

From the first days of the republic, U.S. citizens have debated how to balance their priorities at home with their involvement in international affairs. In his farewell address of 1796, President George Washington warned his fellow citizens to “steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.” Yet Washington also recognized that the United States would need to be connected to the larger world in order to prosper.

Today the United States wrestles with the task of balancing domestic needs and interna-

tional relationships. The world also presents an array of economic, political, cultural, and social concerns and problems. Consensus about how to address these problems is hard to achieve. Nevertheless, a healthy democracy requires debate and discussion about the values and policies that shape the United States’ place in the world.

The readings in this text discuss the forces that shape the U.S. role in the world. Part I reviews three critical turning points in the history of U.S. foreign policy. Part II examines several pressing issues facing the United States and the world today: economy, human health and the environment, international relations, and culture and values. Part III explores security concerns of the United States and how they connect to the issues presented in Part II.

After the readings, you will consider four distinct alternatives for the U.S. role in the world. Finally, you will be asked to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions about where U.S. policy should be heading. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide.

Part I: Considering the United States' Changing Role

Over the past two centuries, the United States has evolved into a country far more sophisticated and influential than George Washington could have possibly imagined. Time and again, the people of the United States have been compelled to rethink the U.S. role in the world. Changes in the United States—unmatched economic growth, increasing global power, waves of immigration, and startling social transformations—have caused generations of U.S. citizens to wrestle with conflicting foreign policy ideas. Citizens have argued about what interests and values, if any, are at stake outside the country, and how the United States should act internationally. They have disagreed about whether the major source of U.S. influence in the world should be its moral example or its active involvement.

This section explores three historical turning points in U.S. foreign policy. At each of these junctures, U.S. citizens and policy makers debated alternative proposals and made critical decisions. As you examine each of the historical events, focus on the policy choices put forward and the values they represent. Identify the most influential hopes and fears framing the debate. Finally, ask yourself which lessons from the past, if any, should be applied to U.S. foreign policy today.

The Spanish-American War: Coming to Grips with Empire

As the nineteenth century came to a close, the United States found itself entering a world it had cautiously avoided. In its first century as a nation the country expanded westward across the continent and began to emerge as a leading economic power. Shielded by two great oceans, the United States tried to insulate itself from the conflicts of the Old World. As the United States changed and its economic strength grew, so did expectations about U.S. foreign policy. Many were beginning to believe that the United States should take a more active role in world affairs. The Caribbean

region, particularly the island of Cuba, held special interest.

Why did the Cuban struggle for independence attract U.S. attention?

The Caribbean drew U.S. attention for a number of reasons. First, Cuba is only ninety miles away from the southern tip of Florida. As the importance of naval power increased in the 1800s, many U.S. leaders became convinced that the United States needed to control the Caribbean to protect its own shores and shipping routes.

Second, the United States and the Caribbean region were linked economically. U.S. companies invested heavily in the sugar, coffee, and banana plantations of the Caribbean, especially as plans to build a canal across the isthmus of Central America advanced in the late 1800s.

Finally, the Cuban people's struggle for independence attracted widespread U.S. sympathy. Since the sixteenth century, Cuba had been ruled by Spain. Most U.S. citizens in the 1800s resented the colonial powers of Europe, and were particularly outraged by Spain's brutal attempts to crush the Cuban independence movement. In 1898, the United States declared war on Spain.

What questions arose in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War?

The Spanish-American War lasted only four months and ended with a decisive U.S. victory. But military triumph raised new questions for the United States. As a result of the war, the fate of Spain's colonial empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific rested in U.S. hands. These areas included not only Cuba and Puerto Rico, but also the distant islands of the Philippines and Guam.

Suddenly, U.S. citizens were faced with a critical choice. Since the war of independence against Britain, Americans considered their country to be a foe of imperialism.

Most viewed the Spanish-American War as a struggle against the forces of European colonialism. But while opposition to imperialism was strong, so was support for a more prominent U.S. presence in world affairs. A new generation of policy makers felt that the United States was obliged to establish an overseas empire as British, French, and other European powers had done before them. They argued that U.S. control over the colonies of Spain would serve military and commercial interests, and also allow the United States to promote its democratic values in foreign lands.

“Americans must now look outward. The growing production of the country demands it. An increasing volume of public sentiment demands it. The position of the United States, between the two Old Worlds [Asia and Europe] and the two great oceans, makes the same claim.”

—Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, 1890

Many public figures, including writer Mark Twain and Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, opposed U.S. rule over Spain’s colonies, but President William McKinley led the campaign for annexation of the Spanish possessions. He and his supporters argued that the United States had a responsibility to advance its ideals.

Why did the United States lose its appetite for empire?

In 1899, the U.S. Senate narrowly approved the treaty sought by McKinley. But the annexation of Spain’s colonies did not put an end to debate over the U.S. role in the world. In the Philippines, U.S. troops fought to suppress Filipino nationalists from 1899 to 1902. The conflict resulted in the deaths of forty-two hundred U.S. soldiers and one hundred to two hundred thousand Filipinos. It also spurred protest at home. In both Cuba and the United States, advocates of full independence for Cuba organized demonstrations against measures the U.S. government took to limit self-rule.



Uncle Sam baby-sits his charges.

Detroit News, 1898.

“We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism.... We insist that the subjugation of any people is ‘criminal aggression’ and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.”

—Platform of the Anti-Imperialist League, 1898

Despite the lack of public support for imperial expansion, the United States established a protectorate over Panama in 1903 to pave the way for building the Panama Canal, and acquired several small Pacific island groups after World War I. In the Philippines, U.S. officials turned over much of the responsibility for governing the islands to Filipinos. In 1946, the Philippines gained full independence.

In the Caribbean as well, the United States wanted to avoid the administrative costs and military commitment associated with controlling an empire. Rather, the chief goal of U.S. policy in the region was to safeguard U.S. business and security interests. U.S. leaders retained the right to oversee Cuba’s economic policies and foreign relations until 1934.

World War I: Making the World Safe for Democracy

When war broke out in Europe in August 1914, the overwhelming majority of U.S. citizens felt that the United States should stay out of the fighting. President Woodrow Wilson, who mistrusted the great powers of Europe, shared this view. He established a policy of strict neutrality to avoid U.S. involvement in the war. Wilson believed that the United States should occupy a special place in the world as a beacon of democracy, freedom, and justice. In 1914, this belief lay at the foundation of his policy on neutrality. In April 1917, Wilson evoked the same ideals when he called on Congress to declare war against Germany.

How did the Allied victory open new opportunities in international relations?

Like the Spanish-American War, World War I was a military success for the United States. Fresh U.S. troops helped tip the balance in Europe against Germany, leading to an Allied victory in 1918. The United States' vital role in the defeat of Germany brought with it new questions about the country's role in the post-war world.

Wilson's peace proposal, known as the Fourteen Points, called for international cooperation to maintain world peace. Wilson envisioned an association of nations that would protect the political independence and territorial integrity of both large and small countries. He imagined that the United States would join this proposed League of Nations and play a prominent part in safeguarding the peace of the new international order. A national debate about whether to join ensued with President Wilson at its center. Wilson found that he had underestimated the concerns that U.S. citizens had about his ideas for international cooperation.

“For the first time in history the counsels of mankind are to be drawn together and concerted for the purpose of defending the rights and improving the conditions of working

people—men, women, and children—all over the world. Such a thing as that was never dreamed of before, and what you are asked to discuss in discussing the League of Nations is the matter of seeing that this thing is not interfered with. There is no other way to do it than by a universal League of Nations....”

—Woodrow Wilson, September 1919

Why did the Senate oppose Wilson's proposals?

The national debate began with consideration of the League of Nations in the U.S. Senate. Republican senators, the leading opponents of Wilson's proposals, argued that the treaty would require League members to come to the defense of any member under attack. They were concerned that the United States might be compelled to fight to preserve the borders of a French colony in Africa or protect British imperial interests in India.

“I am anxious as any human being can be to have the United States render every possible service to the civilization and the peace of mankind, but I am certain we can do it best by not putting ourselves in leading strings or subjecting our policies and our sovereignty to other nations.”

—Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, August 1919

Rather than negotiate with his opponents in the Senate, Wilson decided to take his case to the people, hoping to rally public opinion behind his vision for U.S. foreign policy. In September 1919, he traveled eight thousand miles by rail, giving forty speeches in twenty-nine cities during the course of a three-week speaking tour. Wilson's pleas were communicated nationally through the twenty-one journalists who traveled with him on the train and ran daily stories on the trip. The pace of the trip coupled with preexisting medical problems proved to be too much for Wilson physically. On September 25, Wilson gave his

“We Told You It Wouldn’t Work!”



Jay N. Darling, *The Des Moines Register*, c. 1920.

last speech before collapsing from physical exhaustion. Upon his return to Washington, a crippling stroke silenced Wilson’s voice. Partially paralyzed, the president in 1920 watched as the Senate rejected U.S. membership in the League of Nations by a vote of 38-53, far short of the two-thirds majority needed to approve the treaty. One of the treaty’s foes, Republican Warren G. Harding, went on to win the 1920 presidential election by pledging to return the country to “normalcy.”

What were U.S. attitudes toward foreign affairs in the 1920s and 1930s?

As the prosperity of the 1920s gave way to the depression of the 1930s, many U.S. citizens sought to shield their country from the turmoil in Europe. The establishment of communism in the Soviet Union and the emergence of fascism in Europe added to the desire to steer clear of troubles overseas.

The League of Nations proved weak and ineffective without U.S. involvement. In the

1930s, the League failed to stop Japanese, Italian, and German aggression. The overseas conflicts from which U.S. citizens hoped to isolate themselves were becoming a mounting threat to world peace.

When fighting broke out in Europe in September 1939, most in the United States sympathized with Britain and France in their struggle against Nazi Germany, but viewed the war as a European matter. Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 instantly changed their attitudes. The United States entered World War II with firm resolve and mobilized its vast resources. By 1945, the Allies were victorious in Europe and the Pacific.

Post-World War II: Confronting the Soviet Challenge

When World War II ended in 1945, the United States stood unrivaled as the strongest nation on earth. Unlike the countries of Europe and Asia, the United States mainland had escaped the devastation of war. U.S. industry reached new levels of productivity during the war years, supplying much of the equipment for the Allied victory. Moreover, in 1945 the United States was the only country to possess nuclear weapons.

For many in the United States, peace represented an opportunity to withdraw again from the center stage of world affairs. With Japan’s surrender in August 1945, President Harry S. Truman moved quickly to bring U.S. troops home and to allow the country’s twelve million soldiers to return to civilian life. By 1947, the government had cut the military to 1.4 million personnel.

But even as U.S. citizens were enjoying the benefits of peace, many U.S. policy makers recognized that World War II had fundamentally changed the international order. Britain, after dominating much of the globe for two centuries, was no longer able to maintain its vast empire. Likewise, the other leading European powers—France, Germany, and Italy—were in no position to assert themselves internationally. Although more than twenty millions Soviets died during the war, the war

strengthened the hand of the Soviet Union.

In defeating Nazi Germany, Soviet forces had swept over Eastern Europe. After the war, they remained in place and provided the muscle behind Moscow's political control of the region. At the same time, the Soviets sought to extend their influence to Iran, Turkey, and Greece. In 1946, Winston Churchill, the British prime minister during the war, said that the Soviets had cut off Eastern Europe from its western neighbors by drawing an "iron curtain" across the continent. The United States began to see the Soviet Union as a threat to the United States.

“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not

only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.”

—Winston Churchill, 1946

What role did the United States take in postwar Europe?

Discussion about how the United States fit into the new international order gained the attention of the U.S. public in 1947 and 1948. In March 1947, President Truman unveiled an extensive aid package for Greece and Turkey. In what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine, he pledged U.S. support for governments everywhere fighting against communist uprisings.

At the same time, U.S. strategists were designing a far-reaching economic assistance effort to rebuild Europe. Known as the Marshall Plan, the foreign aid program called for the United States to spend billions of dollars on the reconstruction of Europe. The Marshall Plan was based on the belief that the United States should try to contain the expansion of Soviet communism and that the best way to do so would be the rehabilitation of the economic structure of Europe.

Socialism, Communism, and Capitalism

Socialism is an economic system in which the community or the state controls the production and distribution of resources in order to increase social and economic equality. Generally in socialist systems, the state or community—rather than individuals—owns resources such as land and businesses. **Communism** is a political stage after socialism without social classes, property ownership, or even government. Although communism has never been achieved by any state in the modern world, people in the United States usually refer to the Soviet Union as a communist country.

Capitalism is an economic system in which resources are all or mostly owned by individuals and operated for profit. Production and distribution of goods is left up to individuals or market forces such as supply and demand.

For much of the twentieth century, the United States acted on the belief that the world was divided into two camps: governments supportive of communism and those supportive of capitalism. For a while, it believed that all communists took orders from and acted on behalf of the Soviet Union, which was seen as a mortal enemy to the United States. During this period both the Soviet Union and the United States devoted vast resources to their militaries, and competed for power and influence all around the world. Many within capitalist countries were also opposed to socialism because the property rights of individuals who owned land or businesses in socialist countries were threatened by the socialist system.

“But what part shall the meek inherit?”



Charles G. Werner in *The Indianapolis Star*, 1949.

Soviet leader Stalin walks off with the world.

“It has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy.... It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace.”

—Secretary of State George Marshall,
June 1947

Many policy makers in the administration of President Truman had come to view conflict with the Soviet Union as inevitable. They argued that the United States should stand firm against Soviet ambition. Reconstruction in Europe, they argued, would be a significant part of this effort. Truman was particularly concerned that the Soviets would promote the spread of communism in the war-ravaged countries of Western Europe.

Congress considered the Marshall Plan for

ten months. At the same time, U.S. citizens considered the future of U.S. foreign policy. Truman’s approach encountered opposition from a variety of perspectives. Traditional conservatives feared that making new commitments abroad would inflate the budget and give the military too much power. Meanwhile, many liberals believed that the Marshall Plan would divide Europe into two hostile camps and would undermine the cooperative mission of the newly formed United Nations (UN).

How did the United States respond to the Soviet threat?

Criticism of Truman’s policies was undercut by events. In 1948, the Soviets sponsored a coup to topple the government in Czechoslovakia and imposed a blockade of West Berlin to force the Allies out of the city. Although many in the United States were wary of becoming entangled in international affairs, they also remembered how Nazi Germany expanded its power in the 1930s through threats and intimidation while the United States watched from the sidelines. They believed that the experience of the 1930s justified a determined stance against Soviet communism.

“It is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.”

—U.S. Diplomat George Kennan, July 1947

By the end of the 1940s, the United States had set a course for an active role in international affairs. The declaration of the Truman Doctrine and the passage of the Marshall Plan in 1948 signaled that the United States was willing to make a long-term investment in the future of Europe. Equally important was the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. Under the provisions of NATO, the United States, Canada, and ten countries of Western Europe pledged to come to one another’s defense if any member were attacked.

Why did containment of the Soviet Union in Europe expand into a global contest?

At the time, most supporters of Truman's policies imagined that the division of Europe into U.S. and Soviet spheres would last no more than ten or fifteen years. Instead, the Cold War between Washington and Moscow deepened in the 1950s, extended to virtually every area of the globe, and endured for nearly half a century.

In September 1949, the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb. The next month, communists led by Mao Zedong won control of mainland China and joined Moscow in pressing for the spread of communism worldwide. In June 1950, communist North Korean forces invaded South Korea, drawing the United States and the UN into a three-year conflict that ended in a stalemate.

Moscow's development of nuclear weapons forced U.S. defense planners to devise a

new national security strategy to counter the Soviet threat. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower bolstered the U.S. presence in Western Europe to deter Soviet aggression. The United States increased its conventional, or non-nuclear, forces. U.S. policy makers also hoped to maintain their head start in the arms race. In 1947, Truman ordered that four hundred nuclear weapons be ready by 1953. Under Eisenhower, the doctrine of "massive retaliation" committed the United States to use nuclear weapons to counter a Soviet attack on Western Europe. The purpose of the policy was to deter an attack from ever taking place. This policy of deterrence would form the cornerstone of U.S. security policy for nearly fifty years. The end of the Cold War in 1989 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 reduced the threat of nuclear war and marked the beginning of new era in international relations.

In Part I, you have read about three critical turning points in the U.S. relationship to the world in the last century. The challenge for U.S. citizens today is to define the role that the nation will have in the twenty-first century. As you read the next two sections on changes in the global environment and U.S. security, think about the turning points of the past. How were ordinary U.S. citizens involved in the foreign policy decisions of the last century, and how might they be involved today? How has the world changed in recent years? Which challenges from the twentieth century persist today? Have U.S. values changed? As you read the following sections, use your knowledge of previous turning points to evaluate the choices available for the United States today.

Part II: A Changing World

The end of the Cold War left many experts arguing about what the future of U.S. foreign policy would be like. Confrontation with the Soviet Union would be replaced by something—but what? Some hoped for a “new world order” of cooperation to solve the world’s problems. Others wondered if ideological conflict had ended and if all the world would adopt the Western ideas of democracy and free-market capitalism. Still others speculated that the principal disagreements in international politics would be a “clash of civilizations” between Western cultures and others with different values and beliefs. What has become clear to many is that the world is changing quickly through a process called globalization.

What is globalization?

Globalization is an umbrella term that refers to the economic, political, cultural, and social transformations occurring throughout the world. It reflects the increased interdependence of various countries and people today. The migration of large numbers of people and the growth of the internet has helped spread ideas and establish connections between cultures that did not exist before. Many periods in history have seen globalization of varying forms. Globalization today distinguishes itself by its speed and magnitude. Though the seeds of transformation were sown long before, the end of World War II marked the beginning of a new global era. The wave of globalization since 1945 has fundamentally changed the face of the international system and has dramatically altered the lives of people around the world.

What has been the role of the United States in globalization?

What may be most striking about globalization today is that the process is so strongly influenced by one country—the United States. While some praise globalization with a U.S.

face, others are concerned that U.S. dominance will cause conflict with other societies.

In the past half-century, countries have faced the challenge of navigating through a rapidly changing world. Today, the United States must reflect upon its leadership role—past, present, and future. The principles of democracy and free-market capitalism promoted by the United States have never been so widely accepted.

Yet, the dominance of the United States has another side. The United States’ combination of economic, military, and technological strength has put it far ahead of potential rivals. As the most powerful nation in the world, the United States maintains a military presence around the world. The United States has more than nine hundred military bases in forty-six countries, not including Afghanistan.

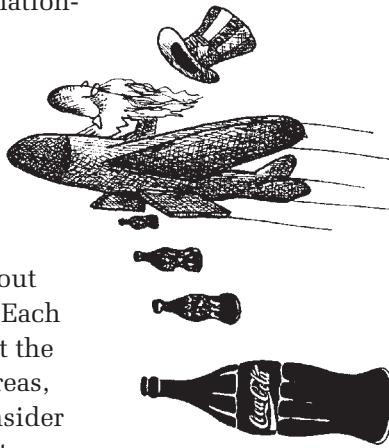
U.S. dominance comes from more than just military might. The ability of U.S. companies and ideas to expand throughout the world has influenced the cultures of countries.

“On top of it all, globalization has a distinctly American face: It wears Mickey Mouse ears, it eats Big Macs, it drinks Coke or Pepsi and it does its computing on an IBM or Apple laptop, using Windows...and a network link from Cisco Systems. Therefore, while the distinction between what is globalization and what is Americanization may be clear to most Americans, it is not to many others around the world. In most societies people cannot distinguish anymore between American power, American exports, American cultural exports and plain vanilla globalization. They are now all wrapped into one.”

—Author Thomas L. Friedman, 1999

While U.S. culture and products are often embraced, some fear that the cultures and traditions of their countries will be overwhelmed by the values, popular culture, technologies, and lifestyles of the United States. Globalization has led to changing cultural, political, and economic landscapes for many people around the world.

The four sections that follow—economy, health and environment, international relations, and culture and values—provide a structure for looking at some aspects of globalization and how they play out in the world today. Each section also looks at the U.S. role in these areas, and asks you to consider how the United States should act in the future.



Economy

With globalization, the world economy has grown increasingly interdependent. The production of goods now takes place on a global scale. For example, a good that used to be produced by a single company within one country may now be produced by people from many companies located all around the world. Additionally, an expanding international commitment to free trade among countries has internationalized the market for goods; people have access to goods that were previously out of reach. Finally, in addition to the exchange of goods across borders, global financial markets move billions of dollars daily with the click of a mouse and have profound effects on the global economy.

What has been the effect of economic globalization?

Economic globalization has had mixed and unequal effects. Some countries have

been helped because they have the resources to expand production worldwide and to create goods that are in demand internationally. Individuals and small businesses have access to much larger markets and to buyers they did not have access to before. On the other hand, some countries and individuals have been hurt because they are not able to compete with the strongest producers internationally.

Today, the U.S. economy is the world's largest. The U.S. dollar serves as the most accepted currency of international trade. The United States is one of the world's leading exporters and maintains a lead in many of the most promising industries, including biotechnology, space technology, and computer software. U.S. corporations have sought a competitive edge by taking advantage of cheap labor in Latin America and Asia. Meanwhile, Japanese and Western European companies have invested in the United States, hoping to tap into U.S. markets.

How has the United States responded to economic globalization?

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the U.S. economy

was cruising in high gear. The United States was benefiting from having played a central role in building the global economy. The gross domestic product (GDP) was growing at an impres-



Best of Latin America. Reprinted with permission.

sive clip.

At the same time, the East Asian economic crisis in the late 1990s and the international economic downturn that began in 2008 unsettled the lives of millions of U.S. citizens and other people around the world, drawing

attention to the insecurities of the global economy.

Globalization has swept away the employment security of the past. Businesses large and small must learn to compete on a global scale or be left by the wayside. Economists have noted that the United States has been more successful than much of the world in adjusting to these demands. The United States has, for the most part, turned the forces of change to its advantage. Yet while the U.S. economy remains the world's largest, a high rate of unemployment has policy makers looking for ways to stimulate growth.

How have U.S. leaders used trade policy to stimulate economic growth?

One way U.S. leaders have attempted to stimulate economic growth is by actively promoting new trade agreements. Some of their most notable achievements have been the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The WTO and NAFTA are both designed to reduce barriers to international trade. The scope of the WTO is worldwide, with a membership of 153 nations, while NAFTA is limited to the United States, Mexico, and Canada. The United States has also established bilateral Free Trade Agreements with fifteen other countries. Negotiations are currently underway for an additional bilateral agreements.



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In 2011, South Korea and the United States ratified the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. The FTA has been a topic of controversy within both countries since negotiations began in 2006. For example, many South Korean farmers believe that the increase of imported agricultural goods from the United States will threaten their livelihood. Above, South Koreans protest after their government lifted a ban on U.S. beef imports in 2008. The South Korean government banned U.S. beef after a case of mad cow disease was discovered in the United States in 2003.

What do supporters of free trade say?

Supporters of more open trade argue that everyone has the potential to be better off when developing economies join the global marketplace. They contend that countries with free trade systems support the growth of democracy. New industries geared toward exports spring up in developing countries, while consumers benefit from a wider selection of competitively priced products. Investors

Positions on Free Trade Policies	
Supporters Say:	Critics Say:
People have more access to cheaper products	Income disparity increases in the short run
Businesses have more access to buyers	Jobs are lost due to economic turmoil
Unrestricted trade promotes growth and wealth in the long run	Regional economic downturns quickly become global
Standards in rich countries improve conditions in poor countries	It is difficult to enforce basic health, safety, and environmental standards
Dependency decreases the likelihood of conflict	Dependency makes countries vulnerable

benefit from opportunities for higher returns. Likewise, they argue that removing restrictions on financial markets fuels growth in developing economies in the long run.

