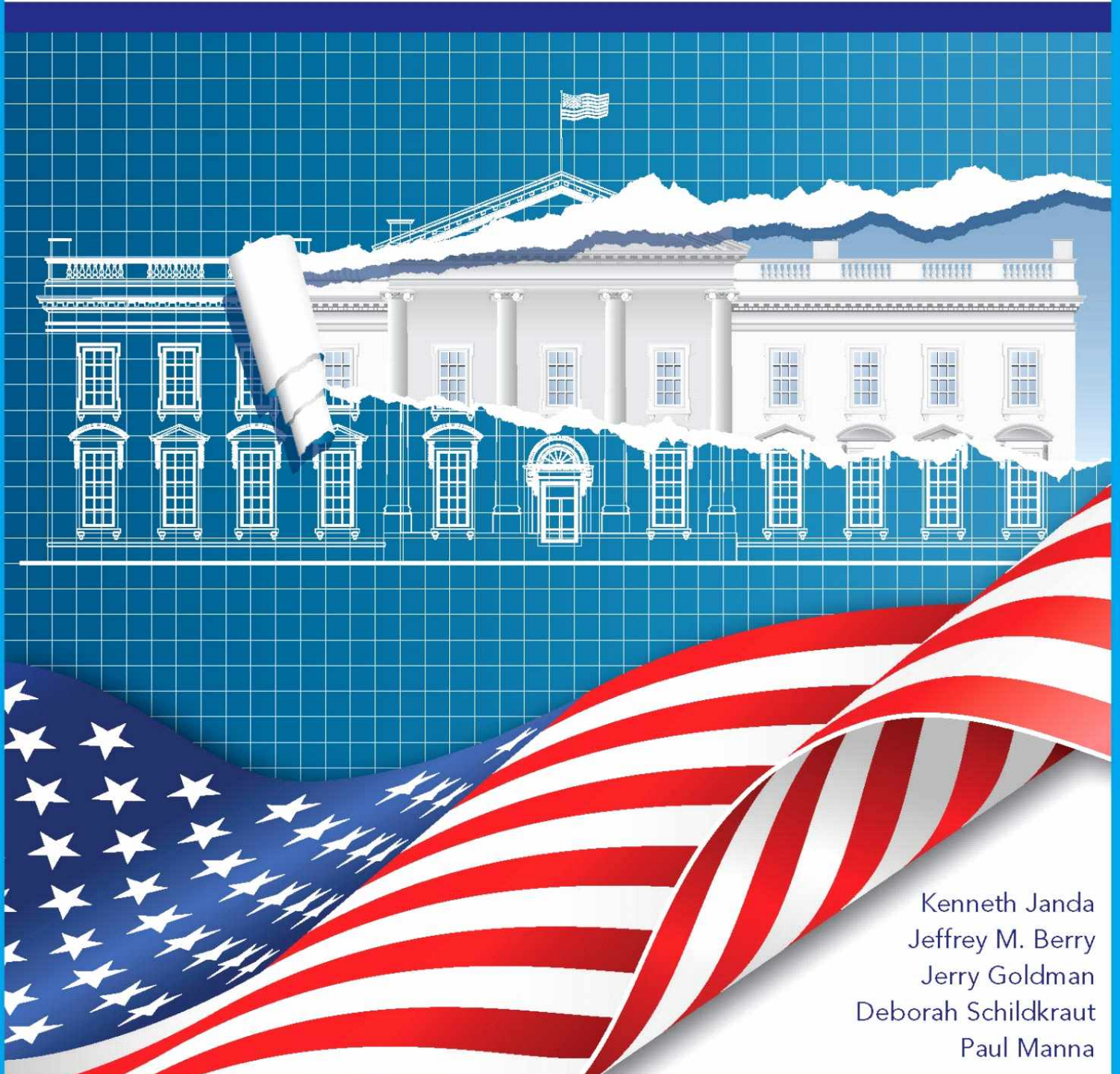


 CENGAGE

Fifteenth Edition

The Challenge of
Democracy
American Government in Global Politics



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The Challenge of Democracy

American Government in Global Politics

Fifteenth Edition

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The Challenge of Democracy: American Government in Global Politics, Fifteenth Edition

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Letter to Instructors

Dear American Politics Instructor:

Teaching an introductory American politics course is both challenging and rewarding whether it is taught in person or online. The challenge is to engage a large classroom full of students, class after class, week after week. The reward is seeing students connect to politics, become intellectually curious enough to continue studying it in subsequent semesters, and develop a lifelong interest in the challenge of democracy. Our goal in writing this book is to help you achieve those rewards and overcome the challenges that come with teaching a large introductory course.

