

**Makers and Shapers  
of the U. S. Foreign  
Policy  
Instruments of  
Modern American  
Foreign Policy**



# Outline

- **Who makes foreign policy?**
- **Who shapes foreign policy?**
- **What are the main instruments of FP?**
- **The policy objectives and priorities of the U.S. global diplomacy**
- **Influences on U.S. foreign policy-making**
- **Party Platforms 2012: Viewpoints on Foreign Policy**



# Who makes foreign policy?

- **The President and his key advisors**
- **Congress**
- **The Bureaucracy:**
  1. **Secretaries of State, Defense, the Treasury**
  2. **The Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff (JCOS)**
  3. **The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency**
  4. **The National Security Council (NSC)**





# **POLICY MAKERS**

## **The President and his key advisors**



# Presidential prerogative in foreign affairs

- In **1936** the Supreme Court acknowledged this prerogative in *the case of The United States vs. Curtiss-Wright Corporation*, ruling that **the president possessed inherent constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs**, whereas in the domestic sphere the policy-making responsibilities were clearly vested in Congress.



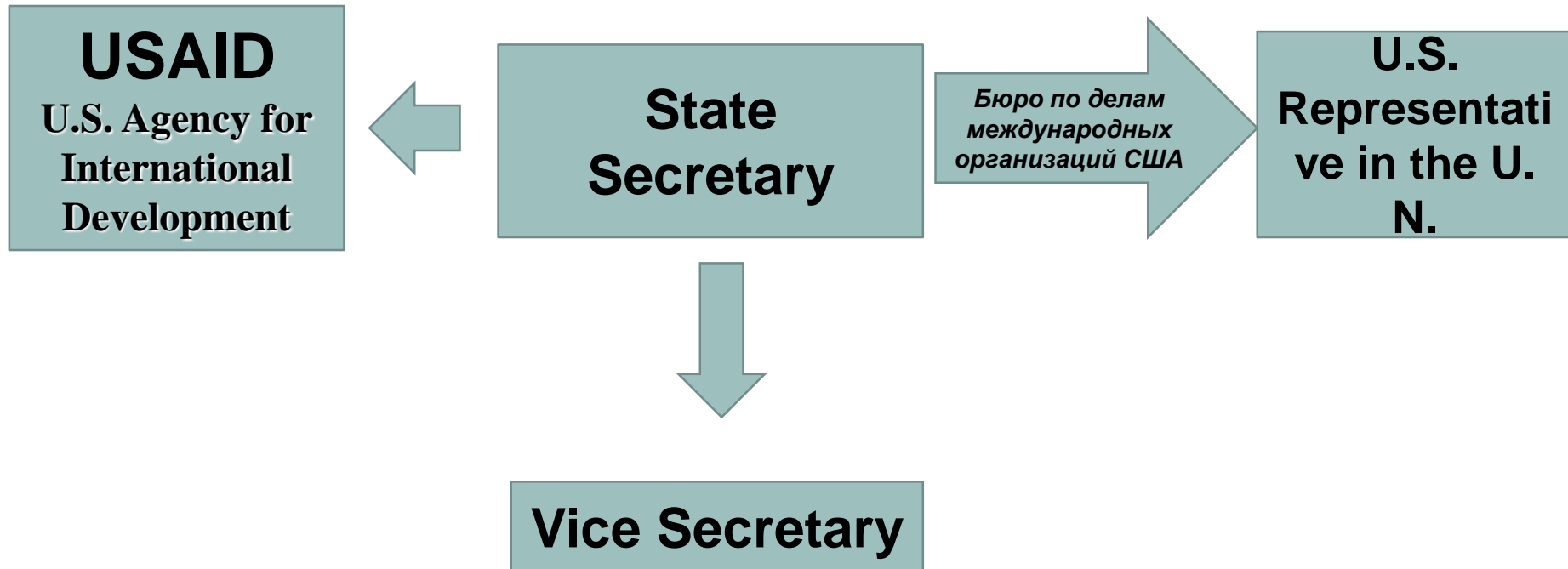
# **President as a Policy Maker**

- 1. negotiates treaties,**
- 2. appoints U.S. diplomats,**
- 3. receives ambassadors of foreign countries,**
- 4. recognizes countries, and enters into agreements,**
- 5. as commander in chief of the armed forces defends American lives and interests**