“This is the moment when we must build on the wealth that open markets have created, and share its benefits more equitably. Trade has been a cornerstone of our growth and global development. But we will not be able to sustain this growth if it favors the few, and not the many. Together, we must forge trade that truly rewards the work that creates wealth, with meaningful protections for our people and our planet. This is the moment for trade that is free and fair for all.”

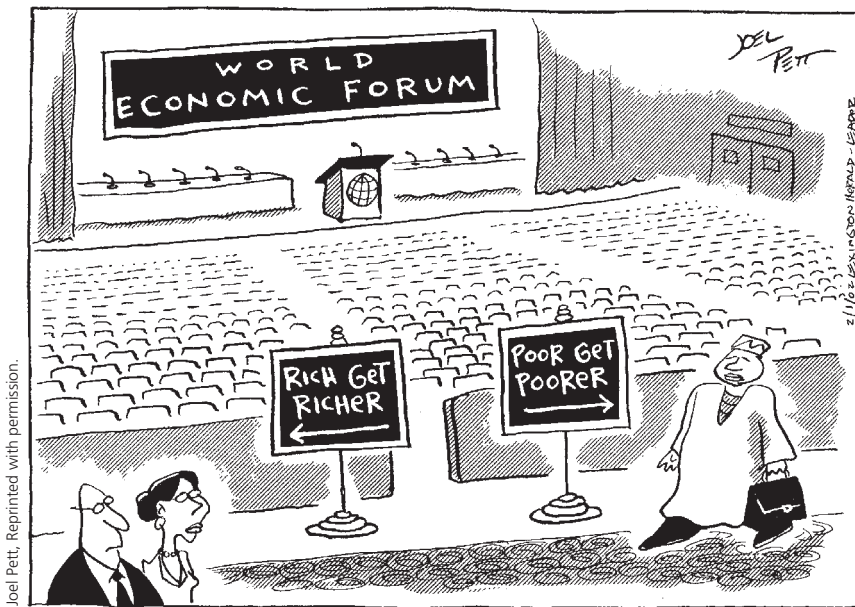
—Senator Barack Obama, July 24, 2008

What do critics of free trade say?

Many critics warn that U.S. trade agreements favor big business and ignore the interests of workers. Some people want the United States to withdraw from the WTO and other trade organizations in order to protect U.S. jobs. Others argue for reform of the trade system as a whole.

Critics of free trade maintain that losers outnumber winners in the global economy. Among the losers are hundreds of thousands of U.S. workers who have lost manufacturing jobs in recent years and tens of millions of people around the world who have lost their jobs or businesses. According to the critics, the winners are mainly rich investors who shift their money from one market to another and big corporations that relocate factories to poorer countries to take advantage of low-wage labor. The losers, free trade opponents assert, are typically found among the working class and the poor.

Continuing large protests at WTO meetings highlight the unease generated by the evolving international economic system and capture the at-



Joel Pett, Reprinted with permission.

tention of world media and the public. A broad coalition of organized labor, environmentalists, human rights activists, and nongovernmental organizations continues to protest the free trade policies favored by the United States and other governments. Many of these protesters also argue that free trade and democracy are not linked, citing the case of China, which is becoming more open in trade policies but not becoming more democratic. Demonstrations against “globalization without representation” continue whenever the WTO convenes a meeting. These protestors say that globalization does not represent the interests of ordinary people.

“Undoubtedly trade creates winners and losers. A good case can be made that the winners win more often than the losers lose, so the overall effects of trade are positive. But the distributional impacts can’t be ignored. The political reality is that winners don’t compensate losers. The only way those who lose from free trade can hope to be compensated is if they actively oppose it.”

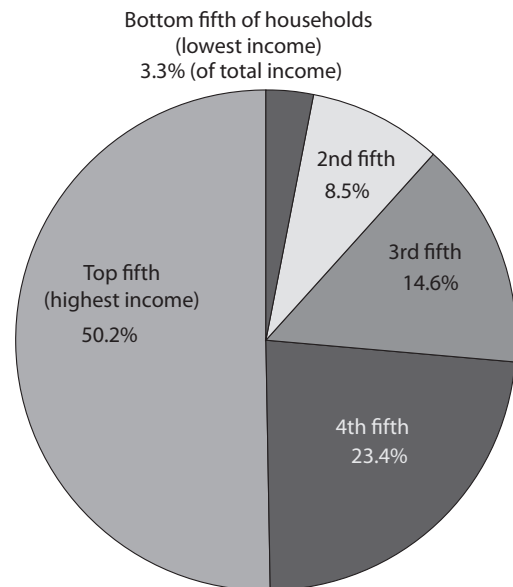
—Former Secretary of Labor Robert Reich, 1999

Why are inequality and poverty important concerns?

In recent years, inequality between the highest incomes in the richest countries and the lowest incomes in the poorest countries continues to grow. Inequality within many countries has also increased. In the United States, for example, the gap between the rich and the poor has grown since the 1980s. The Congressional Budget Office reports that in 1979, the 1% of the population in households with the highest income in the United States received about the same share of income after taxes as the bottom 20% of the population combined. By 2007, the top 1% earned more than the bottom 40%.

Per capita income in the United States and other wealthy societies is forty times greater than per capita income in the world’s poorest countries. The United States and other rich

U.S. Income Distribution, 2010



countries continue to dominate international markets, and poorer countries struggle to compete, with varying degrees of success. The World Bank estimates that 1.3 billion people are forced to get by on \$1.25 or less a day.

While the levels of poverty are declining around the world, poverty continues to be a concern for billions of people. For many people, questions about the future of international economic policy remain. Should the United States continue to focus on expanding international trade? Should it address increasing economic inequality at home and abroad?

Human Health and the Environment

A second set of major issues revolves around human health and the environment. Since the earliest days of international diplomacy, states have generally come together to discuss matters of war and trade. The health of the world population or of the world environment, if considered at all, were thought of strictly as local, not global problems. Recent years have seen an important shift in thinking.

Environmental and health-related problems are increasingly global in scope, and scientists and policy makers now see a coor-

minated international approach as necessary. For example, because greenhouse gases are dispersed throughout the atmosphere, more countries recognize that climate change, and the resulting environmental destruction, needs to be addressed in the international arena. Likewise, diseases do not respect national borders. Epidemics, like HIV/AIDS, have become worldwide health crises.

What are some current health concerns?

While there are a number of health concerns facing the world today, three are particularly widespread and deadly: HIV/AIDS, malaria, and malnutrition.

HIV/AIDS: In 2010, an estimated thirty-four million people were living with HIV/AIDS. The impact of HIV/AIDS has not been felt equally the world over: incidence of HIV/AIDS is highly concentrated in poorer countries. Sub-Saharan Africa, home to just 12 percent of the world’s population, has 68 percent of the world’s cases of HIV/AIDS. In Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, more than 20 percent of the adult population is HIV positive or suffering from AIDS.

The fight against HIV/AIDS requires resources and infrastructure to educate people about causes and prevention and to provide treatment for those who are infected. While there have been many success stories, some countries have struggled to address the crisis effectively. Furthermore, political instability, poverty, and war can worsen the epidemic. At the same time, the prevalence of the disease makes economic development more difficult.

The United States donates more than any other nation to international HIV/AIDS research and assistance programs, though critics say the United States could afford more. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and foundations also contribute resources in the fight against HIV/AIDS. In the years ahead, the United States will have to make important choices about its goals and priorities in fighting the disease. Should it concentrate its resources on combating the disease in the United States? What should be U.S. priorities in foreign aid—preventing the spread of the disease, fighting the disease itself by increasing access to medicines, or assisting economic development?

Malaria: Another significant international health concern is malaria. Malaria is transmitted by mosquitoes, and is a leading killer in Africa and in many tropical countries. In 2010, malaria caused 655,000 deaths worldwide, and health experts estimate that one child dies from malaria every minute in Africa. Treatment of the infection is straightforward and relatively cheap, but treatment remains largely



UN Photo. Eskinder Debebe.

A health care clinic in Madagascar. Preventing the transmission of HIV from mothers to their children is one important approach to curbing the epidemic. The UN reported that in 2010, 48% of pregnant women living with HIV worldwide received treatment to prevent transmitting the virus to their child. The number of new HIV infections in Sub-Saharan Africa dropped by more than 26% from 1997 to 2010.

unaffordable or inaccessible for many poor people who contract the disease. Environmental factors, such as natural disasters or close quarters in refugee camps, increase a population's vulnerability to malaria. Initiatives to curb malaria have made significant progress in recent years—malaria death rates fell 25% from 2000 to 2010. The United States pledged to contribute \$4 billion from 2011-2013 to the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, a leading international group in the fight against malaria.

Malnutrition and Hunger: Another critically important international health issue is malnutrition and hunger. Malnutrition is disproportionately prevalent in poor countries. While malnutrition is in some cases a matter of underproduction of food in a region, it is more likely a matter of lack of access to adequate food in poor populations. The UN estimated that in 2010 close to one billion people were undernourished. Some experts note that famines never take place in democratic countries with a free press. Without a free press a government can withhold information about small crises that then become larger ones.

Although it decreased its donations in recent years, the United States remains the greatest contributor to the World Food Program (WFP), donating over \$1.1 billion in 2011. While uncertain or limited access to adequate sustenance—called “food insecurity”—is often considered a problem of poorer countries, it is a symptom of poverty the world over. In fact, according to the U.S. census, over 14 percent of households in the United States are thought to be “food insecure.” In the years to come, the United States must determine where to focus its efforts in addressing malnutrition and hunger. For example, should the United States focus its efforts to fight hunger at home or abroad, or both?

What are some of the leading environmental concerns?

Policy makers disagree about the extent to which the world's environment is under threat. Scientists agree that climate change, which is characterized by an increase in the earth's temperature called the “greenhouse effect,” has worsened as a result of human activity. Scientists say the problem will continue to harm the environment in the future if we continue to expel the gases into the atmosphere that cause climate change. Those gases, present in small quantities naturally, are increased dramatically when people burn fossil fuels like coal, oil, and natural gas in industrial processes and to heat their homes and drive their cars.

Many scientists project that climate change will make temperatures around the world more extreme more often and that people will need to cope with increased frequency and severity of heat waves, floods, droughts, and hurricanes. They warn that changes will affect agricultural production, and the availability of freshwater and other natural resources that humans depend upon for survival. There is a general consensus among scientists that the areas that will be most severely affected by climate change are within poorer, less-developed countries. Other major environmental problems include the destruction of the ozone layer in the atmosphere, water pollution and acid rain, deforestation, and the decline of biodiversity.

How have international leaders begun to deal with environmental problems?

Several international conferences in recent years have raised the profile of global environmental problems. In 1992 the largest gathering of international leaders in history met in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil at what became known as the Earth Summit. The UN protocol, which 150 governments signed in Rio, set in motion a series of conferences among governments on climate change that led to a 1997 conference held in Kyoto, Japan. More recently, policy makers, environmentalists, and corporations

met at the Climate Change Conference in Durban, South Africa in 2011.

What unresolved conflicts prevent cooperation among nations on environmental issues?

These conferences have offered challenges to policy makers worldwide. It has been difficult for countries to agree on how to combat these problems and difficult to agree on who should make changes to limit future problems. The economy of a particular country, its values, and its political structure all contribute to its stance on environmental issues.

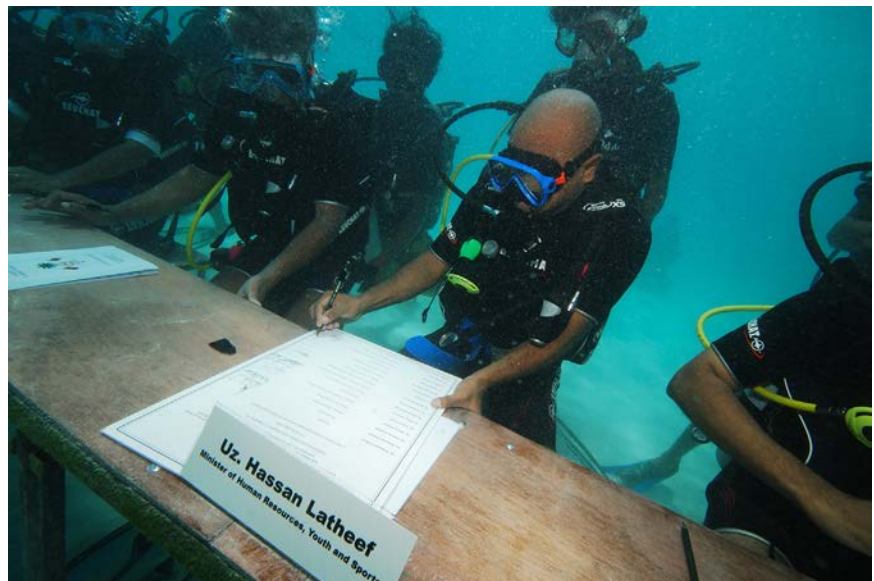
One political battle pits wealthy countries against poorer countries. On the whole, people living in the former group (often collectively called the North) have access to a healthier environment than people living in the latter group (often called the South). Additionally, countries in the North tend to use far more resources. Until recently, Northern countries also contributed far more pollution than Southern ones. That gap is closing as population growth has put pressure on countries to develop their economies quickly with less concern for environmental impact. The United States has called for these countries to curb population growth and reduce emissions, while it has bristled at proposals that might harm U.S. economic growth.

In contrast, Southern countries point the finger at the Northern economies, noting that they consume most of the world's resources and emit most of the pollutants. They argue that their need for economic development cannot be overlooked in efforts to clean up the global environment, and

that rich countries should help pay for developing countries' efforts to meet international environmental standards. The capacity to adapt to climate change is not evenly distributed among countries. Poorer countries are at a significant disadvantage when it comes to grappling with the resulting rising sea levels, more extreme weather, and other effects that many argue are the result of centuries of greenhouse gas emissions by richer countries.

How has the United States participated in environmental regulation?

With less than 5 percent of the world's population, the United States consumes about 19 percent of the world's energy and produces about 23 percent of the world's goods and services. The United States also supplied much of the early initiative to address global environmental problems. Today, the United States is no longer at the forefront of worldwide environmental regulation. Current U.S. policy reflects the idea that economies need to



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The United Nations forecasts that climate change over the next hundred years could raise the level of the world's seas by more than twenty inches. Much of the world's population and many of the planet's most fragile ecosystems could become more vulnerable to coastal flooding. Numerous low-lying island countries, such as the Carterets, the Marshalls, and Kiribati are becoming engulfed by the sea. Some of their residents, often referred to as the first "climate change refugees," have begun to leave the islands. Above, government officials of the Maldives hold an underwater meeting in 2009 to raise awareness about rising sea levels. They signed a document calling for global reductions in carbon emissions.

grow in order for environmental issues to be solved.

Many Northern nations, particularly those in Europe, are more willing to reduce threats to the environment, even if it is economically costly to do so. The United States did not ratify the treaty that emerged from the Kyoto conference in part because it felt that the treaty would unfairly burden the U.S. economy.

The role of the United States in future international environmental policy raises important questions. Should the United States take an active role in promoting “green” technologies such as hybrid cars and hydrogen fuel cells, and in reducing greenhouse gas emissions? Should the United States work more closely within international frameworks and guidelines for environmental protection? Or should the government stay out of the regulating business and let market forces determine the direction U.S. citizens will take?

International Relations

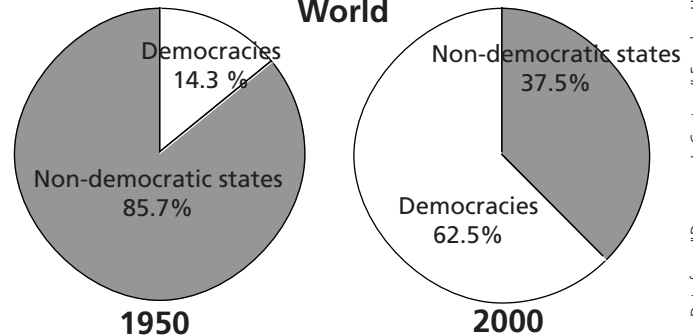
Over the past twenty-five years, democracy has spread along with free-trade capitalism around the world. Many states in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the former Soviet bloc have transitioned to democracy. Promoting these transitions around the world has been one of the United States’ principal foreign policy priorities for several reasons. Among them is the belief that democratic states respect the rights of their citizens and that wars between democratic states have been virtually nonexistent historically. Whether democracy is universally valued or even universally possible remains unsettled.

Definitions

A “state” is a country with a government that is recognized by its citizens and other countries and has sole control over its military power.

“State sovereignty” is the right of a country to make its own decisions free from outside interference.

Number of Democratic States in the World



Data from "Democracy's Century," Freedom House.

What is the role of international organizations?

International governmental organizations (IGOs) seek to resolve problems that affect multiple states. These groups set rules for states that choose to be members. The United Nations (UN), which was formed to address issues of international security, includes all states of the world. Other organizations are regional: the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) are examples. IGOs have proven to be a significant forum for dialogue and debate among states. To many, these organizations are a vehicle for a new form of international relations.

Governments around the world have reacted differently to the emergence of these new organizations. Some states see the authority of international organizations as competing with their own. Some leading figures in the United States, for example, worry that the authority of IGOs threatens U.S. sovereignty, and could override the U.S. Constitution. Others believe that international organizations bolster national power by increasing cooperation and pooling resources. For instance, members of the EU follow the laws passed by a multinational parliament, have all-but-dissolved borders between EU states, and are adopting a single currency (the euro).

What concerns exist about international organizations?

Despite concerns on the part of some in the United States about the preservation of state sovereignty, the United States plays a leading role in many international

organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The World Bank and the IMF work to address issues of international economic development and global finance. The United States contributes the most money, and as a result is the single strongest governmental voice in these organizations. Many critics argue that these organizations serve more as agents of U.S. foreign policy than as independent organizations.

In fact, some countries' voices are more powerful than others. Permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, France, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States), for instance, have much more sway in international politics than others. Given this discrepancy, many have begun to consider the importance of democratization not only within states but in the international governmental organizations to which states belong. Some have called for reform of the UN so that less powerful nations can participate at the same level as more powerful ones. Others say that the Security Council structure should be changed to reflect the changes in the political order since the founding of the UN.

What other groups have challenged the role of states in world politics?

In addition to the large international governmental organizations, groups smaller than states have begun affect world politics as well. For example, multinational corporations play a significant role in the global economy and often have an interest in influencing the political decisions of states. In addition, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have had a significant impact around the globe. NGOs are generally nonprofit, private organizations with a particular interest in a public policy issue. NGOs not only lobby governments to achieve their goals, but more and more they fulfill the role of governments by pursuing their goals in the field. Different NGOs work around the world pushing for reform in education, human rights, environmental policy, health care, and poverty alleviation. Often, NGOs are more successful at solving problems and delivering services than governments because they have

financial backing from donors and can sometimes act outside of government restrictions. In some cases NGOs have taken on roles that U.S. and other governmental agencies used to maintain. The number of NGOs has increased dramatically over the last thirty years. Today there are more than forty thousand international NGOs.

Other small groups have also gained international importance. Terrorists and criminal organizations are both examples of this trend. You will read more about the role played by terrorist organizations in Part III.

The role these new international and non-governmental organizations will have in the years to come remains to be seen and raises important questions for the United States. How should the United States manage its relationship with these organizations? What role should the UN play in foreign policy?

Culture and Values

Different cultures, like individuals, often have different values. The process of globalization has challenged and sometimes changed values within societies around the world. In one sense, globalization has produced strong pressures for harmonization of values around the world—in particular, the value of universal human rights. In another important sense, globalization has resulted in the interaction and competition of many different value systems on the global stage. While there have always been debate and discussion within cultures about values, globalization has brought these debates to a global scale. Sometimes the interaction of differing value systems has been a source of positive change and growth. At times, such interaction has also been a source of great tension.

How have human rights been incorporated into the values of many nations?

The notion of universal human rights emerged after World War II and the Holocaust. Proponents of these rights argue that there are certain fundamental and absolute rights that every human being possesses, regardless of

national laws or cultural traditions. Some of the fundamental human rights, as expressed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, include the right to life, liberty, security, sufficient standard of living, equality under the law, education, freedom of movement, and freedom of thought and religion. The doctrine of universal human rights emerged in step with pressures for liberty, equality, and democracy.

The international community has used economic sanctions and military action to punish or prevent extreme abuses of human rights. International courts have held leaders who abused the rights of their citizens accountable. Particularly in the past twenty years, the international community has begun to take a stand against human rights abuses.

On the other hand, how far these human rights will be extended in the twenty-first century is unclear. Some have raised questions as to how universal these values really are. Some argue that beliefs in individual liberty and equality originated in the West, and are not shared or valued by other cultures, particularly those with strong communal traditions.

The human rights championed by the UN and others are also criticized on political grounds. China, Russia, and other non-Western powers, as well as conservative critics in the United States, contend that an emphasis on human rights will topple a crucial pillar of the international system—the principle of state sovereignty. Defenders of state sovereignty maintain that states should be free from external control. Those who wish to prioritize human rights argue that state sovereignty should be limited when states violate the rights of their citizens.

Is the United States an international leader in human rights?

Today, the United States claims to be a model and international advocate of human rights. Many people consider the United States to be a leader of the international human rights movement because it was instrumental in founding the United Nations and played an

Major Elements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Everyone is entitled to:

- life
- liberty
- security
- a nationality
- freedom from slavery, discrimination, or torture
- equal protection under the law
- presumption of innocence until proven guilty
- freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy
- freedom of movement
- freedom to marry and start a family
- ownership of property
- freedom of thought, opinion, expression, association, and religion
- suffrage (the right to vote)
- social security
- work and membership in trade unions
- fair wages and equal pay for equal work
- rest and periodic holidays with pay
- an adequate standard of living
- free basic education

important role in creating international human rights treaties. In addition, the U.S. Constitution, the first constitution that protected the rights of citizens, has been a model for other countries.

While the United States has been a leader for human rights, it sometimes places its political interests above conforming to international human rights agreements and standards. For political, economic, or security reasons,

the United States has supported undemocratic governments that abuse human rights. For example, the United States has carefully cultivated relations with Saudi Arabia since the 1940s because of its central importance to the world's oil industry. Critics note that Saudi Arabia is an undemocratic, fundamentalist Islamist regime. For example, the government has banned political parties, censors the media, and prohibits women from voting or driving. U.S. criticism of Saudi policies has been muted.

The United States' human rights practices at home and abroad have made other states less willing to listen to U.S. criticism of their own human rights record. For example,

although the United States is an outspoken proponent of justice and the right to a fair trial, critics argue that the U.S. criminal justice system discriminates against minorities and that many prisoners are subjected to abuse. Critics also condemn the use of the death penalty in several U.S. states. One U.S. practice that created an outcry around the world was the use of “enhanced interrogation” on terrorism suspects after September 11. Critics said that some enhanced interrogation methods were actually torture, which is prohibited by both U.S. and international law.

Decisions about U.S. foreign policy raise important questions about culture and values. What values and principles should shape U.S.