The Challenge of Democracy is not a book centered on current events. Rather, we use the recent past to illustrate enduring features of American government. That said, as we worked on this edition, routine life in the United States was upended by the global COVID-19 pandemic and nationwide protests against police brutality and white supremacy, both of which came on the heels of the House of Representatives voting to impeach the president. These events, and the conditions that fueled them, weighed heavily on us as we revised the book. In some cases, the unfolding of these events fit well with longstanding patterns and processes in American politics, others less so.

Freedom, order, and equality. Value conflicts are prominent in contemporary American society, and they help explain political controversy and consensus in earlier eras. We demonstrate that many of the nation's most controversial issues represent conflicts among individuals or groups who hold differing views on the values of freedom, order, and equality. Views on issues such as abortion are not just isolated opinions; they also reflect choices about the philosophy citizens want government to follow. Yet choosing among these values is difficult, sometimes excruciatingly so.

Pluralist and majoritarian visions of democracy. Majoritarianism involves following the will of a majority while pluralism involves the interaction of decision makers with groups concerned about issues that affect them. We use these models and the tensions between them to illustrate the dynamics of the American political system, including rising partisanship in Congress, the role of interest groups in policymaking, the ways in which public opinion does (or does not) shape public policy, and the influence of money on a range of political processes.

Globalization. Each day, trade, travel, immigration, and the internet make the world a more interdependent place. We cannot escape the deepening interrelationships between the United States and the rest of the world. Thus, our book examines some of the ramifications of a smaller world on the large landscape of American politics.

Our book includes elements to engage your students with these enduring themes, including vignettes at the start of each chapter; features that highlight tensions among freedom, order, and equality; features that situate American government in the context of global politics; critical thinking questions; and updated examples across the text. We do not believe it is our role to tell students our own answers to the broad questions we pose. Instead, we want our readers to learn firsthand that a democracy requires thoughtful and difficult choices, which is why we titled our book *The Challenge of Democracy*.

New to This Edition

While the enduring challenges of democracy have not changed, some aspects of *The Challenge of Democracy* have. In the 15th edition, updates primarily concern examples, as our goal has been to produce a textbook that speaks to the Trump presidency, a Democratic-led House of Representatives, and national reckoning on white supremacy during a global pandemic.

- We updated several examples in our **“Freedom, Order, or Equality”** feature. This feature continues to highlight the conflicts among these values through case studies. Each one ends with critical thinking questions to encourage students to reflect further on the clash of values explored in the feature. In chapter 6 (The Media), we ask students how freedom, order, and equality are implicated

in debates about whether the government should permit companies like Facebook to run campaign ads that contain false claims.

- We updated several examples in our “_____ in Global Politics” feature. The goal of this feature is to draw greater attention to the impact of globalization on American politics and to encourage reflection about some aspect of American politics in comparison to politics in other countries. Each one ends with critical thinking questions. This feature in chapter 12 (The Presidency) asks, “Why do women emerge as leaders more often in parliamentary systems than in presidential systems?”
- We have updated our figures and graphs to include the most recent data available.
- We discuss recent political developments and connect them to our enduring themes. These developments include the COVID-19 pandemic, protests advocating for racial justice, the impeachment of Donald Trump, immigration politics, the 2020 presidential campaign, the impact of social media on political activity and journalism, gun control, recent Supreme Court decisions, campaign finance, and more.
- Chapter 13 on the bureaucracy underwent a complete reorganization, which brought it more up to date with contemporary research literature and examples, including discussion of policing, emergency response, and environmental policy. Chapter 12 on the presidency places the Trump presidency in historical context, with new sections on unilateral action and checks on presidential power.
- We added more discussion of how white supremacy has shaped, and continues to shape, aspects of American politics. We also strive to represent Americans from a variety of backgrounds in our examples and images. For example, the opening vignette to chapter 5 on public opinion discusses reparations for slavery and ongoing discrimination; chapter 11 on Congress considers representation of the Cherokee nation; chapter 18 on domestic policy notes how racism affected the development and implementation of New Deal legislation; chapter 13 on bureaucracy leverages concepts on representation to explain conditions under which bureaucratic action can challenge systemic racism; and more.
- We consider how the stability of democratic governance in the United States has relied on norms that are evolving in new and challenging ways. Chapter 11 on Congress, for example, suggests that the president’s party has become more reluctant to criticize the president than in the past, and we ask students to consider how this new norm might affect the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches. Chapter 12 on the presidency includes sections on unilateral powers and constitutional ambiguities in foreign policymaking, equipping students to discuss whether the American presidency has become too powerful.
- We added critical thinking questions to some figures and images in each chapter. For instance, our graph on disappearing moderates in Congress now asks, “If you wanted more ideologically moderate representatives to get elected, what changes would you want to make to how our Congressional elections are conducted?”
- **Follow us on Twitter:** Follow @jandachallenge for breaking news and research reports that relate to the core themes of the book, opportunities for students, and more.