# President's team

*The US Department of State (Created in 1789 by the Congress)*



**State Secretary since 21 January 2009**



# The Secretary of State's duties

- Serves as the President's principal adviser on U.S. foreign policy;
- Conducts negotiations relating to U.S. foreign affairs;
- Grants and issues passports to American citizens and exequaturs to foreign consuls in the United States;
- Advises the President on the appointment of U.S. ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and other diplomatic representatives;
- Advises the President regarding the acceptance, recall, and dismissal of the representatives of foreign governments;
- Personally participates in or directs U.S. representatives to international conferences, organizations, and agencies;
- Negotiates, interprets, and terminates treaties and agreements;
- Ensures the protection of the U.S. Government to American citizens, property, and interests in foreign countries;
- Supervises the administration of U.S. immigration laws abroad;
- Provides information to American citizens regarding the political, economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian conditions in foreign countries;
- Informs the Congress and American citizens on the conduct of U.S. foreign relations;
- Promotes beneficial economic intercourse between the United States and other countries;
- Administers the Department of State;
- Supervises the Foreign Service of the United States.





**POLICY MAKERS  
CONGRESS -  
SENATE+HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES**

# **The foreign and military policy committees in Congress**

- **The Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed service Committee in the Senate;**
- **The International Affairs and the Armed service Committees in the House of Representatives.**



# Congress authority in foreign policy

- In one area important in contemporary world politics -- **trade -- authority to approve agreements is granted exclusively to Congress**
- The President can not even complete a trade negotiation without a prior and explicit delegation of authority by Congress.



# Executive and legislative branches

- Congress is not monolithic in its views and only sometimes acts as a unitary body.
- Legislation as it moves through Congress is changed through amendments.
- Presidential veto is a powerful weapon for encouraging Congress to work with the President.
- For Congress to override a presidential veto requires **a two-thirds vote separately in each chamber.**
- On the vote **in 1986** to impose economic sanctions on South Africa, the Congress did succeed in overriding a presidential veto.





## **Two sets of Congressional considerations on major foreign policy issue:**

- **How Congress will react to an issue from a policy perspective.** *The foreign policy makers (FPM) listen to the views of individual members, the Congressional leadership and the committee chairs.*
- **Congress has a very important duty of providing funding** *for government programs, both as part of the annual budget process and often on an emergency basis through supplemental appropriations.*





# **POLICY MAKERS** **The National** **Security Council**



# **The National Security Council** *the nation's highest-level for policy-making body*



1. **The President**
2. **the Secretary of State,**
3. **the National Security Advisor to the President,**
4. **the Secretary of Defense,**
5. **the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,**
6. **the Director of Central Intelligence**



# **Bipartisanship in foreign policy**

- **Bipartisanship is defined as a condition in which major policies obtain the support of both major political parties.**
- **The Constitution stimulated no natural harmony in foreign affairs (WHY?), but rather anticipated a considerable degree of tension and inefficiencies between the President and Congress (check and balances).**



# Examples of bipartisanship

- **1943-50** during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations (consultations with the leaders of both parties)
- **1953-58** during the Eisenhower administration there was close collaboration between the President and the congressional leadership of both parties.