The Arab Spring—Considering U.S. Values and Interests

In December 2010, protests began against the autocratic government in the North African country of Tunisia. Hundreds of thousands of Tunisians took to the streets calling for an end to authoritarian rule. They wanted more democracy, an end to corruption, and economic opportunity. The protests spread to more than a dozen countries in the region. In some, like Egypt and Libya, protests led to a change in government. In other countries, like Syria and Bahrain, protests have been met with fierce repression by the government.

Although several governments have cracked down on protestors and committed grave human rights violations, the U.S. response has been varied. In some instances the United States has supported demonstrators' demands, but in other cases it has been reluctant to criticize longstanding allies. In Libya, the United States participated in an international coalition that used military force against the government of Colonel Qaddafi, a dictator that ruled the country for forty-two years. In Bahrain, U.S. officials have not voiced clear support for pro-democracy demonstrators as they have elsewhere, despite the fact that the government has conducted mass arrests and tortured protestors. The Bahrain government has been an ally of the United States for decades, and the country is home to the headquarters of the U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet.

The wave of movements that swept across the region in 2011 and 2012—and the United States' varied response to movements in different countries—sheds light on the tension between values and interests at the heart of U.S. policy. However the Arab Spring unfolds, the United States will continue to have important economic and security interests in the Middle East. Many in the United States have applauded the democratic spirit of the Arab Spring, but some experts worry that divisions in Arab societies—long-suppressed by authoritarian rulers—could boil over, leading to conflict and instability that will threaten U.S. interests.

The demonstrations present an opportunity for the United States to consider the basis for U.S. policy. Are economic and political interests more important to U.S. policy than democratic governance and human rights? What should the United States do if these values and interests come into conflict? For example, what should the United States do if supporting a new democratic government results in a rise in the price of oil, or a government that is unfriendly or hostile to the United States? In the long run, is support for all forms of democracy in the best interest of the United States?



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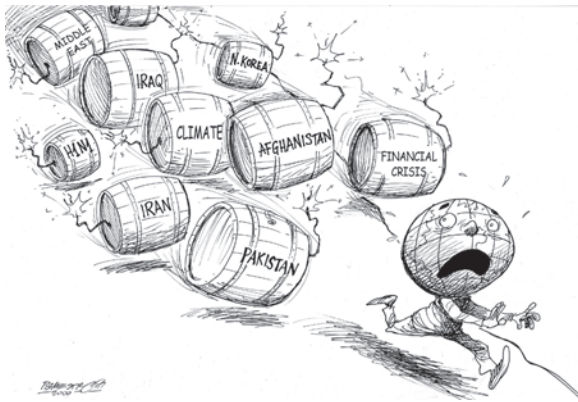
Protests in Hama, Syria against the government of Bashar al-Assad, July 22, 2011. At least half a million people participated in the demonstration.

policy? Should the U.S. strive to spread U.S. values and culture around the world? Should the human rights records of other countries influence U.S. foreign relations?

You have read in this section about some of the numerous challenges facing the United States and the world. You have begun to examine the complex and interrelated issues that U.S. leaders are facing right now in this era of change and globalization. Because these issues have a fundamental impact on people and the countries they live in, many international relations experts see them as security issues. U.S. policies and actions in areas such as economics and the environment influence military decisions and ultimately the security of people around the world. Keep these connections in mind as you read the next section on conflict and security. For example, how do the issues surrounding culture and values affect U.S. policy in the Middle East? How do free trade policies affect relationships with impoverished nations? How do donations to global disease-fighting organizations affect security issues in the developing world?

Part III: Conflict and Military Security

Throughout history, states have taken threats to their security with the utmost seriousness. As you read in Part II, security has come to mean more than military security. Economic globalization, the environment, and human health all are considered security issues. Nevertheless, military security remains a significant concern.



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Today many in the United States are concerned about the war in Afghanistan, but their grandparents might be able to tell them about the threat of nuclear war during the Cuban missile crisis. Their great grandparents could recount the trying times of the Second World War. As you read in Part I, U.S. citizens have often faced difficult questions about how best to secure the future of the United States. Because lives are at stake, the debates about these issues are sometimes contentious and involve competing values and beliefs. Nevertheless, throughout U.S. history these debates have been central to an active and healthy democracy.

In this section of the reading you will review some of the changes in the international system since the end of the Cold War. You will explore developments in international security in the twentieth century in order to better assess the situation today. You will also examine how U.S. policy has contributed to the international debate about the use of force. Finally, you will examine three important security problems for the twenty-first century: the war in Afghanistan, terrorism, and nuclear weapons.

After the Cold War

With the end of the Cold War came an opportunity for the UN to increase its role in maintaining international peace and security. Although the organization was still torn by rivalries among the world's most powerful nations, the ideological gridlock of the Cold War no longer blocked decision making. Each new situation tested the international system and shaped the response to the next event.

How did Iraq challenge the international community in 1990?

In August 1990, one hundred thousand troops from Saddam Hussein's Iraq poured across the desert border and occupied Kuwait. A few years earlier, during the Cold War, the United States might have hesitated to take strong action against Iraq for fear of setting off a wider international crisis. But by mid-1990, both the world and the U.S. outlook had changed. President George H.W. Bush (1989-

The UN and Conflict Resolution

Immediately following World War II, the founders of the UN saw their primary task as resolving conflicts between states. They had witnessed the failure of the League of Nations to stop the aggression of Germany and Japan against their neighbors. The UN's founders recognized the division between Soviet communism and the free-market democracies of the West (led by the United States, Britain, and France). Nonetheless, they hoped that the permanent members of the Security Council would share a common interest in maintaining global peace. The founders of the UN also understood that the support of every major power was essential to the organization's success.

1993) spoke of creating a “new world order” in which the leading powers would work together to prevent aggression and enforce the rule of law internationally.

The first President Bush carefully built domestic and international support for measures against Iraq. First he pushed for an economic blockade against Iraq. In November 1990, President Bush won UN approval to use “all necessary means” to force Iraq out of Kuwait. A deadline was set—January 15, 1991—for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

As the deadline approached, the United States positioned 540,000 troops in Saudi Arabia. The United States’ European allies, as well as several Arab states, contributed forces.

Despite the Iraqi dictator’s prediction of “the mother of all battles,” his army proved no match for the United States and its allies. After fulfilling the UN authorization to drive Iraqi forces from Kuwait, Bush brought the ground war to a halt and allowed the remnants of Iraq’s front-line divisions to limp northward.

When the first war against Iraq ended in 1991, U.S. forces set up a UN operation in northern Iraq to protect the 3.7 million Kurds from Saddam Hussein. Until the second U.S.

war against Iraq in 2003, the Kurds depended largely on the international community to protect them from the Iraqi army and to provide them with relief supplies.

How did events in Somalia demonstrate problems with humanitarian intervention?

While the UN operation to protect Kurds in northern Iraq seemed to provide a new model for humanitarian intervention, events in Somalia in the early 1990s showed the problems with this kind of involvement. Less than two years after defeating Iraq, the first President Bush sent twenty-five thousand U.S. troops to Somalia. The United States sent these troops at the urging of the UN to safeguard international relief efforts in the war-torn nation. Instead of establishing a successful model for outside intervention, the Somalia operation diminished U.S. public support for involvement overseas.

The U.S. public was particularly outraged by a clash in October 1993 between U.S. forces and a Somali militia that left eighteen U.S. soldiers and hundreds of Somalis dead. Television pictures of the body of a U.S. soldier being dragged through the streets of Somalia’s

Presidential Doctrines

Throughout history, U.S. presidents have had their names attached to the foreign policy doctrines they established. (A doctrine is a fundamental principle of a policy.) Below are a few examples of famous presidential doctrines.

The Monroe Doctrine: President James Monroe’s (1817-1825) stated that efforts by European nations to colonize or interfere in the Americas (North and South) would be considered as acts of aggression that demanded a U.S. response.

The Truman Doctrine: President Harry Truman (1945-1953) asserted that the United States would support democracy around the world and help states and peoples resist the spread of Soviet Communism.

The Carter Doctrine: President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) warned that the United States would use force to protect the oil of the Persian Gulf region from the Soviet Union.

The Bush Doctrine: President George W. Bush (2001-2009) said that the United States would use military force preventively against perceived threats to the United States even if the threat of attack was not immediate.

The Obama Doctrine: Historians may one day identify a foreign policy doctrine for President Barack Obama (2009-). What do you think the Obama Doctrine might be?

capital horrified viewers and led President Clinton to order a U.S. withdrawal from the country. By the time the last U.S. troops left in March 1994, Somalia had plunged into chaos. The UN evacuated the last of the UN force from the country in 1995, leaving behind a nation without an effective central government.

Why was the war against Yugoslavia important?

The war against Yugoslavia in 1999 established a new precedent. For the first time, a U.S.-led international coalition launched a war to stop a government from carrying out human rights violations and genocide within its own borders. The United States and its NATO allies intervened militarily to stop the Yugoslav government from committing human rights violations and genocide against ethnic Albanians, the majority population in Kosovo, a region within Serbia.

Due to opposition from China and Russia, this intervention did not have the support of the UN Security Council. Sensitive to international scrutiny of their human rights records, China and Russia maintained that such an intervention would violate the principle of state sovereignty as protected in the UN Charter. Chinese and Russian leaders also argued that this concern for human rights was simply a ploy to bolster the influence of the United States and its NATO allies. Their staunch opposition to the intervention in Yugoslavia exposed a disagreement over what principles should govern international relations.

The Bush Doctrine

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush



U.S. soldiers uncoil two rows of concertina wire to maintain crowd control as residents of Vitina, Kosovo protest in the streets on Jan. 9, 2000.

DoD photo by Spc. Sean A. Terry, U.S. Army

(2001-2009) developed a strategy to address the threat of terrorism, which was referred to as the “global war on terror.” The Bush administration also outlined a strategy to deal with other international security issues.

“Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.”

—President George W. Bush, September 20, 2001

The Bush administration argued that international relations had changed after the terrorist attacks of September 11 and that the Cold War policies of deterrence and containment could no longer serve as the only cornerstones of U.S. security policy. President Bush asserted that the United States would act alone—unilaterally—when necessary. The strategy also endorsed preventive military action to address potential threats even before an

attack against U.S. citizens or U.S. infrastructure was imminent.

Why did these new policies cause controversy?

President Bush's security strategy caused controversy in the United States and abroad. Critics claimed that acting unilaterally undermined any hope for an effective system of collective security, contributed to negative perceptions of the United States, and raised legal questions about any action the United States might take. Critics also worried that the threat of preventive war might actually lead some countries to rush to develop nuclear weapons as a deterrent to U.S. military action. The debate over President Bush's policies heightened as tensions with Iraq heated up in 2002 and 2003.

Why did the United States invade Iraq in 2003?

The United States stated that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and that Saddam Hussein would use them to threaten the United States. U.S. President George W. Bush denounced Saddam Hussein as a ruthless dictator that endangered his own people, his neighbors, and the world. Additionally, Secretary of State Colin Powell argued before the UN Security Council that the United States had evidence of Iraqi links to al Qaeda. Although the UN resumed weapons inspections in 2002, the Bush administration questioned their effectiveness.

Debates over what to do about Iraq intensified. Many could not agree about the nature or urgency of the problem with Iraq or how the international community should respond. The Bush administration argued that the United States had to take military action, and the U.S. Congress authorized the use of force. Although the UN Security Council did not authorize the use of force in Iraq, President Bush ordered the U.S. military to invade.

The Significance of Four Interventions

In these four cases various approaches to international conflict were tested. Both the form of intervention and the reasons for it evolved from one situation to the next.

The Gulf War (1991): The UN authorized the use of force against Iraq to liberate Kuwait. U.S. forces in northern Iraq stayed to protect Iraqi Kurds from Saddam Hussein. Hope for greater international cooperation about security grew.

Somalia (1993-1995): UN efforts to use military force to protect relief efforts ended in failure. Enthusiasm for involvement overseas decreased, especially when U.S. citizens perceived that their security and economic interests were not at stake.

Yugoslavia (1999): A U.S.-led NATO coalition attacked Yugoslavia in 1999 to protect an ethnic minority within Yugoslavia from genocide. The United States bypassed the UN when it failed to win approval to use force.

War in Iraq (2003-2011): A U.S.-led coalition invaded Iraq and overthrew the Iraqi government. Claiming the right to act preventively against a potential threat from Iraq, the U.S. bypassed the UN. U.S. forces occupied Iraq and worked to establish a government friendly to U.S. interests.

What has happened since the invasion of Iraq?

In the spring of 2003, a U.S.-led military coalition invaded Iraq and toppled Saddam Hussein's government. An intensive search for WMD in Iraq began, but no conclusive evidence of WMD or direct links to al Qaeda were found. The arguments the Bush administration had used to justify war were false.

By the summer of 2003, opposition to coalition forces had grown into an insurgency (or military resistance movement) made up of

local and foreign groups fighting against the U.S. presence in Iraq. These groups were also fighting amongst each other, vying for power, and often targeting civilians.

The war has taken a devastating toll on Iraqi society. As of 2011, estimates from various independent groups ranged from 100,000 deaths to over one million. Almost one in five Iraqis—over five million people—fled their homes after the invasion because of violence, unemployment, and insecurity.

The violence in Iraq has not ended. During 2011, a series of bombings led to a surge in civilian deaths and caused the casualty rate for U.S. soldiers to reach its highest level since 2008. The last U.S. soldiers left Iraq in December 2011.

The new Iraqi government has held elections, but challenges to stability and democracy remain. Many Iraqis complain about the government's inability to provide basic services to the people, such as clean drinking water, electricity, employment, and security.

The costs of the war to the United States, in both lives and dollars, have also been high—as have the social effects that cannot be easily quantified. As of May 2011, the United States had spent at least 700 billion dollars in Iraq. In human terms, the cost has been steep. Nearly 4,500 U.S. soldiers died in the Iraq War and over 32,000 wounded. The injuries to soldiers are not only physical. Some estimate that 25 percent of soldiers returning from the war suffer from psychological issues, including post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and substance abuse.

How has the Iraq War affected perceptions of the United States?

U.S. forces played a complicated role in the violence in Iraq. Although these forces were trying to create security and end the violence, in some ways the U.S. presence contributed to the violence. Many groups throughout the region, already angry about U.S. support for Israel, were very unhappy about further U.S. involvement in the Middle East. In some Iraqi communities, civilian

deaths, imprisonment, and abuse by U.S. forces influenced many to join insurgent groups.

Analysts also note that Iraq, which did not have an al Qaeda presence prior to the U.S.-led invasion, became an active area for al Qaeda and other terrorist operations. They argue that the military presence in Iraq helped terrorist groups—in Iraq and elsewhere—recruit new members. During the war, many foreign fighters came to the country to fight in the insurgency against U.S. forces.

The conflict was generally unpopular internationally, and friction between the United States and other countries because of the Iraq War hindered international cooperation on other issues. In addition, U.S. claims of supporting democracy in Iraq and the region were met with skepticism and anger.

“I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this is connected to the war in Iraq. So let me be clear: no system of government can or should be imposed upon one nation by another.”

—President Barack Obama, June 4, 2009

The war in Iraq remains one of the most controversial topics in U.S. and international politics, heightened by the failure of U.S. officials there to find any WMD. While many people agree that an end to Saddam Hussein's brutal dictatorship was positive, disagreements remain and are likely to continue to play an important role in the political debate about the U.S. role in the world.

Three Security Issues

Of the many security problems in the world today, three loom especially large for the United States: 1) the war in Afghanistan; 2) terrorism; 3) the threats posed by nuclear weapons. These three challenges overlap in important ways. As you read, notice the connections between the war in Afghanistan, terrorism, and concerns about nuclear proliferation. Ask yourself, do these connections

Cpl. Alfred V. Lopez, 1st Marine Division.



A U.S. soldier on patrol in Afghanistan. February 2012.

make these problems simpler or more complex to solve?

Addressing these three issues will be a long-term effort, requiring policy makers and citizens to examine carefully the allocation of the country's resources as well its values and beliefs. The question of how the United States chooses to address these threats in the years to come remains of great importance.

■ Afghanistan and Pakistan

In the weeks following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States identified Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network as responsible for the violence. Al Qaeda was based in the country of Afghanistan with the support and approval of Afghanistan's extreme Islamist government known as the Taliban. President Bush demanded that the Taliban hand over bin Laden and dismantle al Qaeda.

The Taliban government refused to meet the conditions of the United States, although it claimed it would put bin Laden on trial if offered conclusive evidence of his guilt.

On October 7, 2001, the United States began a military campaign in Afghanistan against the Taliban and al Qaeda. The United States and its ally the United Kingdom unleashed some of their most powerful and advanced

weaponry as well as small groups of ground forces to support a campaign led by various Afghan warlords opposed to the Taliban regime. The operation overthrew the Taliban government and eliminated al Qaeda's base of operation in Afghanistan, but many al Qaeda members, including Osama bin Laden, escaped into neighboring Pakistan.

With the support of the United Nations, Afghanistan created a new constitution in 2004 and has held legislative and presidential elections.

Nevertheless, the United States is concerned about corruption in the government and connections to Afghanistan's vast trade in illegal opium. In addition, the reelection of President Hamid Karzai in 2009 was tainted by widespread voting fraud.

U.S. and NATO military forces remain in Afghanistan in an effort to quell violence by Taliban insurgents while the country attempts to construct a government that can provide security and stability for its people.

What are the costs of U.S. military operations in Afghanistan?

In economic terms, the war now costs the United States more than 300 million dollars a day to fight, or about 10 billion dollars a month. Human costs are also high and increasing. As of March 2012, seventeen hundred U.S. soldiers have died and more than fifteen thousand have been wounded.

In addition, life for Afghan citizens is difficult. Continued poverty, a lack of infrastructure, and civilian casualties at the hands of the Taliban and NATO forces have tested the patience of many.

What role does Pakistan play?

It is impossible to look at events in Afghanistan without considering the role that Pakistan plays. Bin Laden's escape in late 2001 into Pakistan highlighted connections between the two countries. Pakistan's ISI (Interservice Intelligence agency) and military had helped bring the Taliban to power and even supported al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan because they trained militants that could help in Pakistan's confrontation with India. But after September 11, the United States demanded that Pakistan's government stop supporting the Taliban and cooperate fully with the United States to catch Osama bin Laden.

Pakistan's border with Afghanistan stretches for fifteen hundred miles. Taliban fighters and members of al Qaeda cross back and forth with ease. The struggle against the Taliban and al Qaeda spans the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

After September 11, the U.S. government worked quickly to gain the cooperation of Pakistan—cooperation that was necessary to conduct military operations against neighboring Afghanistan. While Pakistan had previously supported the Taliban, the Pakistani government agreed to allow some U.S. troops to be based in Pakistan. It also supported the campaign against the Taliban government. U.S. foreign aid to support Pakistan's military and security has averaged more than one billion dollars a year since 2001. The United States sees Pakistan and its democratically elected government as a key ally, but there are some issues that complicate the relationship.

Many security experts believe that remnants of the Taliban government and al Qaeda have taken refuge in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province and tribal areas and are behind the increased violence in Afghanistan. Some observers believe that elements of Pakistan's ISI still provide support to the Taliban.

The United States has pressed Pakistan's government to act against suspected al Qaeda and Taliban members. In 2009, Pakistan's military launched a large-scale offensive against

the Taliban and al Qaeda in Pakistan. U.S. military forces have also conducted strikes with unmanned aerial drones against suspected Taliban and al Qaeda compounds in Pakistan. The United States argues that the strikes have killed important al Qaeda and Taliban leaders. The strikes infuriate many Pakistanis, who note that innocent civilians have also been killed. Many in Pakistan resent their government's cooperation with the United States.

How has the killing of Osama bin Laden affected the region?

On May 1, 2011 U.S. special forces stormed a compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan and killed Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden, the mastermind of the September 11 attacks, had eluded U.S. forces for ten years.

The killing of bin Laden raised more questions about the U.S. relationship with Pakistan. Abbottabad is less than forty miles from Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. Bin Laden's compound was one mile away from a Pakistani military academy. Many U.S. politicians have questioned how bin Laden was able to live there without detection. Others argue that this incident suggests that he was, in fact, aided by Pakistan's intelligence agency.

“A lot of people on our side wonder how this could have happened without the Pakistanis knowing. If they weren't complicit, they were incompetent, so why should we bother partnering with them?”

—Daniel Markey, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, May 2011

U.S. officials worry that Pakistan's government is waging a selective battle against extremists: pursuing some, while ignoring or protecting others. Another worry is that Pakistan's government does not have full control over the actions of its army and the ISI. While Pakistan's leaders promise to cooperate with the United States—and they have in many ways—other parts of the government may not be as willing.

At the same time, many Pakistanis were angry about the U.S. raid, arguing that it violated their country's sovereignty. Although the U.S. government had been in contact with Pakistani officials, it did not get permission for U.S. forces to enter the country. This raises important issues about U.S.-Pakistan relations. Clearly, the United States chose not to inform Pakistan's government because it feared that information about the raid would somehow reach bin Laden and allow him to escape. For its part, Pakistan's government believes that the United States has no intention of treating them as an equal partner in fighting the Taliban and al Qaeda, groups that have killed and wounded thousands of Pakistani citizens.

U.S. President Barack Obama (2009-) sees the stability of both Afghanistan and Pakistan as key to preventing terrorist attacks. His goal is to prevent the Taliban from returning to power in Afghanistan and creating an environment that allows al Qaeda to plan terrorist attacks.

“I am convinced that our security is at stake in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is the epicenter of the violent extremism practiced by al Qaeda. It is from here that we were attacked on 9/11, and it is from here that new attacks are being plotted as I speak....We must keep the pressure on al Qaeda, and to do that, we must increase the stability and capacity of our partners in the region.”

—President Barack Obama,
December 9, 2009

The U.S. military presence in Afghanistan and its relationship with Pakistan raises important questions. What should the U.S. role be in Afghanistan? How should the United States regard Pakistan's role in the region?



■ Terrorism

The September 11 attacks created new challenges and priorities for U.S. policy. The attacks caused the government to rethink the ways in which it provided both international and domestic security.

“In today's globalizing world, terrorists can reach their targets more easily, their targets are exposed in more places, and news and ideas that inflame people to resort to terrorism spread more widely and rapidly than in the past.”

—Paul R. Pillar, CIA official, 2001

One of the U.S. government's first responses to terrorism in the aftermath of September 11 was military force. The Bush administration contended that the U.S. military should fight terrorists on foreign soil rather than allow them to attack civilians in the United States.

In 2001, the United States went to war in Afghanistan, and in 2003 it went to war in Iraq. The Bush administration considered these wars to be part of a “global war on terror.” U.S. troops withdrew from Iraq at the end of 2011, and most U.S. forces are scheduled to leave Afghanistan by 2014. In some cases, U.S. policies after September 11 resulted in harsh criticism of the U.S. government both at home and abroad.

Since the events of September 2001, attention to security threats has dramatically increased. Still, some argue that the country remains seriously underprepared for another attack. In June 2006, the Department of Homeland Security released a report that said only one quarter of states and one in ten cities had adequate plans in place to deal with a natural disaster or another terrorist attack. The chaotic federal response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005 heightened concerns about unpreparedness.

How strong is al Qaeda today?