MindTap: Your Course Stimulus Package

As an instructor tool, MindTap is here to simplify your workload, organize, and immediately grade your students’ assignments, and allows you to customize your course with current events videos and new sources as you see fit. Through deep-seated integration with your learning management system (LMS), grades are easily exported, and analytics are pulled with the click of a button. MindTap can be used fully online with its interactive e-book for *The Challenge of Democracy*, or in conjunction with the printed text.

We are thrilled that you are using *The Challenge of Democracy* in your course. We are honored to play a role as you help your students develop the skills they need to be effective democratic citizens.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, Jerry Goldman, Deborah J. Schildkraut, and Paul Manna



Letter to Students

Dear Student:

The title of our book says it all: democracy is a challenge. *The Challenge of Democracy*, however, is designed to help you succeed in your study of American politics. Our goal is to provide perspectives and insights that will connect you to the important and provocative political questions of our time. Will protests for racial justice lead to meaningful policy change? Why was President Trump's approval rating largely unaffected by his impeachment? Should Facebook be allowed to run campaign ads that contain false information? How can states legalize marijuana if possessing the drug still violates federal law? Does it matter if most members of Congress are white men? What made the nation struggle so much to control the COVID-19 pandemic? Our aim is to help you explore contemporary questions like these in a deep and meaningful way.

Americans of all backgrounds have different ideas about how much freedom should be granted to the American people and to what degree they are willing to give up some freedom in exchange for greater equality or greater societal order. Finding the right balance among **freedom, order, and equality** is one of the biggest challenges that democracies face, and it is the first theme of our book. In the interest of public order and safety, should we allow police to stop and question people on the street, or is that an infringement on personal freedom? In the interest of political equality, should we restrict spending on election campaigns, or is that an infringement on freedom of speech? Questions such as these constitute the daily struggles of modern democratic life.

When developing answers to these questions, when should policymakers follow the will of the majority, and when should they attend to the individuals, groups, and organizations that have the most expertise and experience with the topic? In other words, when should they follow **majoritarian or pluralist principles**? Most Americans support universal background checks for the sale of firearms, but certain organized groups in American society do not. Which side should prevail? The trade-off between these models of democracy is the second theme of the book. Both models are on display throughout the American political system. Our goal is to help you identify them and consider the benefits and drawbacks of each.

Many of you are the children of immigrants, are immigrants yourselves, or have spent time living in another country. Nearly every item of clothing on your body and every item you carry was probably manufactured outside of the United States. And with a swipe on your phone, you can be connected to news, entertainment, and people from around the globe. The place of **globalization** in American politics is our third and final theme. The aims of this theme are to help you think about how various aspects of globalization affect politics at home and to consider the similarities and differences between the American political system and political systems in other countries.

Several features of our book are designed to help you succeed in your studies:

- **Chapter Opening Vignettes:** Each chapter starts with a story selected to spark your interest and encourage your exploration of the book's themes as they relate to that chapter. For example, chapter 5 (Public Opinion) opens by discussing reparations for slavery and ongoing racial discrimination and the factors that shape the public's support and opposition.
- **#ChallengeAccepted:** Each vignette is accompanied by a brief challenge that you can undertake to help deepen your engagement with the topic at hand. For example, the challenge in chapter 6 (The Media) has you examine Twitter's terms of service and asks you to consider whether the company should change its policy for when political leaders tweet information that is misleading or could be construed as promoting violence.
- **"Freedom, Order, or Equality":** Each chapter has a feature that highlights the tensions among these values and connects those values to the specific content of that chapter. For example, the feature in chapter 18 (Policymaking and Domestic Policy) examines "Medicare for All" and how it raises a

tension between equal access to health care and the freedom of insurance providers to operate in a private marketplace.