# **The end of bipartisan cooperation in the 1960-70s, the main reasons:**

- **The Vietnam War;**
- **Power in Congress moved from an older generation to younger members who fought against the tight control of Congress;**
- **More committees were organized in Congress;**
- **Institutional changes decentralized power**



# **Shapers of the U.S. foreign policy**

- **interest groups or non-governmental organizations (NGOs);**
- **think tanks;**
- **Mass Media.**



# **Non-governmental organization**

**A NGO is any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level, task-oriented, and driven by people with a common interest.**

**There are different kinds of interest groups:**

- 1. economic interest groups,**
- 2. groups made up of people with strong attachments and identifications to their country of national origin (American Jews),**
- 3. the human rights interest groups (Amnesty International).**
- 4. the ecological or environmental groups, sometimes called the “Greens”.**





# **The key tools used by NGOs to influence foreign policy-making:**

- **picketing;**
- **Web sites;**
- **campaigns on issues;**
- **newsletters.**



# Think Tanks

- **Think tanks are independent institutions organized to conduct research and produce independent, policy-relevant knowledge.**
- They *fill a critical void between the academic world, on the one hand, and the realm of government, on the other.*
- Think tanks' primary contribution is to help bridge this gap between the worlds of ideas and action.



# Think Tanks - examples

- The Institute for Government Research (1916), the forerunner of the Brookings Institution (1927).
- At the dawn of the 21st century, there were more than **1,200 think tanks**:
  - *The Institute for International Economics (IIE),*
  - *the Inter-American Dialogue,*
  - *the Washington Institute for Near East Policy,*
  - *the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).*



# **Think Tanks specialized in Foreign Affairs**

- **FPRI – Foreign Policy Research Institute;**
- **FPIF – Foreign Policy in Focus;**
- **CNS – James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies.**



# **How do Think Tanks Affect American foreign policy-makers ?**

- 1. by generating original ideas and options for policy,**
- 2. by supplying a ready pool of experts for employment in government,**
- 3. by offering venues for high-level discussions,**
- 4. by educating U.S. citizens about the world,**
- 5. by supplementing official efforts to mediate and resolve conflict.**



# **Think tanks exploit multiple channels and marketing strategies**

- publishing articles, books, and occasional papers;
- appearing regularly on television, op-ed-pages, and in newspaper interviews;
- producing reader-friendly issue briefs, fact-sheets, and web pages;
- taking part in congressional hearings.



# The media and the US foreign policy-making

- *“Foreign policy isn't made by the media. But in the Information Age, it can't be made without it”- Warren P. Strobel, a senior editor at U.S. News & World Report.*
- **The rapid transmission of information** mean that officials must make decisions more rapidly than they might like.
- **Democratization in access to media tools** means that more groups can affect foreign policy.



# **The instruments of Modern American Foreign Policy:**

- **Diplomacy;**
- **The United Nations;**
- **The International Monetary Structure (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF));**
- **Economic Aid;**
- **Collective Security (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization)**





# American diplomacy

- **Today the U. S. has diplomatic relations with some 180 nations and maintains over 250 diplomatic posts around the world.**
- **The Department of State is pursuing "transformational diplomacy" which** goal *"is to work with others to build and sustain democratic states that will respond to the needs of their people and conduct themselves responsibly in the international system"*



# The policy objectives and priorities of America's global diplomacy

1. Europe and Eurasia,
2. Near Eastern Affairs,
3. South and Central Asia: *Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan* ,
4. East Asia and the Pacific: *Australia, Japan, Malaysia, Mongolia, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, China, Japan, New Zealand, Vietnam, Cambodia*
5. the Western Hemisphere,
6. Africa



# **Guiding Principles in Foreign Policy Today**

**[http://www.whitehouse.gov/iss  
ues/foreign-policy](http://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy)**



# National Security Strategy

- [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)



# Why is the role of the UN to the USA as an instrument of foreign policy usually underestimated?

- During several decades after its founding in 1945, the UN was a direct servant of American interest;
- The US conducted wars under the auspices of the UN;
- The USA provided 40% of the UN budget in 1946 ( the first year of operation) and **26% of the 1.2 billion UN budget** in 1997-1998 (the Russian Federation - **4.4 %**).



# Economic aid

- The first economic assistance plan of utmost importance was the Marshall Plan set up to rebuild Europe after WW2.
- It was approved by Congress in 1947 and by 1952, the US had spent over \$34 billion for the relief, reconstruction and economic recovery of Western Europe.