Many have questioned what effect the death of bin Laden will have on the strength of al Qaeda. Some experts argue that without its famous leader, al Qaeda’s influence and appeal in the Muslim world will decrease. Some point to the uprisings across the Middle East and North Africa in 2011 as evidence that there is broad support for democracy in these countries, and waning support for militant Islamist groups. Others argue that his death could provide a rallying point, and fear that it might spark violence among al Qaeda sympathizers across the world.

While al Qaeda continues to direct attacks, experts argue that one of its greatest strengths today is its ability to inspire other radical terrorist groups and individuals. Al Qaeda has morphed from a highly structured and bureaucratic organization into an ideological movement made up of a network of weakly linked groups and individuals across the world.

A growing number of terrorist groups from places like Yemen, Somalia, Pakistan, and Malaysia have affiliated with the al Qaeda

network. Al Qaeda’s ideology has encouraged some national and regional terrorist groups to link their aims to the international goals of al Qaeda.

This presents new challenges and questions about how effective military power can be in a fight against terrorism. For example, other states are unlikely to harbor terrorist groups like al Qaeda, as the Taliban regime openly did in Afghanistan. This means that the U.S. struggle against terrorism may not be concentrated in a single country and victory may not be defined by easily measurable standards, such as capturing a country’s capital or occupying territory. Advanced technology, weapons, and large forces may be impossible to use against small groups of terrorists scattered around the globe.

What other programs has the United States used to fight terrorism?

The United States also used its military to address terrorism in other, more covert ways. Many of these programs are highly controversial, and some are so secretive that the U.S. government refuses to admit they exist.

After September 11, the U.S. government initiated programs to arrest terrorist suspects around the world and interrogate them for information about Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, and future terror attacks. Extraordinary rendition refers to a secret CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) program that transports terrorism suspects to secret locations around the world. European and UN reports state that the CIA in at least one hundred cases secretly transported detainees to countries known to torture prisoners including Egypt, Syria, Uzbekistan, and Algeria. The goal of the CIA was to gather information using methods that U.S. interrogators would not use themselves.

The U.S. government also built a high-security prison for terrorist suspects at its naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. In addition, the CIA kept a series of secret prisons around the world to house suspected terrorists. The United States has come under heavy international criticism for its treatment of these

individuals. Although President Obama has demanded the closure of these “black site” CIA prisons and worked to close the prison in Guantanamo, some of these programs—including extraordinary rendition—continue today.

The United States’ use of drones to launch missiles against terrorist targets is also controversial. Drone is a term for what the U.S. military calls an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV). UAVs are not flown by pilots; instead they are directed by human controllers on the ground. The CIA has used drones to target terrorist groups and individuals in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Somalia. Since 2004, drone attacks have killed between 1,300 and 2,100 militants in Pakistan. Estimates of both militant and civilian casualties are highly disputed.

The United States does not acknowledge that they conduct these attacks. But it is an open secret that the CIA runs the drone program, which officials claim is one of the most successful programs against al Qaeda and the Taliban. The number of attacks increased dramatically under President Obama. These attacks are highly controversial for a number of reasons, including the fact that civilians are often killed. In addition, because the program is secret, the method for determining who or what is a legitimate target is unknown. Critics argue that any U.S. government program designed to kill people should be subjected to more public scrutiny.

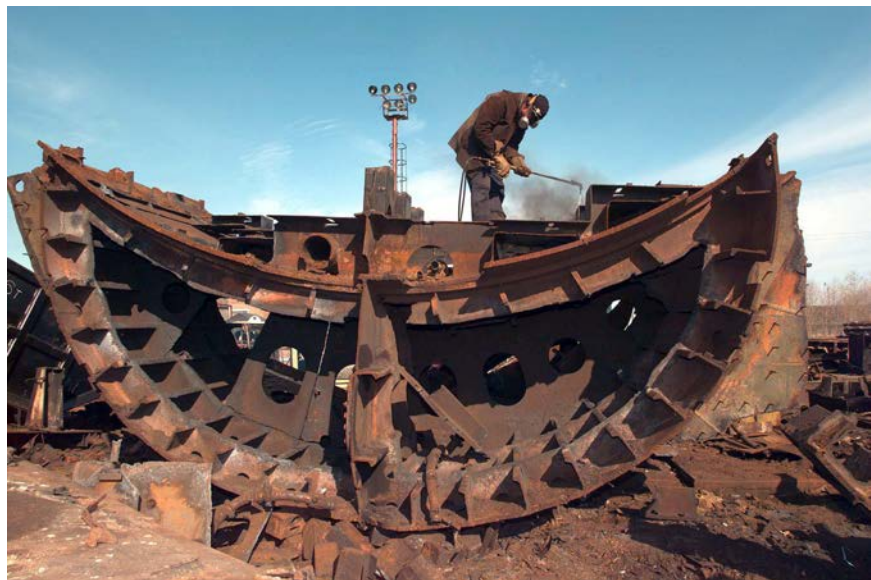
The drone program is linked to the rise in targeted assassinations by the U.S. government. In many recent cases—including the killing of Osama bin Laden—the United States has chosen to assassinate terrorist leaders rather than capture them and put them on trial. Many critics argue that targeted killings are

illegal under U.S. law. U.S. officials claim that the individuals on the target list are military enemies of the United States and imminent threats to the security of the country.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 led to dramatic changes in U.S. foreign policy. The death of Osama bin Laden raises important questions. Has the United States reduced the threat of terrorism enough to reconsider its foreign policy? Are there other policies the United States should use to reduce the threat of terrorism?

■ Nuclear Weapons

The potential consequences of the use of nuclear weapons are difficult for most of us to imagine. Because of their destructive power, they remain among the most important security issues of the twenty-first century. Experts believe that the United States faces three challenges in this area: states that already have nuclear weapons; the potential spread of nuclear weapons to other states (known as “proliferation” of nuclear weapons); and the possibility that a terrorist might obtain a nuclear device.



A Russian shipyard worker uses a cutting torch to break down a section of a Russian Oscar Class nuclear submarine in Severodvinsk, Russia. This Russian ballistic submarine was dismantled as part of the Nunn-Lugar/Cooperative Threat Reduction Program.

DoB photo by Petty Officer 1st Class Todd P. Cichonowicz, U.S. Navy.

Estimated Nuclear Weapons Stockpiles, 2011	
Russia	11,000
United States	8,500
France	300
China	240
Britain	225
Pakistan	90-110
Israel	80-100
India	80-100
North Korea	<10
Total	approximately 20,500

The United States developed the first nuclear weapons. The United States dropped nuclear bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, killing more than 150,000 people and forcing Japan to surrender. The Soviet Union detonated its first nuclear device in 1949.

Why do Russian nuclear weapons remain a high concern to the United States?

Today, Russia and the United States have approximately 19,500 of the some 20,500 nuclear weapons in the world. Significant parts of U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals remain targeted at each other’s territory—even though there is no political reason that either country would use them in a surprise attack. While an accident is highly unlikely, if one did occur the consequences would be unimaginably disastrous. Although not all of the weapons are

ready to be used, some consider their presence alone to be the world’s greatest threat.

A Russian nuclear attack is no longer the chief concern of U.S. security officials. Rather, most of them fear that Russia’s transformation weakened Moscow’s grip over its nuclear weapons program.

Russian nuclear materials are scattered throughout a vast web of military installations, weapons laboratories and assembly factories, research institutes, nuclear power plants, naval fuel depots, nuclear waste storage facilities, and other sites.

According to estimates, Russia possesses 170 tons of plutonium and 750 tons of highly enriched uranium. Less than ten pounds of weapons-grade plutonium is needed to make a small nuclear bomb. An even smaller amount would be sufficient to poison the water supply of a large city and kill thousands of people.

Nuclear weapons experts fear that nuclear research centers and power plants are especially vulnerable to would-be smugglers of nuclear materials. Within Russia, criminal gangs have attempted to gain access to nuclear materials and sell them on the international black market. A few pounds of plutonium could be worth millions of dollars.

Why is the United States concerned about Russia’s nuclear scientists?

In addition to preventing the spread of nuclear materials, the United States has sought to prevent Russian nuclear scientists from selling their skills abroad. According to U.S. estimates, roughly two thousand scientists in the former Soviet Union have the technical knowledge to make nuclear arms. Hundreds more specialize in building long-range missiles that could be equipped with nuclear warheads.

The United States and other nations have provided more than \$750 million to establish and support the International Science and Technology Center. The Center provides civilian employment to scientists and engineers of the former Soviet Union who helped build weapons of mass destruction.

Many of the scientists who were once elite members of the Soviet Union's nuclear program now work at private companies that offer their services to industrializing countries. Iran has been a leading customer. The United States has maintained steady pressure on the Russian government to cooperate more in the effort to curb Iran's nuclear program.

What is the Cooperative Threat Reduction program?

Many experts believe that the best way to reduce the threat of stolen or illegally sold nuclear weapons is to go directly to the source. In addition to treaties intended to reduce the overall number of such weapons, the United States has sponsored Cooperative Threat Reduction programs throughout the former Soviet Union designed to help dismantle, dispose of, and safely store nuclear weapons materials. The programs, also known as Nunn-Lugar for the senators who initiated them, have deactivated over six thousand nuclear warheads and destroyed hundreds of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), missile silos, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, bombers, and nuclear test tunnels since 1991. All nuclear weapons have been removed from the former Soviet Republics of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan.

What is nuclear proliferation?

Nuclear proliferation is the spread of nuclear weapons to other states. Since the United States exploded the first nuclear weapon in 1945, it has tried to keep these weapons out of other states' hands. Only seven nations have declared that they have nuclear arsenals: the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, China, India, and Pakistan. Most experts believe that Israel has nuclear weapons, although Israel has never admitted this. North Korea exploded a small nuclear device in 2006 and again in 2009.

Some experts argue that it makes little difference to the United States how many other countries have nuclear weapons. They argue that nuclear weapons can help keep the peace among other nations as they did between the United States and Soviet Union. Others counter that the spread of nuclear weapons increases the chance of an accident, the unauthorized use of these weapons, or the danger that they will fall into the hands of terrorists or rogue states. Many experts worry about Pakistan, North Korea, and Iran in particular. On the other hand, South Africa's decision to give up its nuclear weapons in 1990 and Libya's decision to open its doors to arms inspectors encourages some and suggests that controlling proliferation is possible.

International Agreements on Nuclear Weapons

Through international agreements, the international community has tried to limit the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology. Central to this effort is the **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**; 189 nations have joined the treaty. While the United States is a party to the NPT and other agreements, it has rejected other nuclear weapons treaties. For example, in October 1999, the United States Senate rejected the ratification of the UN-endorsed **Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty**, which seeks to end to all nuclear weapons testing. In addition, in 2002 the United States withdrew from the 1972 **Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty** with Russia so that it could begin to develop a national missile defense. One of the most prominent arguments against these international agreements is that they limit U.S. sovereignty by reducing its military options. On the other hand, supporters assert that although the agreements may not be perfect, given the threat from rogue states and terrorists, the United States is still more secure with such treaties in force than without them. Arms control supporters believe that when agreements need to be strengthened, the United States should work with the UN and other nations to craft better agreements rather than renouncing them completely.

India and Pakistan:

Since 1947, India and Pakistan have fought three wars across the LoC—the Line of Control that separates Indian from Pakistani Kashmir. Both India and Pakistan claim the land that was divided by the partition of India in 1947. After the partition, millions of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs were displaced from their homes. Up to a million were killed in ensuing violence.

Since 1947, more than thirty thousand soldiers have died in Kashmir. Today, both India and Pakistan have nuclear weapons.

In 1974, India conducted its first nuclear test, which it called a “peaceful nuclear explosion.” Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stated that, if necessary, Pakistanis would “eat grass” in order to develop nuclear weapons of their own. On May 11 and 13, 1998, India tested five nuclear devices. On May 28 and 30, 1998, Pakistan successfully conducted its first nuclear tests.

Since 2004, India and Pakistan have made some progress toward peace, but tensions continue as do concerns about the threat of nuclear conflict. Whether India and Pakistan can resolve the problem of Kashmir remains to be seen.

Evidence has emerged that Pakistani scientists have provided both their expertise and equipment to North Korea’s and Iran’s nuclear weapons programs during the 1990s. While some scientists may have acted without the government’s knowledge, it is likely that the Pakistani government authorized much of this activity.

Another worry is that weapons may fall into the hands of extremists in Pakistan. The presence of the Taliban and al Qaeda there



Anti-aircraft guns guarding the Natanz nuclear facility, Iran.

Photograph by Hamed Saber. Licensed under the Creative Commons 2.0 Generic license.

has many experts worried. They believe that the greatest security threat today is Pakistan’s nuclear weapons.

“I am gravely concerned about the situation in Pakistan, not because I think that they’re immediately going to be overrun and the Taliban would take over in Pakistan; I am more concerned that the civilian government there right now is very fragile.... [W]e have huge strategic interests, huge national security interests, in making sure that Pakistan is stable and that you don’t end up having a nuclear-armed militant state.”

—President Barack Obama, April 29, 2009

North Korea: In the fall of 2002, North Korea stunned U.S. officials when it admitted that it had been continuing work on a nuclear weapons program for years, violating a 1994 agreement—known as the Agreed Framework—not to develop weapons. North Korea noted that the United States had also failed to live up to its half of the 1994 agreement, which was to help North Korea produce

two nuclear reactors for electric power. North Korea expelled the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) weapons monitors from its borders, announced that it was beginning production of nuclear materials, and declared that it was withdrawing from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

In August 2003, six countries—the United States, Russia, China, South Korea, North Korea, and Japan—met in the first of a series of meetings to negotiate an end to North Korea's nuclear program. Delegates met frequently over the next few years in what became known as the “six-party talks.”

Despite the efforts of the international community, in February 2005 North Korea announced to the world that it had nuclear weapons. In July 2006 it conducted additional missile tests and in October 2006 conducted its first nuclear test. North Korea conducted its second nuclear test on May 25, 2009. Leaders around the world resoundingly condemned North Korea's action. Many expressed concern and frustration.

North Korea, a maverick state with few allies, made it clear to the world that it has continued to pursue a nuclear weapons program. This is despite nearly two decades of high-level international talks aimed at convincing it to renounce the program.

U.S. President Obama has stated that the action is a threat to international peace. Experts believe that North Korea has not yet developed the capacity to launch a nuclear weapon via missile, but this test has increased fears that North Korea is closer to becoming a full-fledged nuclear state. Analysts believe that North Korea has enough weapons-grade plutonium for six to eight nuclear weapons. In late 2011, the death of North Korea's leader, Kim Jong Il added to international uncertainty about the country.

Iran: The United States government worries that Iran has a program to develop nuclear weapons. The Iranian government denies it is developing weapons, but claims that as a signer of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) it has the right to develop nuclear mate-

rials for peaceful purposes. (All countries that have signed the NPT are allowed to acquire equipment, materials, and knowledge for peaceful purposes.) The dilemma for the international community is that it is difficult to distinguish between “good atoms” for peaceful purposes and “bad atoms” for military purposes.

In a move supported by Washington and Europe, Russian officials proposed supplying Iran with fuel for its nuclear power plants that could be used only for peaceful purposes. Nevertheless, in 2009 Iran admitted that it had a secret uranium enrichment plant. In 2011, a UN report stated that Iran's nuclear program could have a military dimension. These events have heightened concern around the world. France, Germany, and the United Kingdom have negotiated closely with Iran to encourage it to end its nuclear program. Iran's hard-line president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, has staunchly defended Iran's right to a nuclear energy program. His hostile language towards Israel has also heightened international anxiety about Iran's intentions.

“Iran does not have a right to nuclear military capacity, and we're determined to prevent that. But it does have a right to civil nuclear power if it reestablishes the confidence of the international community that it will use its programs exclusively for peaceful purposes.”

—Secretary of State Hillary Clinton,
July 15, 2009

In 2010, Iranian nuclear enrichment facilities sustained damage from a sophisticated computer virus, known as Stuxnet. The origins of the virus are unknown, but some experts believe that Israel and the United States were behind the attack. In addition, several key Iranian nuclear scientists have been assassinated in Tehran. Tensions between the United States and Iran are high and even raise the possibility of a military confrontation. How should the United States deal with Iran? Is Iran develop-

ing a nuclear weapon? Is the U.S. experience with Iraq relevant when thinking about this issue?

You have just considered some of the important security issues of the day for the United States. In Part II, you read about today's leading economic, environmental, political, and cultural issues and how globalization has presented new opportunities and new difficulties to people around the world. As these readings make clear, the world is full of complex challenges. Together, Parts II and III provide you with new tools to evaluate the world around you.

In Part I, you read about three turning points in U.S. history. You are now challenged to consider whether the United States is at a new turning point. What direction do you believe it should take in the next decade and beyond? What issues are of most concern to you? What do you think should be done about these issues? What kind of world do you want in the twenty-first century? In the coming days, you will explore four distinct alternatives—or Options. They are designed to help you think about a range of possible policy alternatives, and the risks and trade-offs involved. At the end of this reading, you will be asked to make your own choices about where our country should be heading.

Options in Brief

Option 1: Lead the World to Democracy

Although the world is changing rapidly, the United States remains the most powerful country on earth. For years, the international community has depended on us to maintain order and support the principles of democracy and free trade. Globalization has created new threats to the international system, and the United States needs to use its strong military to address these threats. The United States should seek to dictate global economic and political policy, and transform undemocratic regimes into governments based on U.S. political principles.

Option 2: Protect U.S. Global Interests

We live in a dangerous and unstable world. U.S. foreign policy must strive for order and security. International terrorism, change in the Middle East, poverty, and globalization have created an international minefield for U.S. leaders. We must concentrate on protecting our own security, cultivating key trade relationships, ensuring our access to crucial raw materials, and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons to unfriendly nations or to terrorist networks. U.S. citizens have no choice but to accept the world as it is and respond pragmatically with whatever actions are necessary to keep our country safe and strong.

Option 3: Build a More Cooperative World

Today's world is interdependent and interconnected. We cannot stand alone. National boundaries cannot halt the spread of HIV/AIDS, international drug trafficking, or terrorism. We must end U.S. policies that contribute to global problems, and take the initiative to bring the nations of the world together in the pursuit of global security, human rights, and equality. We should lead efforts to strengthen and reform the UN. Using the UN is the best way to maintain peace, fight terrorism, address humanitarian crises, and enforce sanctions against countries that violate the standards of the international community.

Option 4: Protect the U.S. Homeland

The attacks of September 11, 2001 brought a new message to U.S. citizens: we are vulnerable. We have spent hundreds of billions of dollars a year defending our allies in western Europe and East Asia and distributed tens of billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. These high-profile foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against us and even fueled terrorism. It is time to sharply scale back our foreign involvement. We must turn our national attention to the real threats facing the United States: a sagging economy, loss of jobs, decaying schools, a shaky health care system, and inadequate resources to protect us against terrorism. We have to put our own needs first.

Option 1: Lead the World to Democracy

Although the world is changing rapidly, the United States remains the most powerful country on earth. For years, the international community has depended on us to maintain order and support the principles of democracy and free trade. Globalization has brought more countries than ever into the international system we helped to develop. We must continue to maintain an international order based on U.S. political and economic principles. A strong United States can work to ensure that all countries and groups conform to standards of democracy, free trade, and human rights.

The United States should seek to dictate global economic and political policy, and take the lead in addressing global problems. We should set the agenda in international organizations, and work with other countries only if they support our goals of democracy and free trade. Globalization has created new threats to the international system, and the United States needs to use its strong military to address these threats. Undemocratic leaders pose a danger to global peace and security. We cannot not seek to coexist with tyrants and must transform undemocratic regimes into governments based on U.S. political principles. The United States must be prepared to attack those who threaten us before they can harm us.

Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

- We have a special responsibility to promote and protect U.S. values around the world, even if we have to act alone.
- Liberal democracy and free-market capitalism are the best political and economic systems on earth. The spread of free trade and democracy through globalization will

help solve problems like inequality and environmental destruction.

- Tyrannical regimes are the main cause of human suffering in the world. To support them or turn a blind eye to their repression and aggression is dangerous and immoral.

What policies should we pursue?

- **Economy:** Tear down barriers to free trade between democratic governments, and promote free-market capitalism around the globe. Encourage U.S. corporations to tap into foreign markets and utilize overseas labor.
- **Security:** Use our strong military to address security threats before they become serious. Lead a worldwide offensive against terrorist groups, and take out dictators that do not respect U.S. values or seek to obtain nuclear weapons.
- **International Relations:** Do not rely on the UN. The United States should not hesitate

to act alone to solve the world's problems. Promote democracy by all means necessary, including military action.

- **Health and Environment:** Eliminate governmental regulations designed to protect the environment and public health. Let the free market solve these problems with technological innovation.

- **Culture and Values:** Promote U.S. culture and values abroad, particularly the rights found in the U.S. Constitution.

Arguments for

1. As the events in Afghanistan and Iraq have shown, aggressive tyrants and oppressive regimes will be stopped only when the United States intervenes decisively to change these regimes.

2. The UN and other cooperative organizations take too long to deal with threats to world security. We cannot delay in countering terrorists and dangerous dictators; the costs could be enormous.

3. Democracies are much less likely to start wars against other democracies. We will be making the world a more peaceful place in the long run by spreading democratic values.

4. As new democracies take root and their economies prosper, they will become strong trading partners for the United States.

5. We need innovative technology to solve the world's environmental problems. Competition in a global free market spurs this innovation.

Arguments against

1. Pressuring other governments to adopt U.S. democratic principles will spark international criticism that the United States is trying to control the world.

2. Efforts to transform authoritarian states are unlikely to succeed and will create a backlash against the United States. We must learn from our experience in Iraq, understand that our power is limited, and focus our resources at home.

3. Stressing the division between democratic and undemocratic countries will split the world into two opposing camps, as in the Cold War. Valuable allies such as Saudi Arabia will be lost, while emerging powers, such as China will be branded as enemies.

4. Refusing to trade with undemocratic countries will only hurt the U.S. economy; the United States will cut itself off from vital sources of oil and other raw materials.

5. The United States does not have the right to impose its own political systems on another country. Democratic governments must be developed by the people they will represent.

Option 2: Protect U.S. Global Interests

We live in a dangerous and unstable world. U.S. foreign policy must strive for order and security. International terrorism, change in the Middle East, poverty, and globalization have created an international minefield for U.S. leaders. In order to address these difficult issues we cannot be distracted by crusading idealists—either those who want to impose U.S.-style democracy on the world or those who think that cooperation and human rights can solve the world’s problems. At the same time, we should not cut ourselves off from the international community. We should remain actively involved in international affairs and protect ourselves—at home and abroad—against any threats to our security and prosperity.

To promote U.S. interests, we must concentrate on protecting our own security, cultivating key trade relationships, ensuring our access to crucial raw materials, and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons to unfriendly nations or to terrorist networks. Whenever possible, we should work with allies to protect our interests. If this fails we must be ready and able to act—alone if necessary—to protect ourselves. U.S. citizens have no choice but to accept the world as it is and respond pragmatically with whatever actions are necessary to keep our country safe and strong.

Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

- Protecting the economic and security interests of the United States and its citizens worldwide is more important than promoting lofty ideals like democracy or human rights.
- Most states put their own interests above the interests of other states. The United States must do the same.
- The United States should resolve international issues using whatever approach is most effective. This includes everything

from military action, to diplomacy, to trade agreements.

- International economic and political stability depend largely on the United States. The United States has the strength to keep power-hungry states in check and solve international problems.