- “_____ in Global Politics”: Each chapter has a feature that puts political issues in their global context. For example, the feature in chapter 11 (Congress) compares the percentage of women in Congress with the percentage of women in national legislatures across a range of countries.
- **Learning Outcomes:** Each chapter begins with a set of clearly defined learning outcomes. These learning outcomes are restated throughout the chapter. They are summarized at the end of the chapter, and each chapter ends with a set of study questions tied to each outcome.
- **Critical Thinking Questions:** Each vignette and feature ends with critical thinking questions to promote consideration of the implications of the topic at hand. For example, chapter 10 (Interest Groups) asks about the role of American lobbying in global prescription drug prices. There are also critical thinking questions for several figures and images throughout the book. In chapter 12 (The Presidency), we present side by side photos of Presidents Obama and Trump in the White House Situation Room during foreign policy missions and ask you to consider what the images reveal about their leadership styles.
- **Racial Politics:** In this edition, we added more discussion of how white supremacy has shaped, and continues to shape, the course of American politics. We also strive to represent Americans from a variety of backgrounds in our examples and images. For example, chapter 11 on Congress discusses representation of the Cherokee nation; chapter 18 on domestic policy addresses how racism affected the development and implementation of New Deal legislation; chapter 5 on public opinion considers attitudes about the removal of Confederate monuments; chapter 16 on equality and civil rights examines historic and contemporary events that have altered the trajectory of racial politics during the nation’s history; and more.
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Sincerely,

Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, Jerry Goldman, Deborah J. Schildkraut, and Paul Manna



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ISBN: 9780357025352

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The Microsoft PowerPoint presentations are closely tied to the Instructor's Manual, providing ample opportunities for generating classroom discussion and interaction. They offer ready-to-use, visual outlines of each chapter that may be easily customized for your lectures. A guide to teaching online presents technological and pedagogical considerations and suggestions for teaching an introduction to American government course when you can't be in the same room with students.

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IDEALog

IDEALog, two-time winner of instructional software awards from the American Political Science Association, asks students to rate themselves on the two-dimensional trade-off of freedom versus order and freedom versus equality. It then presents them with twenty recent poll questions, and their responses are classified according to libertarian, conservative, liberal, or communitarian ideological tendencies. IDEALog is directly accessible to anyone at **<http://IDEALog.org>**, but instructors who choose to register their classes receive a special login link for each class. Instructors can then obtain summary statistics about their students' scores on the ideology quiz.



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Dedication

We dedicate this book to the victims and the survivors of the COVID-19 pandemic and to those who cared for them.



About the Authors

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Kenneth Janda is the Payson S. Wild Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Northwestern University. Dr. Janda has published extensively in comparative party politics, research methodology, and early use of computer technology in political science, for which he received awards from EDUCOM and support from Apple. His APSA awards include the Samuel Eldersveld Lifetime Achievement Award (2000) and the Frank J. Goodnow Award for distinguished service to the profession and the association (2009). Dr. Janda and fellow author Jerry Goldman shared APSA technology awards in 1992 for IDEALog, the computer program, and in 2005 for IDEALog, the website. His most recent book is *A Tale of Two Parties: Living Amongst Democrats and Republicans Since 1952* (Routledge, 2021).

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Career Opportunities: Political Science

Introduction

One of the most important decisions a student has to make is the choice of a major; many consider future job possibilities when making that call. A political science degree is incredibly useful for a successful career in many different fields, from lawyer to policy advocate, pollster to humanitarian worker. Employer surveys reveal that the skills that most employers value in successful employees—critical thinking, analytical reasoning, and clarity of verbal and written communication—are precisely the tools that political science courses should be helping you develop. This brief guide is intended to help spark ideas for what kinds of careers you might pursue with a political science degree and the types of activities you can engage in now to help you secure one of those positions after graduation.

