

PSCI 2500 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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Today

- Finish foreign policy.
- Global governance.

Lessons

- Lesson #1: American foreign policy has multiple priorities (power, prosperity, peace, principles). Sometimes they are in conflict.
- Lesson #2: There are competing world views in AFP.
- Lesson #3: American foreign policy is made by multiple, competing actors.

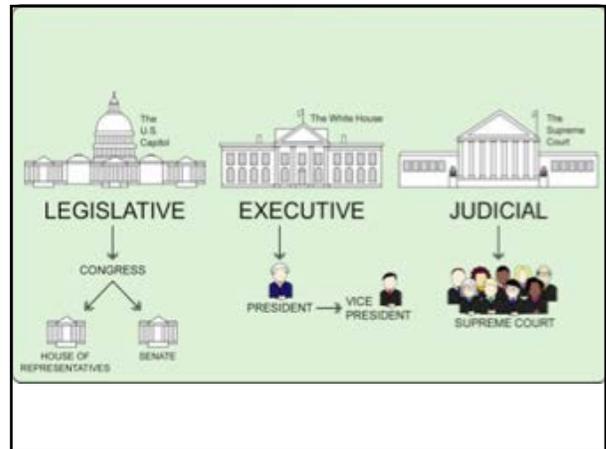
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Who Makes American Foreign Policy?

- Multiple actors within government *contribute* to foreign policy.
- Multiple actors outside government *influence* foreign policy.

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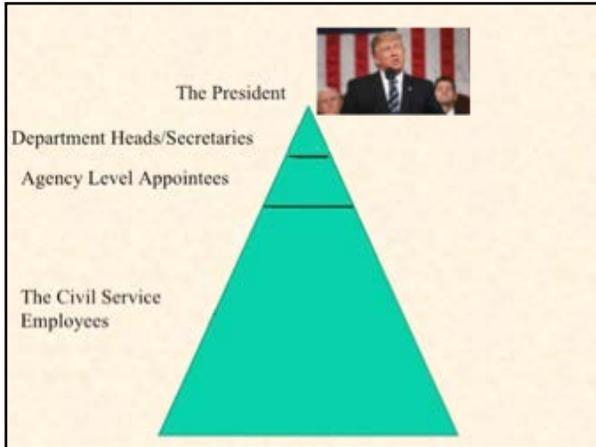
The Executive Branch

- President: most influential actor.
 - Cabinet secretaries.
 - Cabinet departments.
 - State, Defense, Commerce, many others.
 - National Security Advisor.
 - National Security Council.

Executive agencies that participate in foreign policy-making.

FIGURE 2.1 The Foreign Affairs Summary

- Overall Foreign Affairs Responsibility:** National Security Council, State Dept., Defense Dept. (Pentagon)
- Foreign Economic Policy:** Commerce Dept., Treasury Dept., Agriculture Dept., National Economic Council, Bureau of Economic Growth (State Dept.), U.S. Trade Representative, International Trade Commission
- Political/Democratization/Economic Development:** Agency for International Development (AID), Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (State Dept.)
- Intelligence Agencies:** Director of National Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, Counterterrorism Center
- International Domestic Policy:** Environmental Protection Agency, Office of International Drug Control Policy, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention



A More Accurate Model

- Bureaucratic politics.
 - Each department and agency is a distinct bureaucracy.
 - Each has its own identity and priorities.
 - Agencies compete over vision, strategy and tactics.
 - They also compete to influence the president.
 - "Where you stand depends on where you sit."

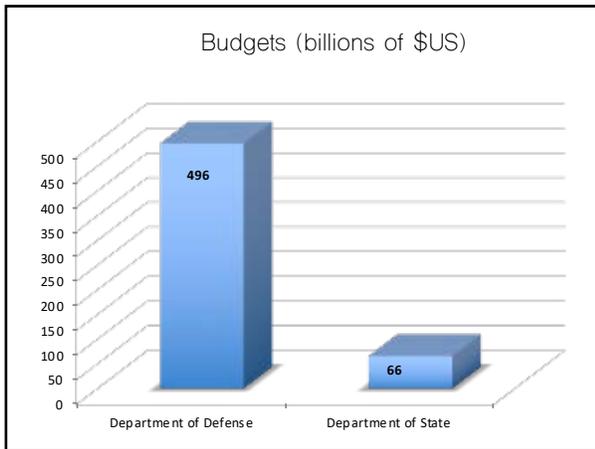
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Bureaucratic Politics

- Department of State.
 - Diplomacy.
 - Nurturing of relationships.
 - "Shades of gray".
- Department of Defense.
 - Emphasis on military readiness and conduct of war.
 - World is divided: friends and enemies.