- Unsavory as it may seem, U.S. interests often require that we maintain friendly relations with undemocratic governments such as Saudi Arabia and China.

What policies should we pursue?

- **Economy:** Pursue policies that benefit the U.S. economy and produce jobs and wealth in the United States.
- **Security:** Avoid large military operations if possible, but use unmanned drones, special operations soldiers, and covert tactics to protect the interests of the United States. Maintain a strong nuclear arsenal.
- **International Relations:** Maximize working relationships with other countries to ensure peace and prosperity for people in the United States.

- **Health and Environment:** Prioritize the economy over the environment. Make access to affordable oil a top priority. Ensure that international treaties do not harm the United States. Take advantage of U.S. know-how to develop new technologies and medicines.

- **Culture and Values:** We are a shining example to the rest of the world. Democracy and free-market capitalism benefit all countries who adopt them, but efforts to impose these values are likely to backfire.

Arguments for

1. Maintaining our long-standing military alliances in Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia will help protect U.S. interests and keep the international system on firm ground.
2. U.S. involvement in unstable areas such as the Middle East and the Korean peninsula will reduce the possibility of war. In a more stable international environment, countries will be less likely to seek nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.
3. A forceful but selective U.S. presence in international affairs will discourage emerging powers, such as China, from expanding their influence at the expense of the United States.
4. By not letting human rights issues interfere with our business interests, the United States will gain new markets for our products and enjoy access to the raw materials and inexpensive manufactured goods critical to our economic prosperity.

Arguments against

1. Acting only in our own interest and without regard for others breeds resentment against the United States. This has led to an angry backlash against us and undermined international cooperation on critical global issues such as stopping terrorism, controlling nuclear weapons, and cleaning up pollution.
2. The United States should never support dictators. Doing so sets back the cause of human rights and the worldwide movement toward democracy. In addition, the people of these countries will eventually come to resent and distrust the United States.
3. Acting only where our immediate economic and political interests are at stake will mean turning our back on future incidents of genocide and “ethnic cleansing,” as was the case in Rwanda.
4. Our foreign policy agenda is too full and distracts politicians from the issues that they should focus on here at home.
5. Concentrating on preserving access to oil perpetuates our dependency on petroleum and postpones our developing alternative energy resources.

Option 3: Build a More Cooperative World

Today's world is interdependent and interconnected. We cannot stand alone. National boundaries cannot halt the spread of HIV/AIDS, international drug trafficking, or terrorism. Environmental problems threaten the well-being of humans everywhere. Financial panic spreads quickly throughout the interconnected economies of the world. Political upheaval abroad can send waves of refugees to U.S. shores. For too long, selfish U.S. policies have contributed to many of these global problems. Our excessive use of military force and support for dictators have had devastating effects on individuals around the world, our overconsumption has depleted the earth's resources and contributed to climate change, and our unfair trade policies have exploited poorer countries.

We must take the initiative to bring the nations of the world together in the pursuit of global security, human rights, and equality. We should lead efforts to strengthen and reform the UN. Using the UN is the best way to maintain peace, fight terrorism, address humanitarian crises, and enforce sanctions against countries that violate the standards of the international community. In addition, we must welcome new powers as permanent members of the Security Council and ensure that all countries have their voices heard. We should engage in military action abroad only as a last resort and with the cooperation or approval of the UN or another regional institution. We should join with other wealthy allies to help countries lift themselves out of poverty. Building a more cooperative world will not be easy. In the end, however, we must recognize that our fate as U.S. citizens is bound together with the fate of all of humanity.

Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

- It is the responsibility of wealthier nations to assist impoverished ones. Good global citizenship will bear positive returns for us economically and politically.

- The United States should not force its values or style of government on others; people abroad should have the right to choose their government and maintain their culture.

- Human rights are crucial for global peace and security. International human rights agreements and initiatives should encompass the views of all cultures.

- The United States is but one of nearly two hundred countries; we do not have the right to dominate the rest of the world. We must work cooperatively to address global problems that affect us all and share decision making and leadership with others.

What policies should we pursue?

- **Economy:** Take a leadership role in making global trade more fair. Promote human rights, safe working conditions, and a clean environment.

- **Security:** End programs that foster resentment of the United States, such as drone attacks and the abuse of terrorism suspects. Take the lead in nuclear disarmament.

- **International Relations:** Work to strengthen and reform the UN so that it is a more effective and equitable institution.

- **Health and Environment:** Work with others to achieve a globally sustainable balance of development and environmental preservation. Support UN efforts to combat disease and hunger, and assist countries that are most vulnerable to climate change.

- **Culture and Values:** Strive to be a more democratic and equitable society, and align our conduct and foreign policy with our values. Do not allow globalization to destroy the world's diverse cultures.

Arguments for

1. Giving more power and authority to international organizations does not make us powerless. On the contrary, by bringing nations together to solve common problems, we will gain the strength to deal with the world's challenges.

2. By working through international organizations, the United States will change the nature of the international system. Cooperation, not conflict, will come to be accepted as the basis for international relations.

3. The economic assistance we gave Western Europe and Japan after World War II helped boost international trade and strengthen the U.S. economy. Aiding poorer countries will likewise benefit the United States in the long run.

4. This approach will allow the United States to restore its reputation and gain the respect of the rest of the world.

Arguments against

1. By handing over power to international organizations, we will lose much of our international influence. China, Japan, Russia, and other leading powers will take advantage of our cooperative spirit to make themselves stronger at our expense.

2. Our fundamental values are in conflict with those of large parts of the world. Cooperation not only won't work, it could be dangerous.

3. Constraining our ability to use military force unilaterally will limit our ability to defend ourselves, respond to international events, and will encourage our enemies. International organizations are too slow, too ineffective, and cannot be counted on to act when vital U.S. interests are at stake.

4. Many countries are run by corrupt and cruel tyrants. Strengthening international organizations in which dictators have a voice will send a message that we accept their leadership.

5. Spending billions of dollars trying to solve the world's ills will deprive us of the resources we need to address the many problems we face at home.

Option 4: Protect the U.S. Homeland

The attacks of September 11, 2001 brought a new message to U.S. citizens: we are vulnerable. Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent hundreds of billions of dollars a year defending our allies in Western Europe and East Asia, and distributed tens of billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. And what do we have to show for our efforts? Our high-profile foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against us and even fueled terrorism. Our recent military involvement overseas—most notably in Iraq—makes this situation even worse. When we took the initiative to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq, even our traditional allies turned against us.

Enough is enough. We must make it clear that the United States should not be expected to solve the world's problems. It is time to turn our national attention to the real threats facing the United States: a sagging economy, loss of jobs, decaying schools, a shaky health care system, and inadequate resources to protect us against terrorism. We must sharply scale back our foreign involvement. U.S. troops overseas should be brought home and strict limits put on military spending. We have to put our own needs first.

Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

- A country's first responsibility is to defend its citizens from harm. Focusing on other countries' problems is a waste of precious resources when those resources are needed at home.
- Most of the problems afflicting the world beyond U.S. borders cannot be solved by the United States. We are not as powerful as we think.
- Our foreign policy has led to resentment and hatred of the United States.
- International power and influence in today's world are measured in terms of economic strength, not military might. Our military and foreign entanglements are a burden on our country.

What policies should we pursue?

- **Economy:** Protect U.S. industries from unfair foreign competition and U.S. jobs from cheap foreign labor. Reduce our dependence on foreign oil by encouraging U.S. oil companies to invest at home and by promoting alternative sources of energy and energy conservation.
- **Security:** Phase out our military alliances and make it clear that we will join other countries militarily only when our security is directly threatened. Cut military spending.
- **International Relations:** Encourage other countries to solve the problems in their regions. Avoid involvement with international organizations.
- **Health and Environment:** Do not hurt the U.S. economy with environmental restrictions. Devote money and resources to improving public health in the United States—not overseas.
- **Culture and Values:** Stop trying to force U.S. values and culture on others. Focus our resources on allowing these values to flourish in the United States.

Arguments for

1. We can avoid unnecessary conflicts and making ourselves the target of resentment by not interfering in other parts of the world.

2. Eliminating costly and ill-conceived foreign policy ventures—such as building democracy in Iraq or helping African countries out of poverty—will free up resources needed within our own borders.

3. Giving top priority to our domestic problems is the best way to strengthen our country.

4. Sharply cutting U.S. military spending will encourage other leading powers to reduce their spending on defense and will lower tensions worldwide.

Arguments against

1. We cannot isolate ourselves in this interdependent world. Borders will not halt the spread of HIV/AIDS, financial crises, environmental problems, and terrorism.

2. The United States has been a leader of the international community since World War II. Why would we want any other country to set the agenda? Giving up our leadership position will harm our security and economy.

3. Cutting our military will leave the United States incapable of standing up for democracy or protecting our security and economic interests. As we learned before both World Wars, the United States will eventually be forced to undertake a costly military build-up to combat threats from overseas.

4. The United States has the world's largest economy that depends on resources and trade from around the world. We cannot cut ourselves off from this and hope that our economy will flourish.

5. We cannot afford to abandon our commitments around the world. Regions where we had a strong presence will become unstable, and as our strength abroad declines, those who oppose us will exploit new opportunities.

Supplementary Resources

Books

Diamond, Jared. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fate of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999). 496 pages.

Friedman, Thomas. *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2009). 528 pages.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998). 368 pages.

Gellner, Ernest and John Breully. *Nations and Nationalism*, second edition. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009). 152 pages.

Mearsheimer, John. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003). 576 pages.

Sen, Amartya. *Development as Freedom* (Knopf: New York, 1999). 366 pages.

World Wide Web

Foreign Policy
<www.foreignpolicy.com>
A leading mainstream publication on international affairs topics.

Online NewsHour
<www.pbs.org/newshour>
A PBS news program with in-depth interviews with world leaders.

Terrorism Questions and Answers
<www.cfrterrorism.org>
A Council on Foreign Relations website that offers resources related to terrorism.

United Nations
<www.un.org>
The official website of the United Nations.

United States Department of State
<www.state.gov>
Offers information on U.S. policy on the international issues faced by the United States.

Choices Curricula Promote 21st Century Skills

Students are best able to understand and analyze complex content if they are actively engaged with the material. The Choices Program uses a problem-based approach to make complex international issues accessible and meaningful for students of diverse abilities and learning styles. All of our units address these 21st century skills:

Critical Thinking

Students examine contrasting policy options and explore the underlying values and interests that drive different perspectives.

Media and Technology Literacy

Students critique editorials, audio and video sources, maps and other visuals for perspective and bias. They watch video clips to gather and assess information from leading scholars.

Global Awareness

Readings and primary source documents immerse students in multiple perspectives on complex international issues.

Collaboration

Students work in groups to make oral presentations, analyze case studies, and develop persuasive arguments.

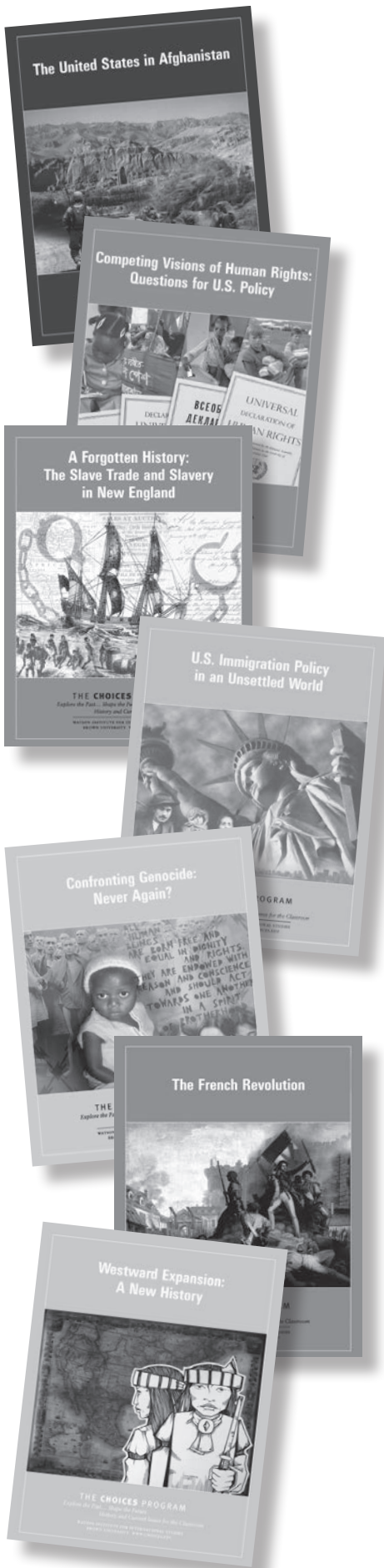
Creativity and Innovation

Creating political cartoons, memorializing historical events artistically, or developing original policy options are some of the innovative ways that students express themselves.

Civic Literacy

Choices materials empower students with the skills and habits to actively engage with their communities and the world.

www.choices.edu



The U.S. Role in a Changing World

The U.S. Role in a Changing World helps students reflect on global changes, assess national priorities, and decide for themselves the future direction of U.S. policy. The reading offers an insight into the forces that are expected to shape international relations in the twenty-first century.

The U.S. Role in a Changing World is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

THE CHOICES PROGRAM

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The U.S. Role in a Changing World



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History and Current Issues for the Classroom

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CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Program

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The Choices Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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The U.S. Role in a Changing World is part of a continuing series on public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgement on policy issues.



The Watson Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.

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The Choices Approach to Current Issues

Choices curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using a student-centered approach, Choices units develop critical thinking and an understanding of the significance of history in our lives today—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Teachers say the collaboration and interaction in Choices units are highly motivating for students. Studies consistently demonstrate that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material. Cooperative learning invites students to take pride in their own contributions and in the group product, enhancing students' confidence as learners. Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than those using a lecture-discussion format. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Choices units on current issues include student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- engage in informed discussion
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, deliberative discourse, persuasive writing, and informed civic participation. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies.

The Organization of a Choices Unit

Introducing the Background: Each Choices curriculum resource provides historical background and student-centered lesson plans that explore critical issues. This historical foundation prepares students to analyze a range of perspectives and then to deliberate about possible approaches to contentious policy issues.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit has a framework of three or four divergent policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives. Students understand and analyze the options through a role play and the dialogue that follows.

• **Role Play:** The setting of the role play varies, and may be a Congressional hearing, a meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. Each group, in turn, is challenged with questions from classmates.

• **Deliberation:** After the options have been presented and students clearly understand the differences among them, students enter into deliberative dialogue in which they analyze together the merits and trade-offs of the alternatives presented; explore shared concerns as well as conflicting values, interests, and priorities; and begin to articulate their own views.

For further information see <www.choices.edu/resources/guidelines.php>.

Exercising Citizenship: Armed with fresh insights from the role play and the deliberation, students articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values and goals. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Note to Teachers

The twenty-first century has brought new challenges for the United States. For many, the attacks of September 11, 2001 brought home the importance of international security issues. Other issues also clamor for attention. A changing global economy, the threat of climate change, and the spread of HIV/AIDS are on policy makers' radar screens.

The U.S. Role in a Changing World draws students into the promise and uncertainty of this era. The readings and accompanying lessons engage students in the range of issues on the U.S. agenda.

Students then examine four options for U.S. policy in a role play. By exploring this spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values underlying specific policy recommendations and are prepared to develop their own policy options.

As an introductory activity to open the semester or as a culminating exercise at the end of a course, this unit aims to integrate a wide range of international issues and broaden student thinking at a critical moment in U.S. history.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying *The U.S. Role in a Changing World* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities that use primary source documents and help build critical thinking skills.

• **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of reading is accompanied by two study guides. The standard study guide helps students gather the information in the readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. The advanced study guide requires that students analyze and synthesize material prior to class activities.

• **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The reading addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them “Key Terms” found in the Teacher Resource Book on page TRB-49 before they begin their assignment. An “Issues Toolbox” is also included on page TRB 50-51. This provides additional information on key concepts.

• **Additional Resources:** Electronic resources including free videos of scholars discussing concepts in the readings, an online ballot, and lessons are available at <www.choices.edu/usrolematerials>.

The lesson plans offered in this unit are a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you tailor the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

The *U.S. Role in a Changing World* offers many connections to the social studies curriculum. Whether the course is U.S. history, world history, government, or a survey of contemporary affairs, *The U.S. Role in a Changing World* opens the door to an exploration of a wide range of complementary issues. Below are a few ideas for further consideration.

What are our most important civic values?

Our belief in freedom, justice, and democracy? Our pragmatism? Our visionary idealism and belief in equal rights? Our self-reliance and competitiveness? Our attachment to individualism and the free market?

Is the United States special? What makes the United States unique? Do the special qualities of the United States give it the right or the responsibility to dominate international affairs and safeguard international norms?

What should be our relationship with the international community? Will the power of the UN, the World Trade Organization, and other international bodies grow as the world continues to shrink? Should the United States refrain from taking action abroad without the support of other countries?

When is the use of force justified? Which interests and values, if any, should be defended by military means? What lessons should we learn from our involvement in Latin America, our alliances in World War II, the Vietnam War, the 1991 Gulf War, or the recent wars in Afghanistan or Iraq?

How does the world work? Do international affairs revolve around a contest between good and evil, in which our foreign policy decisions should be seen as moral choices? Do we live in a world of relentless competition, in which we cannot afford to fall behind other leading powers? Is the world essentially interdependent, in that we will all sink or swim together?

Are Western values universal? Do people around the world want the same freedoms and democratic system that we have? Will our

free-market economic system and consumer-oriented society spread throughout the globe? How should the United States interact with the diverse cultures throughout the world?

Where is the world headed? Will democratic ideals spread throughout the world? Will war become obsolete, or will the proliferation of sophisticated weapons increase conflict? Will increasing interdependence undercut the importance of the nation-state and lead to world government, or will nations become more protective of their sovereignty? Will environmental issues play an increasingly important role in international politics?

Some of the issues explored in *The U.S. Role in a Changing World* are addressed more extensively in the following Choices curriculum units:

The United States in Afghanistan

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy

Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution

The Challenge of Nuclear Weapons

International Trade: Competition and Cooperation in a Globalized World

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy

Russia's Transformation: Challenges for U.S. Policy

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response

Beyond Manifest Destiny: America Enters the Age of Imperialism

To End All Wars: World War I and the League of Nations Debate

Between World Wars: FDR and the Age of Isolationism

The Origins of the Cold War: U.S. Choices after World War II

Reading Strategies and Suggestions

This unit covers a wide range of issues over a long period of time. Your students may find the readings complex. It might also be difficult for them to synthesize such a large amount of information. The following are suggestions to help your students better understand the readings.

Pre-reading strategies: Help students to prepare for the reading.

1. You might create a Know/Want to Know/Learned (K-W-L) worksheet for students to record what they already know about the U.S. role in the world and what they want to know. As they read they can fill out the “learned” section of the worksheet. Alternatively, brainstorm their current knowledge and then create visual maps in which students link the concepts and ideas they have about the topic.

2. Use the questions in the text to introduce students to the topic. Ask them to scan the reading for major headings, images, and questions so they can gain familiarity with the structure and organization of the text.

3. Preview the vocabulary and key concepts listed in the back of the TRB with students.

4. Since studies show that most students are visual learners, use a visual introduction, such as photographs, an internet site, or a short film to orient your students.

5. Be sure that students understand the purpose for their reading the text. Will you have a debate later, and they need to know the information to formulate arguments? Will students write letters to Congress? Will students communicate with students in other countries over the internet? Will they create a class podcast or blog?

Split up readings into smaller chunks:

Assign students readings over a longer period of time or divide readings among groups of students.

Graphic organizers: You may also wish to use graphic organizers to help your students better understand the information that they are given. For each part of the reading we have included an organizer. These are located on TRB-8, TRB-21, and TRB-38. A graphic organizers for the options is provided on TRB-41. Students can complete them in class in groups or as part of their homework, or you can use them as reading checks or quizzes.

International Relations Terminology

Objectives:

Students will: Gain familiarity with the issues and terms they will see in Part II of the reading.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read the Introduction and Part I in the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part I” (TRB 5-6) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-7).

Handouts:

“International Relations Terminology”
(TRB 9-10)

In the Classroom:

1. Defining Categories—There are four sections in “Part II: A Changing World.”

- Economy
- Human Health & Environment
- International Relations
- Culture & Values

Place these four categories on the board and lead a preliminary discussion about the meaning of each term, adding contributions to the board as the discussion continues. What do people mean when they talk about a “changing international environment”?

2. Defining Terms—Divide the class into four groups (or eight, if you have a large class). Assign each group a category from the board

and distribute the handout to each student. Each group should attempt to define the list of words in its assigned selection. After the students have completed this task, return to the categories on the board, and ask spokespersons from each group to offer their definitions of the terms on their list.

3. Understanding Overlap—Once it seems clear that students understand the categories and terms, ask them to consider whether some terms could fit into more than one category. What does this overlap suggest about the nature of the categories? About resolving international problems and conflicts?

Homework:

Students should read Part II in the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 18-19) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-20).

Suggestion:

If necessary, use a “jigsaw” method for students to read and report on the reading in Part II. Assign the four different sections of Part II to four different groups of students. Instruct them to fill out only the corresponding section of the study guide and the graphic organizer. On Day Two, have students share their answers. This modification will provide students an overview of the issues discussed in each section without requiring them to absorb all of the reading in one night.

Name: _____

Study Guide—Part I

1. Give three reasons why U.S. citizens became interested in the Cuban struggle for independence.

a.

b.

c.

2. Name the new territories the United States controlled following the Spanish-American War.

a.

c.

b.

d.

3. Summarize the arguments supporting and opposing imperialism at the start of the twentieth century.

Supporting:

Opposing:

4. Why did the Senate oppose U.S. membership in the League of Nations after World War I?

5. Why did many U.S. citizens wish to insulate themselves from Europe in the 1920s and 30s?

Name: _____

6. When U.S. policy makers considered the situation in Europe after World War II, they determined that the United States could not isolate itself from world affairs. What was the situation in these countries that led them to think this?

a. Britain:

b. France, Germany, Italy:

c. Soviet Union:

7. What was the “iron curtain” Churchill referred to?

8. Give an example of U.S. policy to “contain” the Soviets.

9. Define “deterrence” and offer an example of U.S. policy that attempted to “deter” the Soviets.

Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide—Part I

1. For each of the three turning points described in the readings, give examples of the policy issues that were debated and discussed.
 - a. “Coming to Grips with Empire”:

 - b. “Making the World Safe for Democracy”:

 - c. “Confronting the Soviet Challenge”:

2. Identify the values and interests that contributed to the decisions made during these turning points. For example, economic prosperity, peace, safety, cooperation, justice, power, and so on.
 - a. “Coming to Grips with Empire”:

 - b. “Making the World Safe for Democracy”:

 - c. “Confronting the Soviet Challenge”:

3. Is the United States at a turning point today? Explain and support your opinion.

Historical Turning Points

Instructions: In the boxes below, indicate first what issues were debated in the given time period. Next, indicate what policies were finally implemented. Finally, use the bottom box to list any lessons from these historical turning points that you think are applicable today.

Post Spanish-American War
Issues debated:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Policies:

Post World War I
Issues debated:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Policies:

Post World War II
Issues debated:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Policies:

What lesson(s) from these historical turning points are applicable to today's foreign policy issues?

Name: _____

International Relations Terminology

Instructions: Your group has been assigned a selection of terms. For each term, come up with a working definition with your group. Be prepared to explain and defend your definitions with the rest of the class.