Careers in Political Science

Law and Criminal Justice

Do you find that your favorite parts of your political science classes are those that deal with the Constitution, the legal system, and the courts? Then a career in law and criminal justice might be right for you. Traditional jobs in the field range from lawyer or judge to police or parole officer. Since 9/11, there has also been tremendous growth in the area of homeland security, which includes jobs in mission support, immigration, and travel security, as well as prevention and response.

Public Administration

The many offices of the federal government combined represent one of the largest employers in the United States. Flip to the bureaucracy chapter of this textbook and consider that each federal department, agency, and bureau you see looks to political science majors for future employees. A partial list of such agencies would include the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Federal Trade Commission. There are also thousands of staffers who work for members of Congress or the Congressional Budget Office, many of whom were political science majors in college. This does not even begin to account for the multitude of similar jobs in state and local governments that you might consider as well.

Campaigns, Elections, and Polling

Are campaigns and elections the most exciting part of political science for you? Then you might consider a career in the growing industry based around political campaigns. From volunteering and intern-ing to consulting, marketing, and fundraising, there are many opportunities for those who enjoy the competitive and high-stakes electoral arena. For those looking for careers that combine political knowl-edge with statistical skills, there are careers in public opinion polling. Pollsters work for independent national organizations such as Gallup and YouGov, or as part of news operations and campaigns. For those who are interested in survey methodology, there are also a wide variety of nonpolitical career opportunities in marketing and survey design.

Interest Groups, International and Nongovernmental Organizations

Is there a cause that you are especially passionate about? If so, there is a good chance that there are interest groups out there that are working hard to see some progress made on similar issues. Many of the positions that one might find in for-profit companies also exist in their nonprofit interest group and nongovernmental organization counterparts, including lobbying and high-level strategizing. Do not forget that there are also quite a few major international organizations—such as the United Nations,

the World Health Organization, and the International Monetary Fund—where a degree in political science could be put to good use. While competition for those jobs tends to be fierce, your interest and knowledge about politics and policy will give you an advantage.

Foreign Service

Does a career in diplomacy and foreign affairs, complete with the opportunity to live and work abroad, sound exciting to you? Tens of thousands of people work for the State Department, both in Washington, DC, and in consulates throughout the world. They represent the diplomatic interests of the United States abroad. Entrance into the Foreign Service follows a very specific process starting with the Foreign Service Officers Test—an exam given three times a year that includes sections on American government, history, economics, and world affairs. Being a political science major is a significant help in taking the FSOT.

Graduate School

While not a career, graduate school may be the appropriate next step for you after completing your undergraduate degree. Following the academic route, being awarded a PhD or master's degree in political science could open additional doors to a career in academia, as well as many of the professions mentioned earlier. If a career as a researcher in political science interests you, you should speak with your advisors about continuing your education.

Preparing While Still on Campus

Internships

One of the most useful steps you can take while still on campus is to visit your college's career center to identify internships in your field of interest. Not only does an internship give you a chance to experience life in the political science realm, it can also lead to job opportunities later down the road and add experience to your resume.

Skills

In addition to your political science classes, the following skills will prove useful as a complement to your degree:

Writing: Like anything else, writing improves with practice. Writing is one of those skills that is applicable regardless of where your career might take you. Virtually every occupation relies on an ability to write cleanly, concisely, and persuasively.

Public Speaking: An oft-quoted 1977 survey showed that public speaking was the most commonly cited fear among respondents. And yet oral communication is a vital tool in the modern economy. You can practice this skill in a formal class setting or through extracurricular activities that get you in front of a group.

Quantitative Analysis: As the internet aids in the collection of massive amounts of information, the nation is facing a drastic shortage of people with basic statistical skills to interpret and use this data. A political science degree can go hand-in-hand with courses in introductory statistics.

Foreign Language: One skill that often helps a student or future employee stand out in a crowded job market is the ability to communicate in a language other than English. Solidify or set the foundation for your verbal and written foreign language communication skills while in school.

Student Leadership

One attribute that many employers look for is “leadership potential,” which can be quite tricky to indicate on a resume or cover letter. What can help is a demonstrated record of involvement in clubs and organizations, preferably in a leadership role. While many people think immediately of student government, most student clubs allow you the opportunity to demonstrate your leadership skills.

Conclusion

Hopefully reading this has sparked some ideas on potential future careers. As a next step, visit your college's career placement office, which is a great place to further explore what you have read here. You might also visit your college's alumni office to connect with graduates who are working in your field of interest. Political science opens the door to a lot of exciting careers—have fun exploring the possibilities!



