

World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh

## **Teaching Contemporary Global Issues Volume III**

**A Collection of Lessons Developed by Participants in the  
Summer Institute for Teachers, June 26-28, 2000.**

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## **Preface**

This collection of lessons was created by participants in the third annual Summer Institute for Teachers sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh, held at Duquesne University from June 26th through the 28th, 2000. The lessons are based on the presentations given by Dr. Schuyler Foerster, President of the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh (*The U.S. and the International System: They're Changing the Rules*), Dr. Ellen Frost from the Institute for International Economics in Washington, DC, (*Trade, Aid & Development: Issues and Institutions*), and Dr. Jerry Leach, President of the World Affairs Councils of America (*Turkey: Bridge or Fault Line?*). They may be used as a single unit for the teaching of contemporary issues or they may be used individually and infused where applicable, dependent upon the specific needs of your students and curriculum. As in all cases involving curricular materials, feel free to make modifications in order to make them suitable for the specific subject you are teaching and for the academic level of the students in your classroom.

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*(Opinions expressed in the following pages are those of the authors  
and not necessarily of the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh.)*

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**Summer Institute for Teachers:  
Teaching Contemporary Global Issues  
June 26 –28, 2000**

**Web Sites for Additional Information on Global Issues**

**The United Nations**

The United Nations (<http://www.un.org>)

United Nations Information Services (<http://www.undcp.or.at/unlinks.html>)

UN Conference on Trade and Development (<http://www.unctad.org>)

United Nations Development Program (<http://undp.org>)

**Trade, Aid, and Development**

The World Bank (<http://www.worldbank.org>)

International Monetary Fund (<http://www.imf.org>)

World Trade Organization (<http://www.wto.org>)

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (<http://oecd.org>)

U.S. Trade Representative (<http://www.ustr.gov>)

International Trade Administration (<http://www.ita.doc.gov>)

Agency for International Development (<http://www.usaid.gov>)

Institute for International Economics (<http://www.iie.com>)

**Turkey**

Embassy of the Republic of Turkey (<http://www.turkey.org>)

Turkish Daily News Online (<http://www.turkishdailynews.com>)

The Turkish Historical Society (<http://www.ttk.gov.tr>)

The Turkish Studies Association (<http://bsuvc.bsu.edu/~tsa/index.html>)

The Center for Middle Eastern Studies (<http://menic.utexas.edu/menic.html>)

World Wide Web Virtual Library (<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/indiv/area/MiddleEast>)

## **General References on Foreign Policy and International Relations**

Department of State (<http://www.state.gov>)

Department of Defense (<http://www.defenselink.mil>)

United States Information Agency (<http://www.usia.gov>)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (<http://www.nato.int>)

European Union (<http://www.europa.eu.int>)

CIA Factbook (<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>)

Contains detailed profiles on individual nations and a brief description of significant transnational issues confronting each nation.

ACCESS ([http://www.4access.org/Access\\_4hotlinks.html](http://www.4access.org/Access_4hotlinks.html))

An international affairs information service, ACCESS has compiled and categorized a listing of network links including government agencies, educational organizations, and international organizations.

WWW Services for Historians (<http://grid.let.rug.nl/ahc/hist.html>)

A site containing numerous links to other sources, organized by subject area, time period, and discipline.

The Brookings Institution (<http://www.brook.edu>)

A private, independent, nonprofit research organization, Brookings addresses current and emerging policy challenges and offers recommendations for dealing with them.

Foreign Policy Association (<http://www.fpa.org>)

Features the Great Decisions program and includes on-line discussions on U. S. foreign policy and international relations in general.

A Student's Guide to Research with the WWW (<http://www.slu.edu/departments/english/research>)

An excellent resource for students and teachers developed by the Department of English at Saint Louis University.

***The U.S. and the International System:  
They're Changing the Rules***

## Lesson 1: An Introduction to International Relations

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Define the concept of sovereignty.
- Describe the nature of the “power problem” relationship.
- Explain the concept of security.
- Explain the concept of balance of power.