Economy

per capita income

international markets

gross domestic product

globalization

free trade

inequality

Human Health and the Environment

environmental destruction

malnutrition

malaria

HIV/AIDS

climate change

“green” technology

Name: _____

International Relations

democracy

security

state

sovereignty

United Nations

international organizations

Culture and Values

culture

religion

Holocaust

human rights

equality

liberty

Rethinking International Relations

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues that are likely to shape international relations in the twenty-first century.

Identify the values and assumptions integral to the debate about the international system.

Clarify their own views on global issues.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read the Introduction and Part I in the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part I” (TRB 5-6) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-7).

Handouts:

“Rethinking International Relations: Seven Perspectives” (TRB 12-16)

In the Classroom:

1. Rethinking the Twentieth Century—Ask students to identify the most important issues of the twentieth century. Which issues are most significant today? How has the world changed in recent years, and which challenges from the twentieth century persist today? Encourage students to think about a wide range of topics, for example environmental problems, the spread of democracy, technological innovation, terrorism, poverty, etc.

2. Surveying Seven Perspectives—Distribute “Rethinking International Relations: Seven Perspectives” to each student and review the introduction with the class. Have students read each selection and answer the two questions in the introduction.

3. Identifying Values and Assumptions—Explain that each author has a unique vision of the world and the future of international relations. For example, what issues do Friedman and Singer imagine will have the greatest impact in the coming decades? Emphasize that each author has a distinct set of values and assumptions, and these values and assumptions

shape their view of world affairs. How would students describe each author’s worldview? What does each author value? Democracy? U.S. power? Equality? Justice? How do these values influence their perspective on global issues? For example, ask students to compare Sachs’ view of justice to that of Tutu and Robinson. How do Ferguson and Khalidi differ in their outlook on the Arab world? Remind students that the selections by Huntington and Friedman were written in the 1990s. Are their arguments still relevant today?

4. Clarifying Opinions—Call on students to choose the arguments they found most convincing in the seven selections. Do students identify with the values expressed in the selections? Which issues do students think will influence international affairs in the coming century? How should these issues be addressed? Remind students that even if they agree with the authors about what issues are important, they may have different ideas about how they should be addressed. Are there issues or values that were not addressed by the selections that students think are important? Tell students that the goal is not simply to rank the top issues they think are important, but rather to think about how their values influence their outlook on the world and help shape their opinions about a wide range of international issues.

Suggestion:

Divide students into groups, one for each reading. After students have discussed the questions in small groups, work with the whole class to create a matrix or chart on the board that summarizes the positions of each author and explains the values and foreign policy suggestions of each reading.

Homework:

Students should read Part II in the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 18-19) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-20).

Rethinking International Relations: Seven Perspectives

Introduction: The world has changed dramatically in the last twenty-five years. The end of the Cold War, the growth of globalization, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the wave of democratic protests in the Arab world have each sparked far-reaching debate about our ever-changing world. Below, you will read selections from articles and books that reflect the discussion. The seven selections present a range of opinions about important international issues. As you read each of them, consider the following questions:

1. According to the author, what are the most important issues of the twenty-first century?
2. According to the author, why are these issues important to the United States? (For example, is the United States contributing to a global problem? Is the United States threatened? Does the United States have the ability to help address a problem?)

Note that the first two selections are from the 1990s. Consider if the ideas presented in these selections are relevant today. After you have read the selections and discussed them with classmates, you will be asked to develop your own ideas about the future of international relations.

Selection 1

The Clash of Civilizations?

by Samuel P. Huntington, in *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

A civilization is...defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people.

Civilization identity will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another.

Selection 2

The Lexus and the Olive Tree

by Thomas Friedman, 1999

The globalization system, unlike the Cold War system, is not static, but a dynamic ongoing process: globalization involves the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before, and in a way that is also producing a powerful backlash from those brutalized or left behind by this new system.... Culturally speaking, globalization is largely, though not entirely, the spread of Americanization—from Big Macs to iMacs to Mickey Mouse—on a global scale....

The Lexus and the olive tree [are] actually pretty good symbols of this post-Cold War era: half the world seems to be emerging from the Cold War intent on building a better Lexus, dedicated to modernizing, streamlining, and privatizing their economies in order to thrive in the system of globalization. And half the world—sometimes half the same country, sometimes half the same person—[is] still caught up in the fight over who owns which olive tree....

The challenge in this era of globalization—

Name: _____

for countries and individuals—is to find a healthy balance between preserving a sense of identity, home and community and doing what it takes to survive within the globalization system.

Selection 3

Un-American Revolutions

by Niall Ferguson, in *Newsweek*, February 27, 2011

Americans love a revolution. Their own great nation having been founded by a revolutionary declaration and forged by a revolutionary war, they instinctively side with revolutionaries in other lands, no matter how different their circumstances, no matter how disastrous the outcomes. This chronic reluctance to learn from history could carry a very heavy price tag if the revolutionary wave sweeping across North Africa and the Middle East breaks with the same shattering impact as most revolutionary waves....

So as you watch revolution sweeping through the Arab world (and potentially beyond), remember these three things about non-American revolutions:...

- They take years to unfold....
- They begin by challenging an existing political order, but the more violence is needed to achieve that end, the more the initiative passes to men of violence—Robespierre, Stalin, and the supremely callous Mao himself.
- Because neighboring countries feel challenged by the revolution, internal violence is soon followed by external violence, either because the revolution is genuinely threatened by foreigners (as in the French and Russian cases) or because it suits the revolutionaries to blame an external threat for domestic problems (as when China intervened in the Korean War).

To which an American might reply: Yes, but was all this not true of our revolution too? The American Revolution was protracted: Five years elapsed between the Declaration of Independence and Yorktown. It was violent. And

it was, of course, resisted from abroad. Yet the scale of the violence in the American Revolution was, by the standards of the other great revolutions of history, modest....

For many years U.S. administrations tried to have it both ways in the Middle East, preaching the merits of democratization while doing next to nothing to pressure the region's despots to reform, provided their misbehavior remained within tolerable limits (no invading Israel or Kuwait, no acquiring weapons of mass destruction). The Bush administration put an end to that double-talk by practicing as well as preaching a policy of democratization—using force to establish elected governments in both Afghanistan and Iraq.

The Obama administration was elected by a great many Americans who regretted the costs of that policy. Yet in place of the Bush doctrine came...nothing. Obama's obsequious 2009 speech in Cairo offered a feeble hand of friendship to the Muslim world. But to whom was it extended? To the tyrants? Or to their subject peoples? Obama apparently hoped he, too, could have it both ways, even shaking hands with the odious Muammar Gaddafi....

The far more likely outcome—as in past revolutions—is that power will pass to the best organized, most radical, and most ruthless elements in the revolution, which in this case means Islamists like the Muslim Brotherhood....

In the absence of an American strategy, the probability of a worst-case scenario creeps up every day—a scenario of the sort that ultimately arose in revolutionary France, Russia, and China. First the revolutions in North Africa and the Middle East could turn much more violent, with a death toll running into tens or hundreds of thousands. Then they could spark a full-blown war, claiming millions of lives. Worst of all, out of that war could emerge an enemy as formidable as Napoleon's France, Stalin's Soviet Union, or Mao's China.

Yes, Americans love revolutions. But they should stick to loving their own.

Selection 4

The Arab Spring

by Rashid Khalidi, in The Nation, March 3, 2011

Suddenly, to be an Arab has become a good thing. People all over the Arab world feel a sense of pride in shaking off decades of cowed passivity under dictatorships that ruled with no deference to popular wishes. And it has become respectable in the West as well. Egypt is now thought of as an exciting and progressive place...and its bright young activists are seen as models for a new kind of twenty-first-century mobilization.... Before, when anything Muslim or Middle Eastern or Arab was reported on, it was almost always with a heavy negative connotation....

[T]alking heads who pass for experts have ceaselessly affirmed that terrorists and Islamists are the only thing to look for or see. They are the ones who systematically taught Americans not to see the real Arab world: the unions, those with a commitment to the rule of law, the tech-savvy young people, the feminists, the artists and intellectuals, those with a reasonable knowledge of Western culture and values, the ordinary people who simply want decent opportunities and a voice in how they are governed. The “experts” taught us instead that this was a fanatical people, a people without dignity, a people that deserved its terrible American-supported rulers....

As people in the West learn more about this crucially important part of the world, there are a few more truths that should be transmitted. One is that this is not a region that is uniquely unsuited to democracy, or has no constitutional traditions or has always suffered under autocratic rulers....

The Arab states have a long way to go to undo the terrible legacy of repression and stagnation and move toward democracy, the rule of law, social justice and dignity, which have been the universal demands of their peoples during this Arab spring....

There is great peril in ignoring this demand for collective dignity, whether it relates to the patronizing way the United States has

long treated the region or the casual dismissal of the beliefs of most Arabs that justice has not been and is not being done to the Palestinians. If the people of the Arab world are fortunate in achieving democratic transitions, and can begin to confront the many deep problems their societies face, it is vital that a new Arab world, born of a struggle for freedom, social justice and dignity, be treated with the respect it deserves, and that for the first time in decades it is beginning to earn.

Selection 5

Occupy Wall Street and the Demand for Economic Justice

by Jeffrey Sachs, in The Huffington Post, October 13, 2011

Around the world, young people—students, workers, and the unemployed—are bringing their grievances to the public square. The specific grievances differ across the countries, yet the animating demands are the same: democracy and economic justice....

Around 1980, the forces of globalization began to create a worldwide marketplace connected by finance, production, and technology. With globalization came new opportunities for vast wealth accumulation. Those with higher education and financial capital have generally prospered; those without higher education and financial capital have found themselves facing much tougher job competition with lower-paid workers half way around the world....

In some countries, like the social democracies of Northern Europe (notably Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland), government policies have ensured that all parts of society can benefit from the new globalization. In others, notably including the United States, politics have amplified the surge in power and wealth of the new financial elite....

The sense of injustice, in short, is not just about the unfairness of a small part of society living in unimaginable wealth while so much of the rest of society lives in economic desperation. It’s not just about the top 12,000 American households with more income than

the poorest 24 million households. It's about the degradation of politics that turns wealth into power through campaign financing, lobbying, and the revolving door of business and government.

Vast inequality and the accompanying sense of injustice explain why the protests have also exploded in Chile and Israel, two countries doing rather well in economic growth and employment. Chile, Israel, and the United States are three of the five most unequal economies of the high-income world, together with Mexico and Turkey....

The survey evidence is overwhelming that Washington responds to rich constituencies rather than to the median voter, much less to the poor.... According to the opinion surveys, Americans by a strong majority want to raise taxes on the rich, end the wars, and protect the social outlays. Yet corporate lobbying mangles this clear call from the public....

These [protestors] are America's young people, soon to be the nation's leaders, and they are telling us something about Washington's corruption, cronyism, and chronic mismanagement of the economy....

America has rescued itself from undemocratic wealth twice before—when the Gilded Age of the late 19th century was overtaken by the Progressive Era of the early 20th century, and when Hoover's economics and the Great Depression gave way to the New Deal in the 1930s, and then decades of economic prosperity that built a large middle class. The process of American renewal has begun anew.

Selection 6

In Need of Climate Justice

by Desmond Tutu and Mary Robinson, in Al Jazeera, December 5, 2011

Before the Copenhagen Climate Change Summit two years ago, the two of us sat together in Cape Town to listen to five African farmers from different countries, four of whom were women, tell us how climate change was undermining their livelihoods. Each explained how floods and drought, and the lack of regular seasons to sow and reap, were outside their

normal experience. Their fears are shared by subsistence farmers and indigenous people worldwide—the people bearing the brunt of climate shocks, though they played no part in causing them....

In its latest report, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change concludes that it is virtually certain that, in global terms, hot days have become hotter and occur more often; indeed, they have increased in frequency by a factor of 10 in most regions of the world.

Moreover, the brutal paradox of climate change is that heavy precipitation is occurring more often as well, increasing the risk of flooding. Since 2003, East Africa has had the eight warmest years on record, which is no doubt contributing to the severe famine that now afflicts 13 million people in the Horn of Africa....

Climate change is a global problem: if countries are not confident that others are addressing it, they will not feel an imperative to act themselves. So, having a legal framework with clear and common rules to which all countries are committed is critically important—and the only assurance we have that action will be taken to protect the most vulnerable....

Climate change is a matter of justice. The richest countries caused the problem, but it is the world's poorest who are already suffering from its effects.... [T]he international community must commit to righting that wrong.

Political leaders must think inter-generationally. They need to imagine the world of 2050, with its nine billion people, and take the right decisions now to ensure that our children and grandchildren inherit a liveable world.

Selection 7

Do Drones Undermine Democracy?

By Peter W. Singer, in The New York Times, January 21, 2012

In democracies like ours, there have always been deep bonds between the public and its wars. Citizens have historically participated in decisions to take military action, through their elected representatives, helping to ensure

broad support for wars and a willingness to share the costs, both human and economic, of enduring them.

In America, our Constitution explicitly divided the president's role as commander in chief in war from Congress's role in declaring war. Yet these links and this division of labor are now under siege as a result of a technology that our founding fathers never could have imagined.

Just 10 years ago, the idea of using armed robots in war was the stuff of Hollywood fantasy. Today, the United States military has more than 7,000 unmanned aerial systems, popularly called drones. There are 12,000 more on the ground. Last year, they carried out hundreds of strikes—both covert and overt—in six countries, transforming the way our democracy deliberates and engages in what we used to think of as war....

The strongest appeal of unmanned systems is that we don't have to send someone's son or daughter into harm's way. But when politicians can avoid the political consequences of the condolence letter—and the impact that military casualties have on voters and on the news media—they no longer treat the previously weighty matters of war and peace the same way....

In 2011, unmanned systems carried out strikes from Afghanistan to Yemen. The most notable of these continuing operations is the not-so-covert war in Pakistan, where the United States has carried out more than 300 drone strikes since 2004.

Yet this operation has never been debated in Congress; more than seven years after it began, there has not even been a single vote for or against it. This campaign is not carried out by the Air Force; it is being conducted by the C.I.A. This shift affects everything from the strategy that guides it to the individuals who oversee it (civilian political appointees) and the lawyers who advise them (civilians rather than military officers)....

I do not condemn these strikes; I support most of them. What troubles me, though, is how a new technology is short-circuiting the

decision-making process for what used to be the most important choice a democracy could make. Something that would have previously been viewed as a war is simply not being treated like a war....

Without any actual political debate, we have set an enormous precedent, blurring the civilian and military roles in war and circumventing the Constitution's mandate for authorizing it....

Unmanned operations are not "costless," as they are too often described in the news media and government deliberations. Even worthy actions can sometimes have unintended consequences. Faisal Shahzad, the would-be Times Square bomber, was drawn into terrorism by the very Predator strikes in Pakistan meant to stop terrorism.

Similarly, C.I.A. drone strikes outside of declared war zones are setting a troubling precedent that we might not want to see followed by the close to 50 other nations that now possess the same unmanned technology—including China, Russia, Pakistan and Iran.

A deep deliberation on war was something the framers of the Constitution sought to build into our system....

America's founding fathers may not have been able to imagine robotic drones, but they did provide an answer. The Constitution did not leave war, no matter how it is waged, to the executive branch alone.

In a democracy, it is an issue for all of us.

Examining Global Opinion

Objectives:

Students will: Draw conclusions from information presented in graphs, tables, and charts.

Analyze global opinions of different international issues.

Analyze regional perceptions of the United States.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read Part II in the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 18-19) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-20).

Handouts:

“Pew Graphs,” a different one for each group (TRB 22-25)

“Foreign Perceptions of the United States” (TRB 26-27) for all students

In the Classroom:

1. Small Group Discussions—Form four small groups (or eight, if you have a large class). Distribute a different set of “Pew Graphs” to each group. Talk with your class about the general components of surveys and

graphical representations of data. Explain where the graphs are from (see box below). Instruct the groups to analyze their graphs and answer the accompanying questions. Assign a student from each group to record the conclusions of the group.

2. Sharing Conclusions—Call on group spokespersons to share their conclusions with the class. Prod students to find connections between the different tables and charts.

3. Foreign Perceptions of the United States—Distribute “Foreign Perceptions of the United States” to each student. Lead a general class analysis of the graphs and tables with the accompanying questions. Ask students to share their reactions to the information presented. How important are international perceptions of the United States? What issues affect other peoples’ perceptions of the United States? Do students think policy makers should take these opinions and perceptions into account when making decisions? Why or why not?

Homework:

Students should read Part III in the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part III” (TRB 35-36) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part III” (TRB-37).

The Pew Global Attitudes Project

A Project of the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

The Pew Global Attitudes Project is a series of yearly worldwide public opinion surveys. Since 1991, more than 150,000 people in fifty-four countries and the Palestinian Territories have been interviewed. The project encompasses a broad array of subjects including people’s assessments of the current state of the world and important issues of the day such as the economy, globalization, modernization, and democratization.

Only a handful of graphs and charts are used in this lesson. For more extensive resources including graphs, assessments, and survey questions, see <<http://pewglobal.org/>>.

Study Guide—Part II

1. What is globalization?

2. Give two reasons why some people are fearful of globalization.

a.

b.

3. Give one positive and one negative effect of economic globalization.

Positive:

Negative:

4. Supporters and critics have different views on who benefits most from free trade.

a. According to supporters, who benefits?

b. According to critics, who benefits?

5. Name three global health concerns that are widespread and especially deadly.

a.

b.

c.

Name: _____

6. In general, what are the primary differences between richer/Northern countries and poorer/Southern countries on global environmental issues?

	Environmental Conditions	Use of Resources	Contributions to Pollution	Population Growth
Northern Countries				
Southern Countries				

7. What is an international organization? Give three examples of international organizations.

8. Why do some people call for reform of the structure of the UN? What problems do they see?

9. What are human rights? Why do some states resist a universal international human rights standard?

10. Look at the Universal Declaration of Human Rights table on page 19. List two rights from the Universal Declaration that also appear in the amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Then list two that do not appear.

In the Constitution:

Not in the Constitution:

Advanced Study Guide—Part II

1. Why do some people associate globalization with “Americanization”?
2. Describe the effect of economic globalization and free trade on the world economy. Include both positive and negative effects.
3. Why do many leaders see environmental and health-related problems as global concerns?
4. What is the relationship between state sovereignty and international organizations? Why do some people say sovereignty is threatened by international governmental organizations?
5. Why has the idea of universal human rights created controversy? How is this controversy related to the role of international organizations?

Name: _____

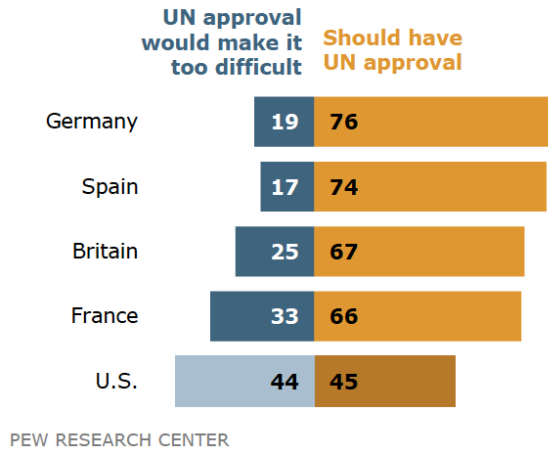
Global Issues on the U.S. Agenda

	How does globalization affect this issue?	What are the top U.S. concerns about this issue?	What are the top concerns of other nations about this issue?
Economy			
Health			
Environment			
International Relations			
Culture and Values			

Pew Graphs 1: Values and Beliefs

1. Getting UN Approval Before Using Military Force to Deal With International Threats

The Pew Global Attitudes Project. Data from 2011.



2. Views of Individualism and the Role of the State

Which is more important?

	Freedom to pursue life's goals without state interference	State guarantees nobody is in need	DK
	%	%	%
U.S.	58	35	7
Britain	38	55	7
Germany	36	62	2
France	36	64	0
Spain	30	67	3

Success in life is determined by forces outside our control

	Agree	Disagree	DK
	%	%	%
U.S.	36	62	3
Britain	41	55	4
Spain	50	47	3
France	57	43	0
Germany	72	27	1

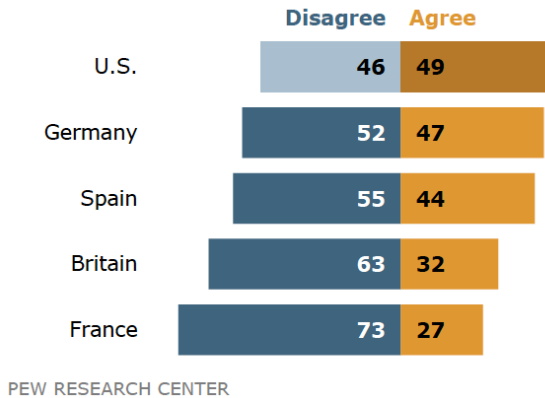
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

DK=Don't know

The Pew Global Attitudes Project. Data from 2011.

3. Our People Are Not Perfect but Our Culture Is Superior to Others

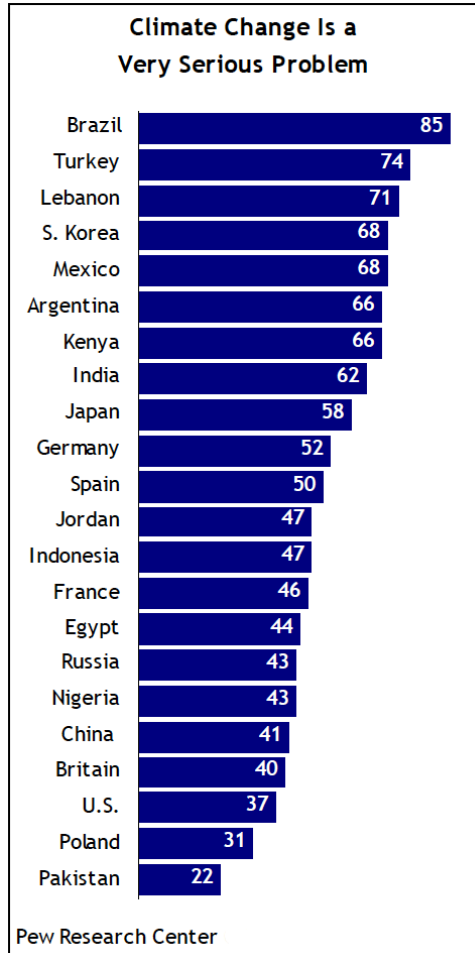
The Pew Global Attitudes Project. Data from 2011.