Freedom, Order, or Equality?

On March 13, 2020, President Donald Trump proclaimed a national emergency to contain the COVID-19 disease. His proclamation authorized certain government officials “to temporarily waive or modify” some public health insurance programs to adjust to the crisis.¹ Two weeks later, the president called for a voluntary national shutdown until April 30. Federal guidelines warned “against large group gatherings,” urged “older people and anyone with existing health problems to stay home,” and asked people “to work at home when possible and avoid restaurants, bars, nonessential travel and shopping trips.”² The president also ordered General Motors to produce hospital ventilators to treat COVID-19 patients, using authority granted by the Defense Production Act of 1950 “to require businesses to produce goods for the national defense.”³

By the end of March, two-thirds of state governors went even further. They shut down restaurants and bars, issued orders for people to “shelter in place,” and discouraged travel between states.⁴ Realizing that their actions would depress the economy and cost families dearly in income and happiness, the president and governors nevertheless acted to save lives. Some citizens protested that these orders restricted their personal freedoms, including the ability to make a living, to visit friends, and otherwise enjoy themselves. On March 22, President Trump himself tweeted, “WE CANNOT LET THE CURE BE WORSE THAN THE PROBLEM ITSELF”—just days before he called for the voluntary national shutdown.

As discussed later in this chapter, the national and state governments did what governments have historically done: they acted to save lives and preserve order.

That was the original purpose of government: to maintain order, not to promote freedom. Even the conservative, business-oriented Washington think tank, the American Enterprise Institute, grudgingly recognized that drastic steps were needed to slow the spread of the COVID-19 virus.⁵ Government would worry later about restoring personal freedom.

As discussed in chapter 17 (Economic Policy), in March, Congress passed, and the president signed, a \$2 trillion spending program to restore the economy. It gave cash to citizens, funded businesses that retained their employees, and limited corporate executives’ compensation. In a small way, limiting executives’ compensation addressed a modern, secondary purpose of government: to promote equality. Chapter 1 compares the original purpose of government (to maintain order) with the modern purpose (to promote equality).

Where does freedom figure into the governmental equation? Both the original and modern purposes of government freedom confront dilemmas of choice: imposing order and achieving equality each require sacrificing some degree of personal freedom. Hence, the title of this chapter: “Freedom, Order, or Equality?”

#ChallengeAccepted

Take the Challenge on MindTap for American Government

During the Vietnam War, the Supreme Court allowed the *New York Times* to publish classified material relating to the conduct of the war. Do you think this was justified under a Constitution that allows freedom of speech and the press?



Chris Parypa Photography/Shutterstock.com

Learning Outcomes

- LO 1-1** Define globalization and explain how it affects American politics and government.
- LO 1-2** Identify the purposes that government serves and trace their historical roots.
- LO 1-3** Describe how political scientists use concepts to structure events and promote understanding.
- LO 1-4** Define freedom, order, and equality, and discuss the various interpretations of each value.
- LO 1-5** Analyze the inherent conflicts between freedom versus order and freedom versus equality.
- LO 1-6** Distinguish among these terms: totalitarianism, socialism, capitalism, libertarianism, and anarchism.
- LO 1-7** Explain how liberals, conservatives, libertarians, and communitarians view the role of government.

Virtually everyone thinks that government should protect the safety of its citizens. What else should government do? What about reducing income inequality? Is that a proper issue for government to address, or should government not be concerned with the gap between the rich and the poor?

Our textbook inquires into what the US government can do constitutionally, politically, and practically to serve its citizens. Should government even try to reduce economic inequalities? What if doing so required wealthy citizens to pay more taxes? Wouldn't that infringe on their freedom to spend their money on themselves? What if government tried to reduce social discrimination? Wouldn't that impinge on people's freedom to keep company with their own kind and upset the social order? This trade-off among the values of freedom, order, and equality lies at the heart of our discussion. We examine the relationship between individual freedom and social equality as reflected in government policies, which often confront underlying dilemmas such as these:

Which is better: to live under a government that fiercely protects individual freedom or under one that infringes on freedom while fiercely guarding against threats to physical security and the social order?

Which is better: to let all citizens keep the same share of their income or to tax wealthier people at a higher rate to fund programs for poorer people?