Materials:

Student Handout: **An Introduction to International Relations**

Student Handout: **A National Security Strategy for a New Century**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Distribute the student handout **An Introduction to International Relations**.
  - a. Direct students to read the first section of the handout, “An Initial Perspective.”
  - b. Ask students to explain the concept of sovereignty. To what extent is the concept of sovereignty similar to the concept of independence?
  - c. Ask students to describe the nature of the “power problem.”
2. Explain to the class that the United States is the world’s only superpower.
  - a. Ask students to explain how the superpower status of the United States may create a “power problem” for other nations.
  - b. Ask students to explain why its superpower status creates a “power problem” for the United States in deciding how to use that power in pursuit of the national interest.
  - c. Ask students the question: “Does the possession of overwhelming force also bring with it a responsibility to use it judiciously?”
3. Direct students to read the next section of the handout, “The Question of Security.”
  - a. Write the following on the chalkboard: “Peace is desirable, but security is essential.”
  - b. Ask students to evaluate this statement and to explain whether or not they believe it is valid.
  - c. Using the chalkboard, ask students to brainstorm what they believe to be the current threats to American national interests and security.
  - d. Given the fact that the U.S. is the world’s only superpower, ask students to hypothesize how the United States might use its power to address the threats listed on the chalkboard. What are the benefits and/or disadvantages of using force to resolve these issues?
4. Direct students to read the next section of the handout, “The Patterns of Power.”
  - a. Review the concepts of “unilateral action,” “isolationism,” “neutrality,” “alliances,” “balance of power,” and “collective security.”
  - b. Ask students, based on what they have heard or read in the news media, to explain which of these strategies they believe the United States is currently following as it conducts its foreign policy. (Explain to the class that a nation may choose a foreign policy that combines elements of various strategies.)
5. Distribute the student handout **A National Security Strategy for a New Century**.
  - a. Direct students to read the “Introduction.”
  - b. Ask students to determine, based on the information in the “Introduction,” whether United States foreign policy appears to be based on unilateral action or engagement with other nations to solve global problems.
6. Direct students to read the next section of the handout, “National Interests.”
  - a. Ask students to evaluate the three primary interests listed in the document and to explain why they would be priorities of American foreign policy.
  - b. Ask students to explain why economic prosperity and promoting democracy and human rights would also enhance America’s security.

7. Direct students to read the next two sections of the handout, “A Strategy of Engagement” and “Implementing the Strategy.”
  - a. Ask students to interpret the term “engagement” as it is used in the handout.
  - b. Ask students, based on what they have read in the handout, to explain why, given its superpower status, it is important for the United States to assume a leadership role in dealing with the issues listed.
8. Culminating Activity  
Direct students to write an essay on the following topic: “Given that the United States is the world’s only superpower, what “power problems” does the United States face as it moves into the 21<sup>st</sup> century?”



# An Introduction to International Relations

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## **An Initial Perspective**

The world is composed of nation-states. Each of these nation-states claims exclusive control (sovereignty) over its own territory. By the same token, an individual state has no direct voice or vote in the affairs of other states, many of whom may have quite different value systems and national interests/goals that conflict with its own. Each state knows it must either cooperate with the others or run the risk of confrontation and conflict. On the other hand, each also distrusts or even fears the others—some very much indeed.

This fear (or anxiety) is entirely rational, because it recognizes the essential fact that, because these foreign, sovereign nation-states possess armed forces with which to defend themselves, they possess instruments of force and violence that can be turned against one's own state. The mere existence of such weapons in the hands of other states creates an implicit threat to one's own. This creates the "power problem" relationship. Each state confronts one.

The tension level (i.e., expectation of violence) in such a state system never falls below a minimum level. Even in the best of times, when cooperation blossoms, the weapons remain on hand even if less in view. "Peace-loving nations" usually remain as heavily armed as any. In that way, there exists the hope to "deter" other nations suspected of being less peace-loving.

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## **The Question of Security**

How is a state to preserve and/or achieve its vital interests and thus make itself secure in the world?

- Security is a relative condition. There can be no absolute security for any state as long as others continue to exist.
- Security is more desired by states than peace per se. Normally, most states feel more secure under conditions of peace, but their preference for peace is not unqualified. War will most often be endured by a state rather than surrender any national territory or permit national prestige and honor to be humiliated. They seek peace but not at the price of security.
- What security means varies from state to state because it is the sum total of the vital national interests of the state.