State vs Defense

- Central America in the 1980s.
 - Issue: pro-American dictators vs insurgencies supported by Soviets.
 - State: dictators are hated by their publics.
 - Defense: dictators support us in the Cold War.
 - US supported dictators.
 - One result: increased anti-Americanism.

State vs Defense

- Iraq War (2003).
 - Colin Powell (Secretary of State): opposed.
 - Richard Cheney (Vice-President) and Donald Rumsfeld (Secretary of Defense) favored.

What About Economic Sanctions?

- A "tool" to use to pressure states to conform to desired behavior.
 - Restrict trade.
 - Freeze bank accounts.
 - Restrict travel of key individuals.
- Different agencies have differing viewpoints on sanctions.

Executive agencies that participate in foreign policy-making.

Generally more likely to support sanctions.

Generally oppose economic sanctions.

National Security Agency

- There is a: *You do not need to know all these!*
 - National Security Advisor.
 - Member of presidential staff.
 - National Security Council.
 - Key advisory group for national security.

Organs Devoted to National Security

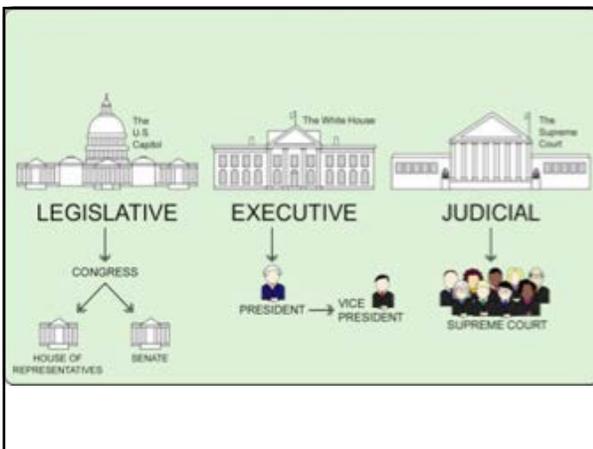
- There is a: *You do not need to know all these!*
 - National Security Advisor.
 - National Security Council.
 - Multiple intelligence agencies.
 - CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency – 17 agencies in all.

Other Actors in Executive Branch

- *You do not need to know all these!*
 - US Trade Representative.
 - US Agency for International Development (USAID).
 - Center for Disease Control (CDC).
 - National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.
 - Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).
 - National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

Who Makes American Foreign Policy?

- So what is the point?
 - The president is the most important actor in making and implementing foreign policy.
 - But there are multiple, competing actors in the executive branch.



Congress

- Only Congress can declare war.
 - But conflict can take place without official declaration.
 - The last official declaration: December 7, 1941.
 - Conflicts since then:
 - Korea, Vietnam, Grenada, Panama, Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Iraq.
 - Other "interventions."

Congress

- Only Congress can declare war.
- House of Representatives.
 - Controls budget ("power of the purse").
 - Has dedicated committees: Foreign Policy, Armed Forces, Intelligence, more.
- Senate.
 - Ratifies treaties.
- Both can call cabinet members to testify.

Supreme Court

- Not a key actor, but:
 - Can rule treaty commitments unconstitutional.
 - Can adjudicate disputes between executive and legislative branches.

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Who Influences AFP?

- Interest groups.
- The media.
- Public opinion.



Who Influences AFP?

- Interest groups.
 - Economic groups.
 - Identity groups.
 - Political interest groups.
- Examples
 - Corporations
 - Israeli or Cuban support organizations
 - Human rights, women's, environmental groups.



Who Influences AFP?

- The media (cheerleader or critic?)
 - Sometimes strongly pro-American policy.
 - 1950s and early 1960s: strong support for South Vietnam.
 - Sometimes highly critical.
 - Late 1960s and early 1970s: coverage of Vietnam War.
 - "The war brought into your living room."

Foreign Policy Generally

- This has been an examination of American foreign policy.
- Dynamics are similar in other advanced democracies.
- In dictatorships, the legislature and public matter less.
 - But bureaucratic politics and interest groups are influential.

Anarchy vs Chaos

- We live in an anarchic world.
- Why isn't it chaotic?



"Government" vs "Governance"

- We have no world *government*.
- But we do have *governance*: the regulation of relations in the absence of a formal, overarching government.

Example: Mail

- Suppose I am in Vietnam. You send me a letter from the US. Two weeks later I receive it. Why?
 - The Universal Postal Union (1874) governs international mail norms and practices.