These questions reflect dilemmas tied to opposing political philosophies that place different values on freedom, order, and equality.

This book explains American government and politics in the light of these dilemmas. It does more than explain the workings of our government; it encourages you to think about what government should—and should not—do. And it judges the American government against democratic ideals, encouraging you to think about how government should make its decisions. As the title of this book implies, *The Challenge of Democracy* argues that good government often poses difficult choices.

College students often say that American government and politics are hard to understand. In fact, many other people voice the same complaint. About one-third of adults interviewed in 2016 agreed with the statement “Politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't understand what's going on.”⁶ We hope to improve your understanding of “what's going on” by analyzing the norms, or values, that people use to judge political events. Our purpose is not to preach what people ought to favor in making policy decisions; it is to teach what values are at stake.

Teaching without preaching is not easy—no one can completely exclude personal values from political analysis. But our approach minimizes the problem by concentrating on the dilemmas that confront governments when they are forced to choose between important policies that threaten equally cherished values, such as freedom of speech and personal security.

Politics has been defined as “the authoritative allocation of values for a society.” Every government policy reflects a choice between conflicting values. All government policies reinforce certain values (norms) at the expense of others. We want to challenge you to interpret policy issues (for example, should students be allowed to carry guns on college campuses?) with an understanding of the fundamental values in question (freedom of action versus order and protection of life) and the broader political context (liberal or conservative politics).

By looking beyond the specifics to the underlying normative principles, you should be able to make more sense out of politics. Our framework for analysis does not encompass all the complexities of American government, but it should help your knowledge grow by improving your comprehension of political information. We begin

by considering the basic purposes of government. In short, why do we need it? Our main interest in this text is the purpose, value, and function of government as practiced in the United States. However, we live in an era of **globalization**—a term for the increasing interdependence of citizens and nations across the world.⁷ In December 2019, a deadly flu-like coronavirus originated in China. In January 2020, the World Health Organization declared that its spread to other countries was a global health emergency. The virus killed thousands in China before quickly spreading across the world, infecting thousands in scores of countries and causing governments to monitor travelers and care for patients. The United States also declared a national health emergency, stopping flights to and from the Chinese mainland. The Dow Jones market index dropped over 3,000 points in a single week. Commerce slowed across the world, and governments on every continent struggled with the effects of the illness, often imposing draconian rules. So we must consider how politics at home and abroad interrelate, which is increasingly important to understanding our government.⁸

globalization

The increasing interdependence of citizens and nations across the world.



The Globalization of American Government

LO 1-1 Define globalization and explain how it affects American politics and government.

Most people do not like being told what to do. Fewer still like being coerced into acting a certain way. Yet billions of people in countries across the world willingly submit to the coercive power of government. They accept laws that state on which side of the road to drive, how many wives (or husbands) they can have, what constitutes a contract, how to dispose of human waste—and how much they must pay to support the government that makes these coercive laws. In the first half of the twentieth century, people thought of government mainly in territorial terms. Indeed, a standard definition of **government** is the legitimate and exclusive use of force—including firearms, imprisonment, and execution—within specified geographical boundaries to control human behavior. International relations and diplomacy have been based on the principle of national sovereignty, defined as “a political entity’s externally recognized right to exercise final authority over its affairs.”⁹ Simply put, **national sovereignty** means that each national government has the right to govern its people as it wishes, without interference from other nations.

government

The legitimate use of force to control human behavior; also, the organization or agency authorized to exercise that force.

national sovereignty

A political entity’s externally recognized right to exercise final authority over its affairs.

Early in the twentieth century, some scholars theorized that the actions of sovereign nations were controlled by international law. In the actual practice of international relations, however, there was no sovereign power over nations. Each enjoyed complete independence to govern its territory without interference from other nations. Although the League of Nations, and later the United Nations, were supposed to introduce supranational order into the world, even these international organizations explicitly respected national sovereignty as the guiding principle of international relations. The UN Charter, Article 2.1, states, “The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.”