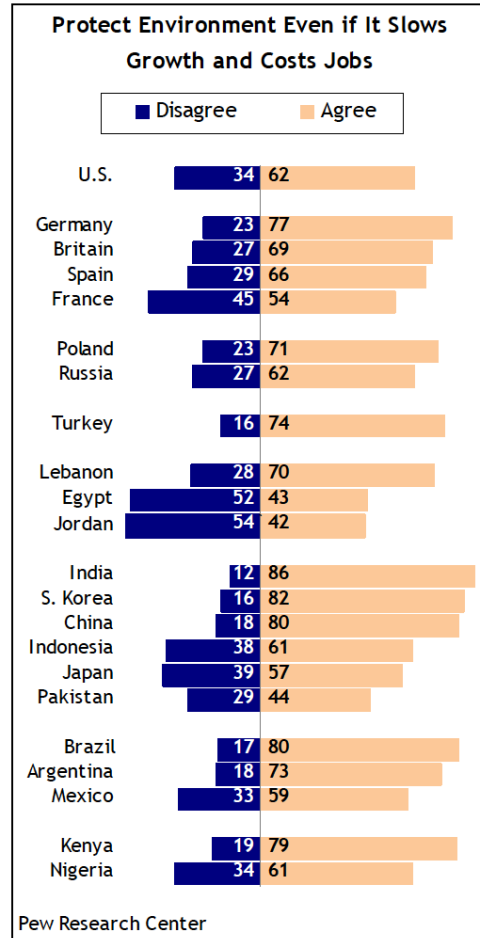
Questions to Consider:

- Summarize the information shown in graph 1.
- Which is more important to people in the United States: freedom from state interference or a state guarantee that nobody is in need?
- Is the information in graph 3 important or relevant to international policy? Explain.

Pew Graphs 2: The Environment



The Pew Global Attitudes Project. Data from 2010.



The Pew Global Attitudes Project. Data from 2010.

Questions to Consider:

1. What information is shown in the graphs?
2. In which countries do people prioritize protecting jobs over protecting the environment?
3. Are there any patterns in the graph on climate change? For example, can opinions be generalized by region? Or by size? Can you think of any reasons why there is such a difference of opinion among countries?

Pew Graphs 3: Battling Terrorism; Afghanistan War

U.S.-led Efforts to Fight Terrorism

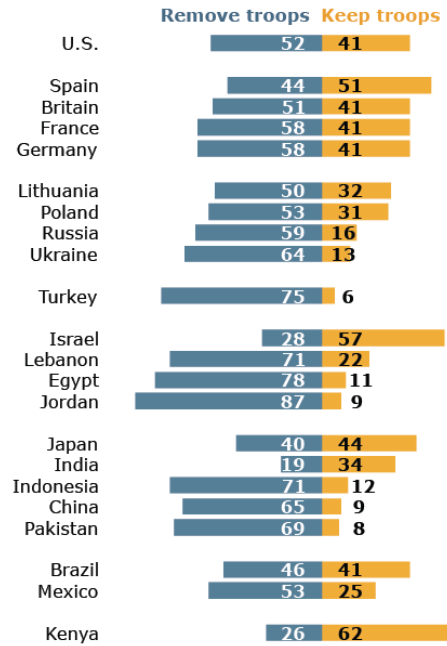
% Who favor U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
U.S.	89	--	81	76	73	70	81	78	80
Britain	69	63	63	51	49	38	64	58	59
France	75	60	50	51	42	43	74	67	71
Germany	70	60	55	50	47	42	68	59	67
Spain	--	63	--	26	19	21	59	56	58
Lithuania	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	61
Poland	81	--	--	61	--	52	66	70	60
Russia	73	51	73	55	52	50	54	70	53
Ukraine	86	--	--	--	--	51	--	--	55
Turkey	30	22	37	17	14	9	24	19	14
Egypt	--	--	--	--	10	26	19	18	21
Jordan	13	2	12	13	16	18	11	12	9
Lebanon	38	30	--	31	--	34	31	30	35
Israel	--	85	--	--	--	78	80	--	72
China	--	--	--	--	19	26	50	41	23
India	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	52
Indonesia	30	23	--	50	39	32	59	67	55
Japan	61	--	--	--	26	40	42	42	42
Pakistan	20	16	16	22	30	13	24	19	16
Brazil	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	62	57
Mexico	52	--	--	--	--	31	56	43	47
Kenya	85	--	--	--	--	73	80	75	77

The Pew Global Attitudes Project.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Keep or Remove U.S. and NATO Troops from Afghanistan



PEW RESEARCH CENTER

The Pew Global Attitudes Project. Data from 2011.

Questions to Consider:

1. What information is shown in the table on terrorism?
2. Are there any countries where support for U.S. anti-terrorism efforts increased or decreased significantly over time? What reasons can you think of for this?
3. Look at the graph on the war in Afghanistan. In which countries do a majority support a continued presence for U.S. and NATO forces?
4. Which regions are most strongly opposed to the presence of NATO forces?

Pew Graphs 4: Economy and Trade

Most Better Off in a Free Market Economy?

	% Agree		
	2007	2009	2010
	%	%	%
U.S.	70	76	68
Britain	72	66	64
France	56	57	67
Germany	65	61	73
Spain	67	57	62
Poland	68	65	68
Russia	53	51	60
Turkey	60	60	64
Egypt	50	60	51
Jordan	47	54	48
Lebanon	74	64	60
China	75	79	84
India	76	81	79
Indonesia	45	49	63
Japan	49	41	43
Pakistan	60	65	57
S. Korea	72	76	78
Argentina	43	36	40
Brazil	--	--	75
Mexico	--	52	44
Kenya	78	84	72
Nigeria	79	66	82

Pew Research Center

Trade and Business Ties Good for the Country?

	% Good		
	2007	2009	2010
	%	%	%
U.S.	59	65	66
Britain	78	82	84
France	78	83	79
Germany	85	85	90
Spain	82	89	90
Poland	77	81	84
Russia	82	80	86
Turkey	73	64	83
Egypt	61	67	64
Jordan	72	60	71
Lebanon	81	90	93
China	91	93	93
India	89	96	90
Indonesia	71	79	82
Japan	72	73	72
Pakistan	82	79	86
S. Korea	86	92	88
Argentina	68	65	72
Brazil	--	--	87
Mexico	77	79	71
Kenya	93	80	90
Nigeria	85	90	84

Pew Research Center

The Pew Global Attitudes Project.

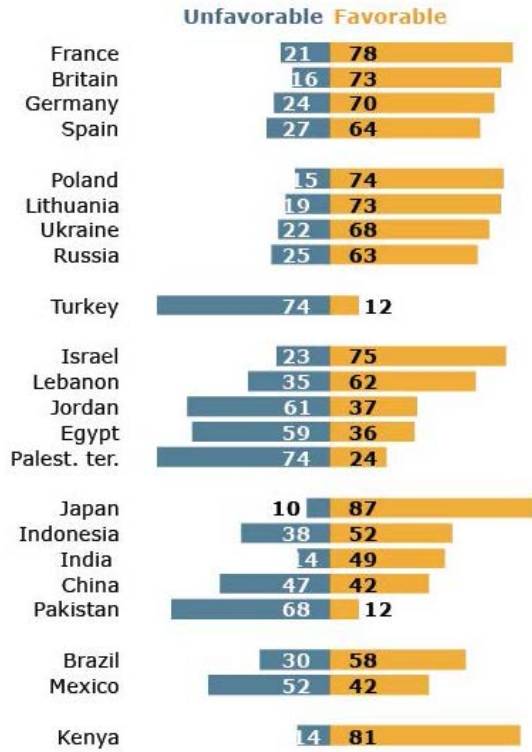
The Pew Global Attitudes Project.

Questions to Consider:

1. What information is shown in the tables?
2. The tables show statistics for different regions of the world. Look both at the percentages of people who agree and at the change over time. Are there trends within each region? Are there trends between regions?
3. Compare the regions across tables. For example, analyze the Middle Eastern countries. What differences and similarities do you notice across the tables?

Foreign Perceptions of the United States

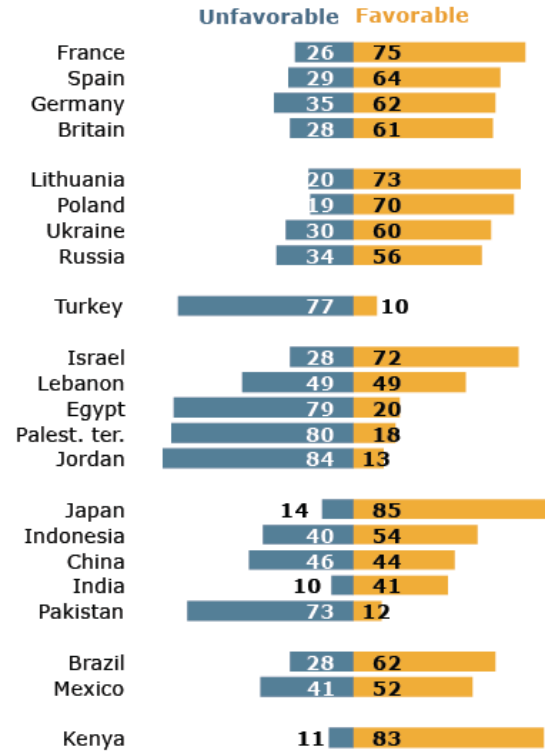
Views of the American People



The Pew Global Attitudes Project. Data from 2011.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

U.S. Favorability



The Pew Global Attitudes Project. Data from 2011.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Muslim Views of the U.S.

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
% Favorable	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Indonesia	61	13	--	36	26	27	34	62	58
Nigeria	72	38	--	--	32	49	39	61	70
Lebanon	30	15	--	22	--	33	34	47	39
<i>Shia</i>	--	--	--	--	--	7	0	2	2
<i>Sunni</i>	--	--	--	--	--	52	62	90	74
Egypt	--	--	--	--	29	22	20	25	16
Jordan	25	1	5	20	14	20	19	25	20
Pakistan	10	13	20	22	27	15	17	15	16
Turkey	30	15	29	23	12	9	13	14	17

Based on Muslims only.

Pew Research Center

The Pew Global Attitudes Project.

Interpreting Political Cartoons

Objectives:

Students will: Interpret political cartoons and place them in context.

Identify the values and viewpoints of the cartoons.

Required Reading:

Before the lesson, students should have read Part III in the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part III” (TRB 35-36) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part III” (TRB-37).

Handouts:

“Political Cartoons” (TRB 29-33)

(A Powerpoint presentation of the cartoons is available for download at <www.choices.edu/usrolematerials>.)

In the Classroom:

1. Getting Started—Divide the class into groups of three or four. Distribute “Political Cartoons” to each student. Have the students discuss each cartoon in their groups and answer the questions provided. (Space has been provided for questions 1-2. Questions 3-4 will need to be answered on a separate sheet of paper.)

2. Drawing Connections—Select several cartoons from the collection. Discuss how the points of view of the cartoonists are reflected in the cartoons. Were the students surprised by the variety of perspectives?

Extra Challenge:

Have the students draw their own cartoons presenting their own views.

Name: _____

Political Cartoons

Introduction: Disputed international issues are the fodder of political cartoonists in the United States and around the world. Cartoons not only reflect the events of the times, but they often offer an interpretation or express a strong opinion about these events as well. These cartoons come from cartoonists in both the United States and abroad.

Answer questions 1-2 in the space beside each cartoon. Questions 3-4 should be answered on a separate sheet of paper.

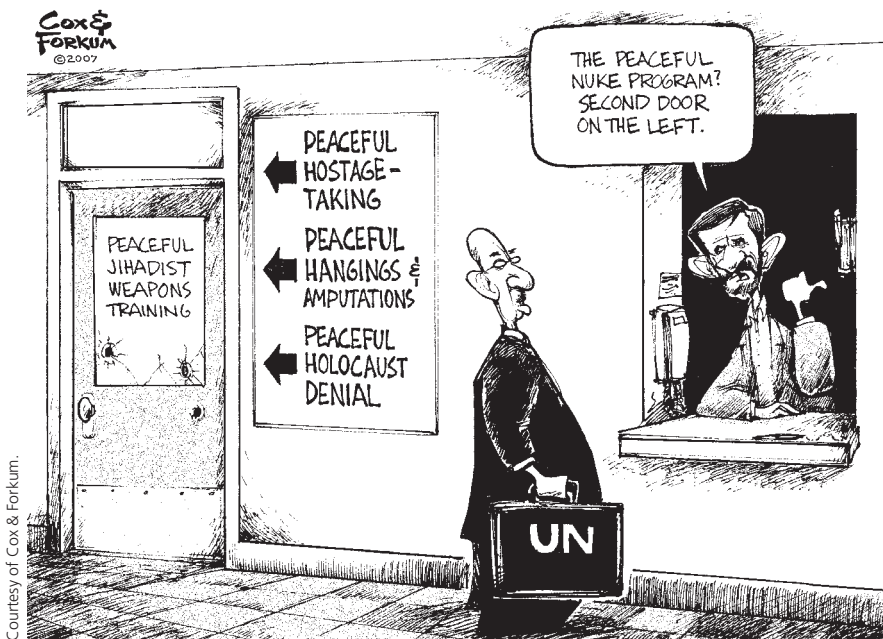
1. Who or what is depicted in the cartoon?
2. Does the cartoon have a point of view? What is it?
3. Choose two cartoons in the collection that present opposing views. How do the messages differ?
4. What strikes you most about this collection of cartoons?



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GLOBAL DEMOCRACY

- 1.
- 2.

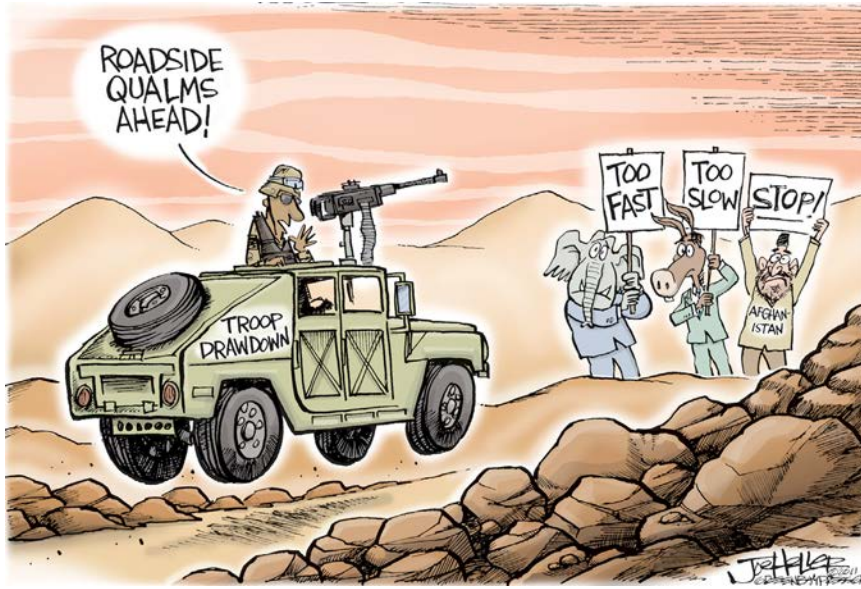


Courtesy of Cox & Forkum.

www.CoxAndForkum.com

- 1.
- 2.

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1.

2.

agilecartoons.com



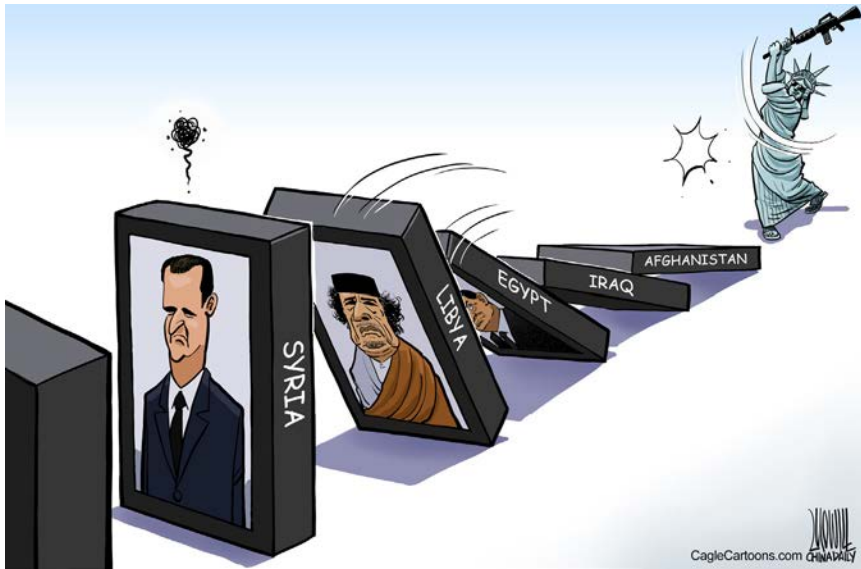
1.

2.

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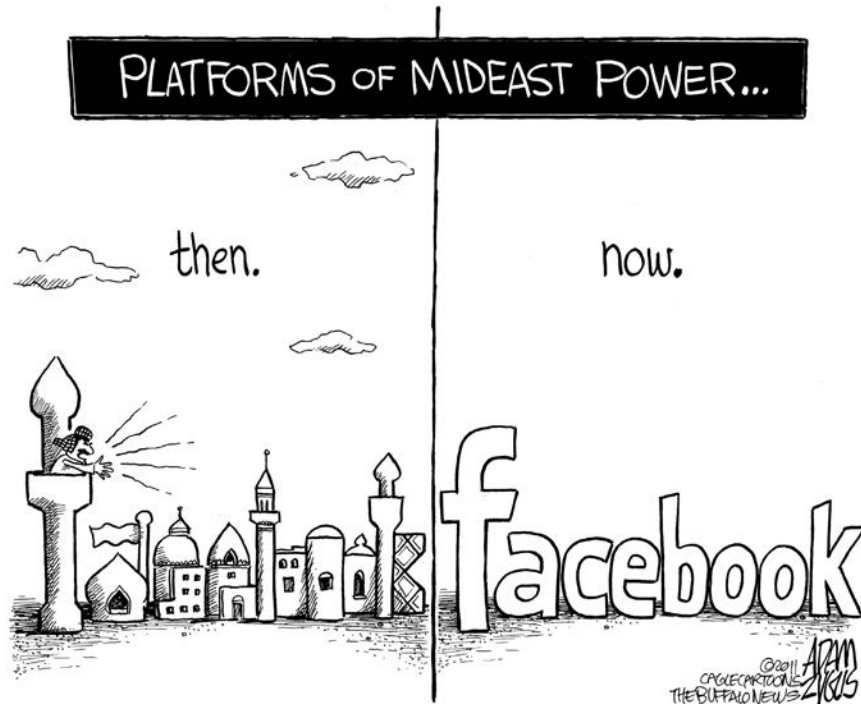
Name: _____

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- 1.
- 2.

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- 1.
- 2.

AMERICAN 'EXCEPTION'-ALISM...

WE SIDE WITH FREEDOM IN THE MIDEAST.*

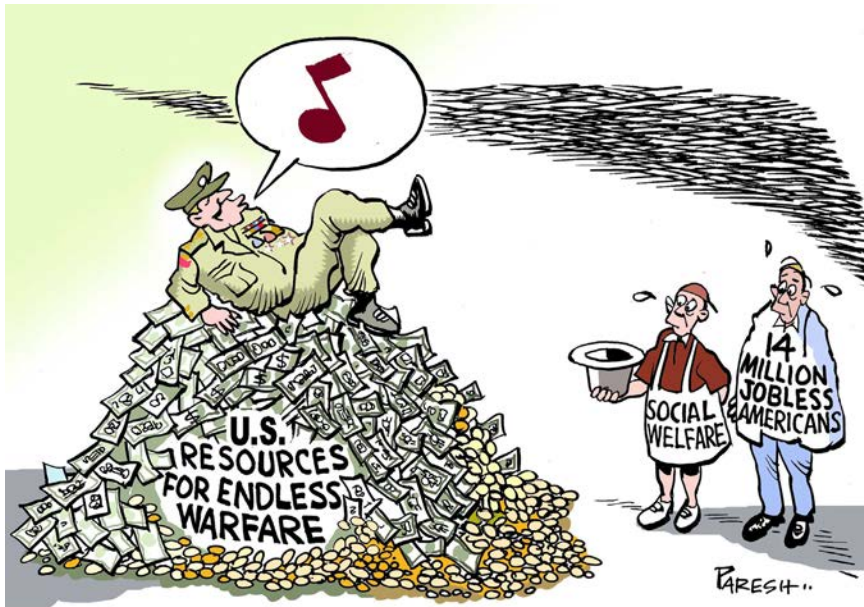


*EXCEPTIONS:
 - IF IT'S BAD FOR ISRAEL
 - IF IT'S BAD FOR OIL CO.S
 - IF WE LIKE THE DICTATOR
 - IF WE APPOINTED THE DICTATOR
 - IF THE REVOLUTION FAILS
 - IF RADICALS ARE ELECTED

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 COLE CARTEONS
 THE BUFFALO NEWS

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- 1.
- 2.



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- 1.
- 2.

Name: _____

BOLIGAN
 EL UNIVERSAL
 Mexico City
 MEXICO

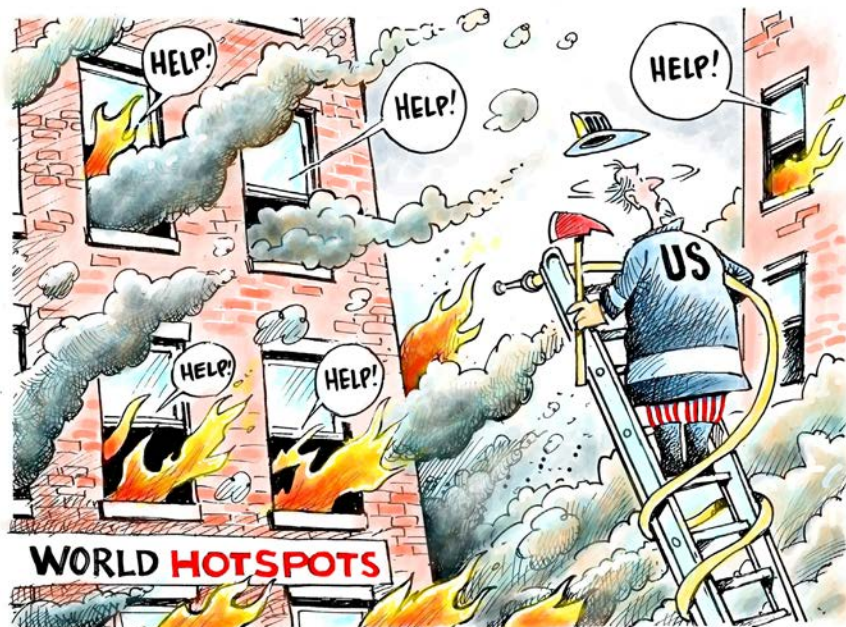


1.

2.

CARTOONISTS & WRITERS SYNDICATE <http://CartoonWeb.com>

Boligan in *El Universal*, Mexico. CWS/Cartoonists International. Reprinted with permission.



1.

2.

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Role-Playing the Four Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues that frame the debate on the U.S. role in the world.

Identify the underlying values of the options.

Integrate arguments and information from the options and the reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Handouts:

Four Options in student text; complete set to Senate Committee members; individual option and “Options in Brief” to each option group

“Presenting Your Option” (TRB-39) for option groups

“Expressing Key Values” (TRB-40) for option groups

“Options: Graphic Organizer” (TRB-41) for all students

“Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate” (TRB-42) for committee members

In the Classroom:

1. Preparing in Groups for the Simulation—Note: In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. Students will use the class period to prepare in groups for the Day Four simulation. Remind students to incorporate the reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. Options Groups—Form four groups of five students each. Assign an option to each group. Distribute “Presenting Your Option,” “Expressing Key Values,” and the individual option to the four option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon on Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to members of the Committee on

Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in “Presenting Your Option.” Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. Committee Members—The remainder of the class will serve as members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Distribute “Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate” to each committee member. While the option groups are preparing their presentations, members of the Committee on Foreign Relations should develop clarifying questions for Day Four. (See “Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate.”) Remind committee members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

3. Understanding the Options—Give all students a copy of “Options: Graphic Organizer.” As they prepare for the simulation, students should begin to fill in the graphic organizer and use it to help them organize their thoughts. They should complete the worksheet during the role play.