Example: Maritime Rules

- Two privately owned ships approach each other in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. If they do nothing, they will collide. What do they do?

We don't want this! →



Example: Maritime Rules

- What do they do?
 - The answer is complex. It depends on angles, wind direction, and speed.
 - But it is governed by the *Convention on the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea* (1972).

Example: Global Economics

- Who coordinates global economic policy?
 - Many organizations, businesses, governments.
 - Inter-governmental: International Monetary Fund (IMF).
 - World Economic Forum (WEF).
 - G-7 and G-20.
 - Many more.



Example: Human Trafficking

- Human trafficking is a global business worth US\$150 billion annually.*
- There are 21 million victims.*
 - forced labor.
 - prostitution (including children).
 - human organs.
- Much trafficking is done across borders.

* International Labor Organization (ILO) data.

Example: Human Trafficking

- Inter-governmental (IGOs):
 - UN Inter-Agency Coordination Group Against Trafficking.
 - Global Migration Group.
- Non-governmental (NGOs):
 - There are hundreds, some local and some global.

UN Interagency Coordination Group
against Trafficking in Persons



Example: Human Trafficking

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Kalamazoo Anti-Human Trafficking Coalition
<http://www.kahtc.org>



Example: Human Trafficking

- International law:
 - Forced labor conventions (1930, 1957).
 - Child labor convention (1999).
 - Anti-human smuggling convention (2000).
 - Sale and prostitution of children protocol (2002).

So, what is governance?

- From the United Nations:
 - **** Governance** is "the sum of laws, norms, policies, and institutions that define, constitute, and mediate trans-border relations between states, cultures, citizens, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, and the market."

From the United Nations:
<http://www.unhistory.org/briefing/15GlobalGov.pdf>

From the United Nations:

- Institutions, policies, rules, practices, norms, procedures, and initiatives.
- Goal: more predictability, stability, and order in response to transnational challenges...
- ...which go beyond the capacity of a single state to solve.

From the United Nations:
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Examples of "Problems without passports" (cannot be solved by sovereign states acting alone)

- Health pandemics
 - HIV/AIDS: less than 1 million in 1990; 37 million in 2015 (UNAIDS)
 - Ebola, zika, SARS, etc.
- Humanitarian crises and displaced persons
 - 2015: 65.3 million; 9% increase over 2014 (UNHCR).

Examples of "Problems without passports" (cannot be solved by sovereign states acting alone)

- Nuclear proliferation.
 - Nine countries (US, UK, France, Russia, China, India, Pakistan, Israel, North Korea).
 - Fear of "rogue" countries (Libya [past], North Korea) or terrorist organizations.
- Failed states.
 - 16 countries are at or in danger of collapse (Fund for Peace).
 - War, economic crisis, ethnic cleansing, mass rape, refugees.

Who are the actors in global governance?

- Inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) >250.
 - IGOs are created by states to serve their interests.
 - But IGO bureaucracies demonstrate some degree of autonomy.
 - The UN Secretariat has 44,000 civil servants (staff members)!

Secrétariat des Nations Unies



Who are the actors in global governance?

- Inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) >250.
- Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) >8,500.
 - Examples: Oxfam, Red Cross, Transparency International, Doctors Without Borders, World Wildlife Fund.
 - Sometimes called INGOs (international non-governmental organizations) to distinguish them from domestic NGOs.

Who are the actors in global governance?

- Inter-governmental organizations (IGOs). >250
- Non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
- Multinational companies (MNCs).
 - Examples: Google, Apple, Ford, Exxon, Pfizer.

Who are the actors in global governance?

- Inter-governmental organizations (IGOs). >250
- Non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
- Multinational companies (MNCs).
- Transnational civil society organizations.
 - International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL).

Who are the actors in global governance?

- Inter-governmental organizations (IGOs). >250
- Non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
- Multinational companies (MNCs).
- Transnational civil society organizations.
- Think tanks and foundations.
 - Examples: Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, Gates Foundation, Ford Foundation.

Who are the actors in global governance?*

- Inter-governmental organizations (IGOs). >250
- Non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
- Multinational companies (MNCs).
- Transnational civil society organizations.
- Think tanks and foundations.
- Financial institutions (especially banks).
- Terrorist networks (example: al-Qaeda).
- Criminal and drug-trafficking networks.

* These are just some.

Global Governance

- The need for global governance is not an *if* question. It is a *how* question.
- Not "do we need it?" but "how can we achieve it?"