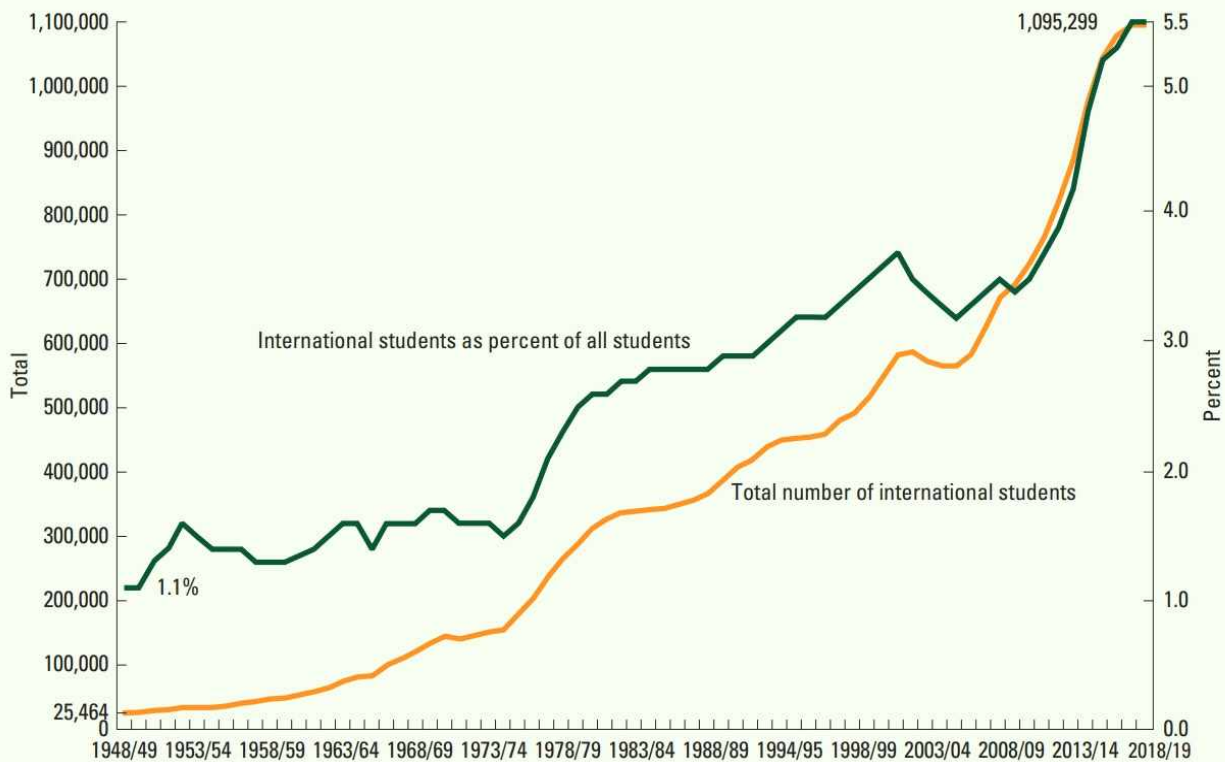
National sovereignty, however, is threatened by globalization. For example, in 2020 the United Nation’s International Maritime Organization lowered the limit on sulfur in fuel for global shipping from 3.5 to 0.5 percent to reduce global air pollution from 60,000 ocean-going vessels burning the dirtiest fuel.¹⁰ While few global transports fly



International Students and Global Politics

In 2012, the Department of Homeland Security reported that almost 300 current and former leaders studied in the United States. Between 2018 and 2019, over one million international students on visas enrolled in American primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions—twice as many students as ten years earlier. Many will no doubt become future leaders in their countries.

International Students on Visas Studying in the United States, 1948/49 to 2018/19



the US flag, US ships had to buy the more expensive fuel and the government was to monitor compliance.

Global forces also generate pressures for international law. Our government, you might be surprised to learn, is worried about the trend of holding nations accountable to international law. In fact, in 2002, the United States “annulled” its signature to the 1998 treaty (no country had ever unsigned a treaty) to create an International Criminal Court that would define and try crimes against humanity.¹¹ Why would the United States oppose such an international court? One reason is its concern that US soldiers stationed abroad might be arrested and tried in that court. Another reason is to keep the death penalty, which is practiced in the United States but was abolished by more than half the countries in the world and all countries in the European Union. Indeed, in 1996, the International Commission of Jurists condemned the US death penalty as “arbitrarily and racially discriminatory,” and there is a concerted campaign across Europe to force the sovereign United States to terminate capital punishment.¹²

The United States is the world’s most powerful nation, but as proved by the al Qaeda–organized plane crashes on September 11, 2001, on the East Coast and by the