# **Economic aid**

- **The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID 1961) is the largest and most diverse U.S. government foreign assistance agency.**
- **it is joined by programs from the Departments of State, the Treasury, Agriculture, Defense, and Health and Human Services, etc.**
- **5 programs illustrate the range of U.S. government foreign assistance initiatives beyond USAID's programs: humanitarian relief, debt relief, the Peace Corps, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief.**



# Economic aid

- **Today's programs sustain diverse activities in such areas:**

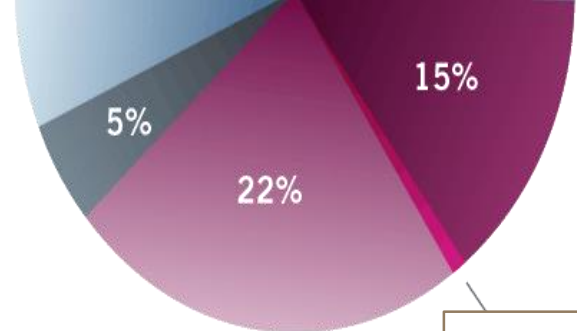
**as agriculture, health, education, infrastructure, HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment, democracy, governance, volunteer programs, and humanitarian assistance during emergencies.**

- **U.S. foreign assistance comes in many forms: cash support, commodities such as food or drugs, debt relief, and technical expertise.**