Suggestions:

See our short video for teachers “Tips for a Successful Role Play” <www.choices.edu/pd/roleplay.php>

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as members of the Senate Committee. In larger classes, additional roles—such as those of the foreign press or representatives to the UN—may be assigned to students. If these roles are used, they should have an opportunity to question the Senate Committee after the committee has heard from all four options.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Name: _____

Study Guide—Part III

1. How did the role of the UN change immediately after the Cold War?
2. How did the international community respond to the invasion of Iraq in 1990?
3. Explain how events in Somalia in 1993 influenced U.S. public opinion.
4. List two reasons for President George W. Bush's new national security strategy after September 11, 2001.
 - a.
 - b.
5. Why are U.S. and NATO military forces in Afghanistan?
6. Why is Pakistan important to the United States?

Name: _____

7. Fill in the chart below about U.S. government anti-terrorism programs.

Program	Purpose of the Program	Controversies Surrounding the Program

8. What are three challenges the United States faces regarding nuclear weapons?

- a.
- b.
- c.

9. What are the Nunn-Lugar Threat Reduction programs? Have they been successful? Explain.

10. List three countries that the United States is concerned about in terms of nuclear weapons. Give at least one reason for concern.

Country	Reason for Concern

Name: _____

U.S. Security Concerns

How did historical events influence U.S. security policy?

Gulf War

Summary of security challenge:

Actions taken by the U.S.:

How did the outcome of this event affect U.S. policy on foreign intervention?

Somalia

Summary of security challenge:

Actions taken by the U.S.:

How did the outcome of this event affect U.S. policy on foreign intervention?

Yugoslavia

Summary of security challenge:

Actions taken by the U.S.:

How did the outcome of this event affect U.S. policy on foreign intervention?

September 11, 2001

Summary of security challenge:

Actions taken by the U.S.:

How did the outcome of this event affect U.S. policy on foreign intervention?

What current security challenges exist?

Afghanistan/Pakistan

Summarize the current challenges:

Actions taken by the U.S.:

Terrorism

Summarize the current challenges:

Actions taken by the U.S.:

Nuclear Weapons

Summarize the current challenges:

Actions taken by the U.S.:

Name: _____

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Your assignment is to persuade the committee members that your option should serve as the basis for U.S. foreign policy. You will be judged on how well you present your option.

Organizing your group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role. Before preparing your sections of the presentation, work together to address the questions on the “Expressing Key Values” worksheet.

1. Group Organizer: Your job is to organize your group’s three-to-five-minute presentation to the Committee on Foreign Relations. In organizing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. Read your option and review the reading to build a strong case for your option. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet and “Options: Graphic Organizer” will help you organize your thoughts. Keep in mind that although you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group, your group will be expected to make the presentation together.

2. Foreign Policy Adviser: Your job is to explain how your option will address overall U.S. foreign policy concerns. Concentrate your efforts on explaining your option’s response to the leading threats and problems facing the United States. You should review the reading to build a strong case for your option. Make sure that your arguments reflect the underlying beliefs of your assigned option. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet and “Options: Graphic Organizer” will help you organize your thoughts.

3. Economics Expert: Your job is to explain the economic policies of your option. Review the reading to build a strong case for your option. Consider recent events, especially the issue of economic aid, the use of economic

sanctions against Iraq and Iran, and economic conditions in the United States. Pay special attention to the “What policies should we pursue?” section of your option. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet and “Options: Graphic Organizer” will help you organize your thoughts.

4. Military Expert: Your job is to explain the military policies of your option. Review the reading to build a strong case for your option. Consider recent events, especially the lessons of the Persian Gulf War, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and international peacekeeping missions in developing your arguments. Pay special attention to the “What policies should we pursue?” section of your option. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet and “Options: Graphic Organizer” will help you organize your thoughts.

5. Historian: What lessons can be drawn from history to support your group’s position? Carefully read your option and then review the reading with this question in mind. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet and “Options: Graphic Organizer” will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your group will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet, “Options: Graphic Organizer,” and other notes may be used. Group members should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentations of the other groups, you should try to identify the weak points of the competing options. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the Committee on Foreign Relations will ask you clarifying questions. Any member of your group may respond during the question period.

Expressing Key Values

Values play a key role when defining the broad parameters of public policy. What do we believe about ourselves? What matters most to us? When strongly held values come into conflict, which is most important?

Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values. Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, the country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. Since the nation's beginnings a commitment to freedom, democracy, and individual liberty have been a cornerstone of U.S. national identity. At the same time, many have fought hard for justice, equality, and the rights of others. Throughout U.S. history, people have spoken out when policies have not reflected their values and demanded that the government live up to the ideals of its citizens.

For most of the country's existence, the impulse to spread U.S. values beyond its

borders was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. But since World War II, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other country. At times, U.S. leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of U.S. stability and security have been prioritized.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. U.S. citizens are constantly forced to choose among competing values in the ongoing debate about foreign policy. Each of the four options revolves around a distinct set of values. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts. When you have finished the role-play activity you will be asked to construct a fifth option based on your own opinions. During this process you should consider which values matter most to you, and root your policy in those beliefs.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?

a.

b.

2. According to the values of your option, what should be the role of the United States in the world?

3. According to your option, why should these values serve as the basis for U.S. foreign policy?

Name: _____

Options: Graphic Organizer

	What are this option's views on the economy?	What are this option's views on international security?	What are this option's views on international relations?	What are this option's views on health and the environment?	What are this option's views on culture and values?
Option 1					
Option 2					
Option 3					
Option 4					

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate Hearing on U.S. Foreign Policy

Your Role: As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, you consider issues relating to U.S. foreign policy. In the past few years, many of our long-standing assumptions about the world have changed. U.S. foreign policy must keep up with the changes that have taken place. These hearings will introduce you to four distinct positions on the U.S. role in the world.

Your Assignment: While the option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. Your purpose is to ask questions that will require those presenting the options to clarify the key points. When you have finished, you and your classmates should fully understand each option being presented. A good question for Option 1 might be:

Wouldn't Option 1 put us in conflict with some of our most important economic and military allies, such as Saudi Arabia?

You will need to review the readings to analyze the relationship of the options to the range of issues facing the United States today. The “opposing arguments” section under each of the four options will also be helpful to you as you develop your questions. Your teacher will collect the questions at the end of the hearings.

During the simulation, the four option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow committee members to ask questions. The “Evaluation Form” you will receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After the hearings are concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the option groups.

Role-Playing the Four Options: Presentation and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. foreign policy.

Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. foreign policy.

Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

“Evaluation Form” (TRB-44) for committee members

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for the Committee on Foreign Relations. Distribute “Evaluation Form” to the committee members. Instruct members of the committee to fill out the first part of their “Evaluation Form” during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. Managing the Simulation—Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations from each option group. Encourage the groups to speak clearly and convincingly. During the simulation, all students should fill out “Options: Graphic Organizer.”

3. Guiding Discussion—Following the presentations, invite members of the Committee on Foreign Relations to ask clarifying questions. Make sure that each committee member

has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During the question period, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit questions following the presentation of each option.)

Note: If you have assigned additional roles—such as those of the foreign press or representatives to the UN—to other students, these students should have an opportunity to question the Senate Committee after the committee has heard from all four options and before giving time for questioning among the options groups.

Deliberation:

After the role play, it is important for students to have an opportunity to deliberate with one another about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views prior to articulating their own views as an “Option 5.” A good tool to use for deliberation is a focused “fishbowl” activity in which students observe each other discussing their views of each option and record their own views. Directions and handouts for this activity, as well as more information on deliberation, can be found at <www.choices.edu/resources/prosandcons.php>.

Homework:

Students should read each of the four options in the student text.

Evaluation Form

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?

What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?

Option 1

Option 1

Option 2

Option 2

Option 3

Option 3

Option 4

Option 4

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

The Options and Beyond: Ballot and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate individual policy recommendations based on personally held values, historical understanding, and an analysis of current issues.

Compare and contrast values and assumptions with classmates.

Share their views with elected officials.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the four options.

Handouts:

“U.S. Role in the World Student Ballot” (TRB 46-47)

“Creating Your Option Five” (TRB-48)

Scholars Online

These short videos discuss a number of critical foreign policy issues. After students have created their options, show a selection of videos. After each video, have students explain how they believe the United States should respond to the issues raised, according to the options they have outlined. Alternatively, have students watch and respond to a selection of videos for homework. They are free and can be found at http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_usrole_lesson.php.

In the Classroom:

1. Completing the Student Ballot—Distribute “U.S. Role in the World Student Ballot” (or go to the Choices website where the ballot can be completed online. See “Suggestion” below). The Student Ballot is designed to help students articulate the issues that are of most concern to them, consider their own values and beliefs, and weigh the pros and cons of a range of policies. Ask students to complete the ballot individually.

2. Class Discussion—After students have completed the ballot, ask them to share what issues are of most concern to them, what beliefs drive their thinking, and what they feel this means for U.S. policy today and over the next ten years. Invite students to look for areas of consensus and areas of difference within the class. Finally, how would the responses of the class likely differ from a nationwide survey? What factors (e.g., age, region, class, ethnic or religious background, local economic conditions, etc.) might account for the differences?

3. Constructing an Option—Distribute “Creating Your Option Five” to students and ask them to complete the worksheet individually.

Extra Challenges:

1. For homework, instruct students to write a letter to the president, a candidate running for office, the editor of a local newspaper, or a member of Congress. Suggest that students identify the issues that are of most concern to them and then explain the values and policy recommendations of their own option five. Encourage students to illustrate how their option would address current problems and concerns.

2. Encourage students to research the views of candidates running for elective office and then participate in the campaign of a candidate whom they wish to support. Project VoteSmart www.votesmart.org is a non-partisan source for complete coverage of candidate positions.

Suggestion:

“U.S. Role in the World Student Ballot” is available online at www.choices.edu/us-roleballot. Students are encouraged to record their responses online and join the nationwide debate about the U.S. role in the world.

U.S. Role in the World Student Ballot

You are encouraged to enter your responses to these questions online at <www.choices.edu/usroleballot>. This is an opportunity to have your views heard beyond the classroom as part of a national ballot.

Part I: Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options, with “1” being the best option for the United States to follow.

- Option 1: Lead the World to Democracy
- Option 2: Protect U.S. Global Interests
- Option 3: Build a More Cooperative World
- Option 4: Protect the U.S. Homeland

Part II: What most concerns you? Please check only three.

- 1. A clash of ideologies and political values will fuel conflict and instability in the world.
- 2. The gulf between richer and poorer countries will widen, making it increasingly difficult to address common problems.
- 3. Increasing immigration will strain the economy in the United States.
- 4. U.S. jobs will be lost to other countries.
- 5. Loose border controls will threaten U.S. security.
- 6. The United States will act unilaterally and the international community will turn against us.
- 7. Nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons will proliferate and end up in the hands of terrorists.
- 8. The United States will drain its resources trying to solve other countries' problems.
- 9. The United States will lose access to oil and other key resources abroad.
- 10. U.S. troops will get bogged down in conflicts abroad.
- 11. Damage to the global environment will become irreparable.
- 12. More U.S. citizens will die at the hands of terrorists.
- 13. Participation in international organizations will force the United States to follow costly or risky policies.

Part III: What beliefs drive your thinking?

Rate each of the statements below according to your personal beliefs:

- 1 = Strongly Support; 2 = Support; 3 = Oppose; 4 = Strongly Oppose; 5 = Undecided
- In today's interconnected world, many serious problems can be addressed only through international cooperation.
 - The United States will always have to compete with the other nations for power.
 - Any nation acting alone has neither the moral authority nor the capacity to right the world's wrongs.

- The United States should not do business with countries that grossly abuse the human rights of their citizens.
- U.S. resources should be focused on addressing poverty, crime, and budget deficits at home.
- The United States has no right to decide on its own to pressure another country to behave in a certain way.
- The greatest threat to civil liberties comes from the limits we put on ourselves because of our fear of others.
- Using economic and military power around the world creates more enemies than friends.
- Trying to make deep changes in the way the world works is naive and dangerous.
- The United States has a responsibility to spread democracy around the world.
- Free trade and open economies are the best way to foster economic growth at home and around the world.

Part IV: What should we do?

Rate each of the statements below according to your beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support; 2 = Support; 3 = Oppose; 4 = Strongly Oppose; 5 = Undecided

- The United States should spend what is necessary to remain a military superpower, even if this means having less domestic spending, larger deficits, or higher taxes.
- The United States should support broadening the mandate of the UN and other international organizations, even if this means the United States is bound by the decisions of this community of nations and cannot act unilaterally except to defend itself.
- The United States should use military force to protect access to oil and other important raw materials, even when faced with opposition from our traditional allies and the broader international community.
- The United States should commit itself to the elimination of nuclear weapons, even if this means that it will need to rethink its defense strategy.
- The United States should impose trade sanctions on countries that threaten their neighbors with aggression or contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, even if such sanctions harm U.S. trade relations.
- The United States should increase financial aid to countries where poverty and despair are creating the breeding grounds of discontent, even if money needs to be diverted from domestic programs.
- The United States should help negotiate strict international standards to address climate change and other environmental threats, even if compliance means paying more for cars, gasoline, and other products that contribute to pollution.
- The United States should accept fewer immigrants, in addition to cracking down on illegal immigration, even if this deprives the U.S. work force of the talent and ambitions of newcomers and fuels anti-American sentiment abroad.
- The United States should use its military—alone if necessary—to stop gross human rights violations, even if our traditional allies or the broader international community disagrees.

Creating Your Option Five

Instructions: In this exercise you will create your own option for U.S. foreign policy that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, combine ideas from two or three options, or take a new approach altogether. Be careful of contradictions, keep in mind that policies should logically follow beliefs, and remember that the economic cost of your option must be factored into your thinking. There are no right or wrong answers. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive.

Your Option Five: _____ (your title)

1. What do you believe are the most important problems facing the United States?

2. What steps in the foreign policy arena should the United States take over the next ten years?

3. How would your option affect the lives of U.S. citizens? How would your option affect the lives of people in other countries?

4. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your option?

a.

b.

5. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your option?

a.

b.

Key Terms

Introduction and Part I

values	territorial integrity
independence	imperial interests
colonial powers	communism
annexation	fascism
nationalist	international order
self-rule	nuclear weapons
neutrality	containment
international cooperation	deterrence

Part II

democracy	inequality	diplomacy
free market	per capita income	political instability
interdependence	HIV/AIDS	international governmental organization
Americanization	malaria	The World Bank
GDP	malnutrition	IMF
WTO	climate change	democratization
NAFTA	Northern and Southern countries	NGO
bilateral	capitalism	
employment security	UN	

Part III

security	regime
rule of law	collective security
genocide	WMD
humanitarian intervention	ICBM
human rights violations	proliferation
rogue states	

Issues Toolbox

Imperialism:

The policy of extending the rule of a nation over foreign countries as well as acquiring colonies and dependencies.

At the end of the nineteenth century, supporters of imperialism by the United States used several different arguments to advocate their point of view. A school of thought led by naval Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan stressed the importance of naval power for the U.S. physical and economic security. This meant that the United States would need to acquire and maintain naval bases around the globe.

Others drew from Darwinian theory and suggested that there was a struggle between countries and people in which only the fittest would survive. They believed that the white, Anglo-Saxon race and particularly white U.S. citizens were best-suited to spread their religious, cultural, and civic values throughout the world.

Senator Alfred J. Beveridge of Indiana stressed the economic benefits of imperialism and believed that the United States was obligated to govern others who were not able to govern themselves.

Cold War:

The Cold War dominated the foreign policy of the United States and the Soviet Union between the late 1940s and the late 1980s. Following the defeat of Hitler in 1945, Soviet-U.S. relations began to deteriorate. The United States adopted a policy of containing the spread of Soviet communism around the world. During this period, both the Soviet Union and the United States devoted vast resources to their militaries but never engaged in direct military action against each other. Because both the Soviet Union and the United States had nuclear weapons and were in competition around the world, nearly every foreign policy decision was intricately examined for its potential impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. The end of the Cold War in the late 1980s

forced policy makers to try to define a new guiding purpose for their foreign policy.

Human Rights:

Equal and inalienable rights for all members of the human family. After the horrors of World War II, nations initiated efforts to develop international standards to protect people from individuals, groups, or nations. There is debate at home and abroad about the nature and scope of human rights. Some believe that human rights exist to protect individuals' civil and political freedoms. Civil and political rights include the right to life, liberty and personal security, freedom from slavery, torture and arbitrary arrest, as well as the rights to a fair trial, free speech, free movement, and privacy. Others have argued that there are economic, social, and cultural rights as well. These include economic rights related to work, fair pay, and leisure; social rights concerning an adequate standard of living for health, well-being, and education; and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. International consensus is growing that human rights should encompass the full spectrum spanned by these viewpoints.

Diplomatic Relations:

A formal arrangement between states by which they develop and maintain the terms of their relationship. This often includes establishing treaties regarding trade and investment, the treatment of each other's citizens, and the nature of their security relationship. It also includes the establishment of an embassy and consuls in each other's countries to facilitate representation on issues of concern for each nation.

Sovereignty:

The absolute right of a state to govern itself. The UN Charter prohibits external interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state without the state's consent.

Sovereignty means freedom from external control. Traditionally, governments, whether they are headed by democratically elected officials or self-imposed dictators—have strongly defended the principle of sovereignty. Sovereignty has served as the foundation of international organizations. Governments have supported the UN, the League of Nations, and earlier international efforts based on the assumption that their sovereignty would be protected. In practical terms, sovereignty has never been absolute. Strong countries have always influenced the policies of weaker countries. The United States, for example, has long had a hand in shaping the foreign policies and economic development of Latin American nations.

In recent decades, sovereign states have faced pressure from two levels. From above, the principle of sovereignty has been eroded by forces and institutions that extend beyond national boundaries. The growth of world trade, multinational corporations, and even international environmental organizations has forced governments to accept limits on their sovereignty. Meanwhile, state sovereignty has increasingly been challenged from below by minority groups and regional interests. In Russia, for example, the central government has signed agreements with regional leaders to broaden local control over economic affairs.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula on current issues to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options and question each other. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts momentum. The best strategy for managing the role play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Fostering Group Deliberation

The consideration of alternative views is not finished when the options role play is over. The options presented are framed in stark terms in order to clarify differences. In the end, students should be expected to articulate their own views on the issue. These views will be more sophisticated and nuanced if students have had an opportunity to challenge one another to think more critically about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views. See Guidelines for Deliberation <www.choices.edu/resources/guidelines.php> for suggestions on deliberation.

Adjusting for Students of Differing Abilities

Teachers of students at all levels—from middle school to AP—have used Choices materials successfully. Many teachers make adjustments to the materials for their students. Here are some suggestions:

- Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps and word pictures.
- Require students to answer guiding questions in text as checks for understanding.
- Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.
- Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.
- Read some sections of the readings out loud.
- Ask students to create graphic organizers for sections of the reading, or fill in ones you have partially completed.
- Supplement with different types of readings, such as from literature or a newspaper.
- Ask student groups to create a bumper sticker, PowerPoint presentation, or collage representing their option.
- Do only some activities and readings from the unit rather than all of them.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Students and teachers both know that group grades can be motivating for students, while at the same time they can create controversy. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It is also important to give individual grades for groupwork assignments in order to recognize an individual's contribution to the group. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self Evaluation: Having students complete self evaluations is an effective way to encourage them to think about their own learning. Self evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Students' Original Options: One important outcome of a Choices current

issues unit is the original option developed and articulated by each student after the role play. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints.

The students' options should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: Research shows that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than from lecture-discussion format. Students using Choices curricula demonstrate a greater ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. A variety of types of testing questions and assessment devices can require students to demonstrate critical thinking and historical understanding.

For Further Reading

Daniels, Harvey, and Marilyn Bizar. *Teaching the Best Practice Way: Methods That Matter, K-12*. Portland, Maine: Stenhouse Publishers, 2005.

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

Group Assessment	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Needs Improvement</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
 Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Choices Curricula Promote 21st Century Skills

Students are best able to understand and analyze complex content if they are actively engaged with the material. The Choices Program uses a problem-based approach to make complex international issues accessible and meaningful for students of diverse abilities and learning styles. All of our units address these 21st century skills:

Critical Thinking

Students examine contrasting policy options and explore the underlying values and interests that drive different perspectives.

Media and Technology Literacy

Students critique editorials, audio and video sources, maps and other visuals for perspective and bias. They watch video clips to gather and assess information from leading scholars.

Global Awareness

Readings and primary source documents immerse students in multiple perspectives on complex international issues.

Collaboration

Students work in groups to make oral presentations, analyze case studies, and develop persuasive arguments.

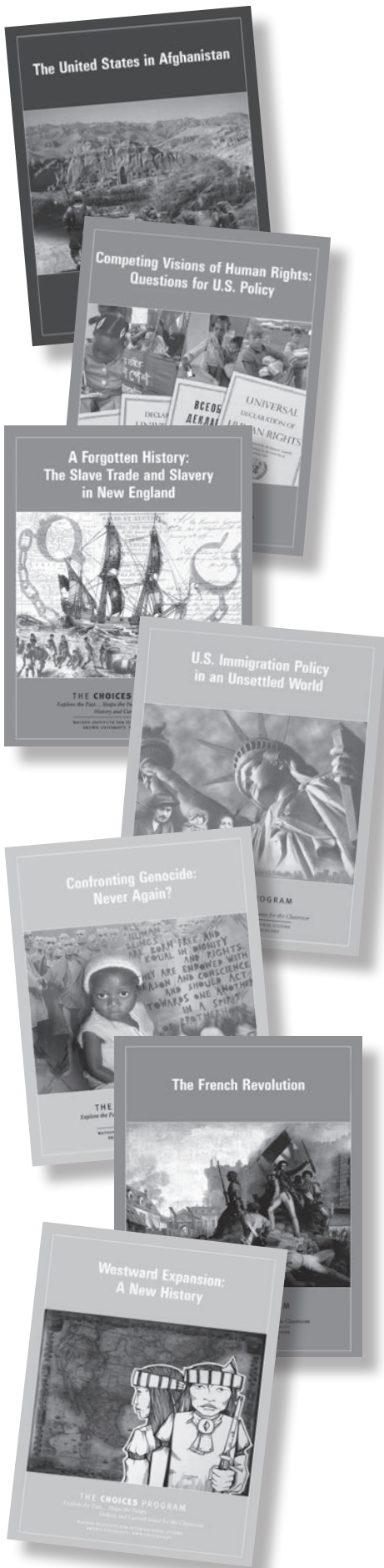
Creativity and Innovation

Creating political cartoons, memorializing historical events artistically, or developing original policy options are some of the innovative ways that students express themselves.

Civic Literacy

Choices materials empower students with the skills and habits to actively engage with their communities and the world.

www.choices.edu



The U.S. Role in a Changing World

The U.S. Role in a Changing World helps students reflect on global changes, assess national priorities, and decide for themselves the future direction of U.S. policy. The reading offers an insight into the forces that are expected to shape international relations in the twenty-first century.

The U.S. Role in a Changing World is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

THE CHOICES PROGRAM

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