# Foreign Aid



**FA 1% from Gross National Product in 2012**



**State Department  
USAID  
(Millennium Challenge Corporation)-**

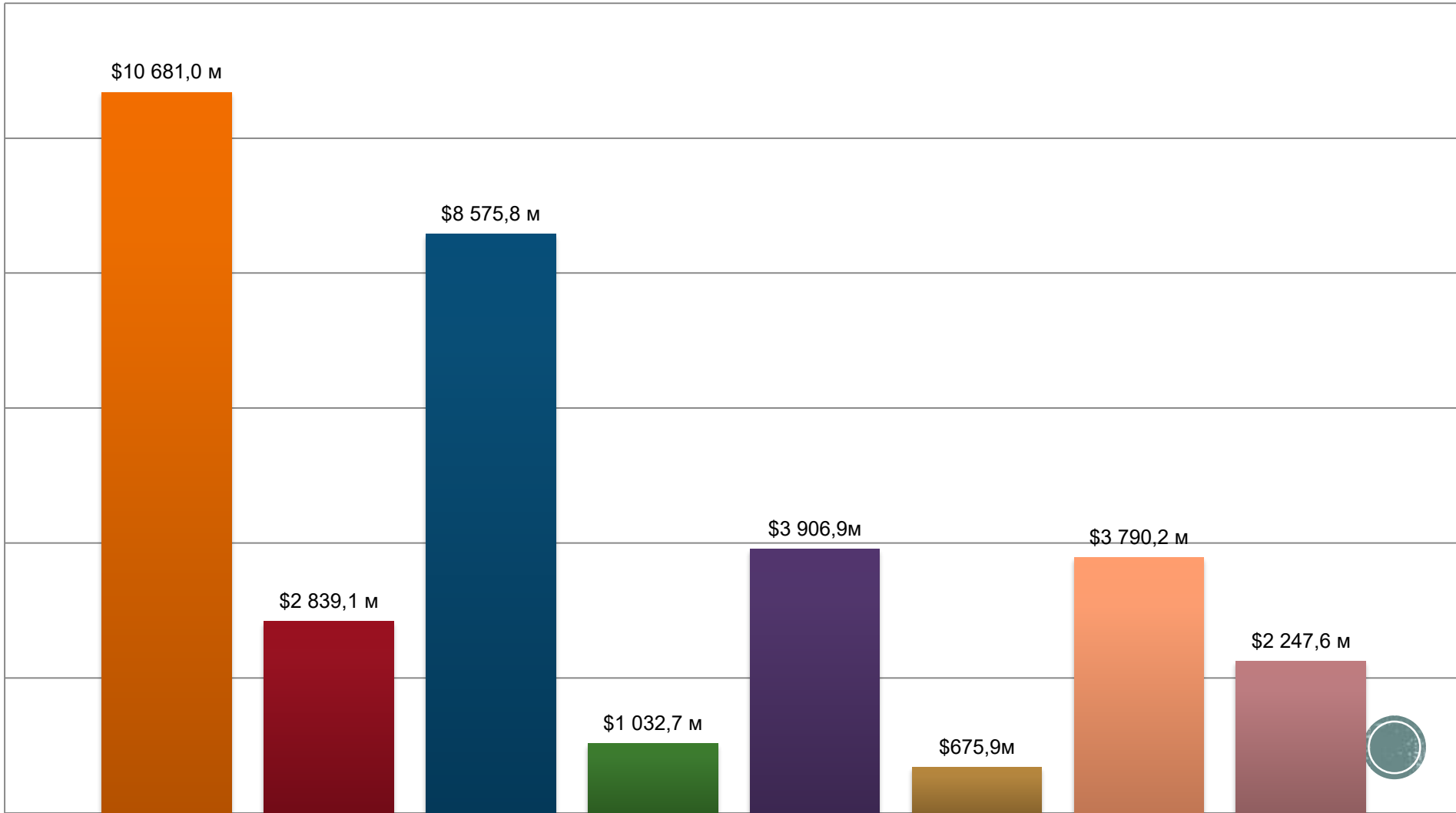
**\$ 47.0 bill.  
(FY 2012)**

**FA in different countries**

FY 2012		FY 2013	
Country	Mil \$	Страна	Распределение средств(в млн. \$)
Israel	\$ 3,075	Israel	\$ 3,100
Afghanistan	\$ 2,327	Afghanistan	\$ 2,505
Pakistan	\$ 2,102	Pakistan	\$ 2,228
Iraq	\$ 1,683	Iraq	\$ 2,045
Egypt	\$ 1,557	Egypt	\$ 1,563

# FA Distribution (2016)

- Мир и Безопасность
- Здравоохранение
- Экономическое развитие
- Гуманитарная помощь
- Демократия и права человека
- Образование и гражданский сектор
- Защита окружающей среды
- Управление программами



# Collective security

The purpose of collective security as an instrument of foreign policy is *prevention* and success of this kind has to be *measured according to what did not happen*

1. **the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) - 1949;**
2. **ANZUS, a treaty tying Australia and New Zealand to the USA -1951,**
3. **SEATO – the Southeastern Asia Treaty - 1954.**



# NATO

- **NATO is America's premier alliance, the strategic link between North America and Europe.**
- **In 1994, NATO was a military alliance of 16 countries, oriented toward countering a Soviet Union that no longer existed**
- **By 2010, NATO had 28 members and 31 partnerships across Eurasia, the Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf.**
- **They strengthen anti-terrorist efforts to help other states improve their counter-terrorist abilities.**



# NATO expansion



Source: NATO

# Influences on U.S. foreign policy-making

## Traditional influences:

- **economic** -- *trade, macroeconomic reform, and development;*
- **political** - *settling crises, dealing with international disputes, dealing with conflicts that have erupted, and exercising diplomacy to prevent future conflicts;*

## Newly emerging influences:

- **terrorism,**
- **crime**
- **environment,**
- **international health.**



# “Fresh start” in U.S.- Russia relations in 2009

- In March, 2009, U.S. Secretary of State H. Clinton and S. Lavrov symbolically pressed a “reset” button.
- The new nuclear arms reduction treaty (called **New START**) was signed by President Obama and President Medvedev on April 8, 2010 in Prague.
- The agreement cut the number of long-range nuclear weapons held by each side to about 1,500, down from the current 1,700 to 2,200 set by the Moscow Treaty of 2002.
- ***The New START replaced the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which expired in December 2009.***





# The Nuclear Posture Review

- April 6, 2010 - President Barack Obama changed the nuclear weapons posture of the United States after receiving the Nuclear Posture Review from the Department of Defense
- The review recognizes that *"the greatest threat to U.S. and global security is no longer a nuclear exchange between nations, but nuclear terrorism by violent extremists and nuclear proliferation to an increasing number of states,"* said President Obama.





# Веблиография

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