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**The Patterns of Power**

States vary enormously in their power. However, no state can ignore the problem that confronts it as a result of the existence of other potentially hostile states. In this respect, all states are equal, for every one of them has a power problem that it must somehow resolve.

From the point of view of organizing a power system, three possibilities (“solutions” to the power problem) exist.

- A nation can depend solely upon its own power, make no alliances, and join in no collective security arrangements. It can deal with the power problem **unilaterally** and “go it alone.” Isolationism and neutrality are the most familiar expressions of this policy.
- A nation may choose to make alignments (alliances or less formal understandings) with friendly states to band together against mutual enemies. This classic pattern of alliances is at the heart of the **balance of power** process. Classic examples of this pattern are the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War.
- A nation may choose to engage in a **collective security** arrangement. In this situation, all nations could be secure against aggression by joining together to form a mutual insurance plan that would be universal or as nearly universal as possible. All members of the organization would agree to settle disputes peacefully and to assist any member attacked (either by another member or from a state outside the organization.) The United Nations is a classic example of this arrangement.

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Excerpted from *The Relations of Nations* by Frederick H. Hartman.

# A National Security Strategy for a New Century

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## **Introduction**

Nearly 55 years ago, in his final inaugural address, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt reflected on the lessons of the first half of the 20th Century. "We have learned," he said, "that we cannot live alone at peace. We have learned that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations far away. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community." Those words have more resonance than ever as we enter the 21st century. America is at the height of its influence and prosperity. But, at a time of rapid globalization, when events halfway around the earth can profoundly affect our safety and prosperity, America must lead in the world to protect our people at home and our way of life. Americans benefit when nations come together to deter aggression and terrorism, to resolve conflicts, to prevent the spread of dangerous weapons, to promote democracy and human rights, to open markets and create financial stability, to raise living standards, to protect the environment - to face challenges that no nation can meet alone. The United States remains the world's most powerful force for peace, prosperity and the universal values of democracy and freedom. Our nation's central challenge - and our responsibility - is to sustain that role by seizing the opportunities of this new global era for the benefit of our own people and people around the world.

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## **National Interests**

To do that, we are pursuing a forward-looking national security strategy for the new century. This report, submitted in accordance with Section 603 of the Goldwater - Nichols Defense Department Reorganization Act of 1986, sets forth that strategy. Its three core objectives are:

- To enhance America's security.
  - To bolster America's economic prosperity.
  - To promote democracy and human rights abroad.
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## **A Strategy of Engagement**

To be secure, we must not only have a strong military; we must also continue to lead in limiting the military threat to our country and the world. We continue to work vigilantly to curb the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and missiles to deliver them. . . . We must also sustain our commitment to America's diplomacy. Every dollar we devote to preventing conflicts, promoting democracy, opening markets, and containing disease and hunger brings a sure return in security and long-term savings. . . . we need to sustain this commitment to foreign affairs in the years ahead.

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## Implementing the Strategy

America must be willing to act alone when our interests demand it, but we should also support the institutions and arrangements through which other countries help us bear the burdens of leadership. . . . It is why we must do our part when others take the lead in building peace: whether Europeans in the Balkans, Asians in East Timor, or Africans in Sierra Leone. Otherwise we will be left with a choice in future crises between doing everything ourselves or doing nothing at all.

American leadership will remain indispensable to further important national interests in the coming year:

- forging a lasting peace in the Middle East; securing the peace in the Balkans and Northern Ireland;
- helping Russia strengthen its economy and fight corruption as it heads toward its first democratic transfer of power;
- furthering arms control through discussions with Russia on the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and deeper reductions in strategic nuclear weapons; implementing China's entry into the WTO and other global institutions while promoting freedom and human rights there;
- easing tensions between India and Pakistan;
- building on hopeful developments between Greece and Turkey to make progress in the Aegean, particularly on Cyprus;
- securing new energy routes from the Caspian Sea that will allow newly independent states in the Caucasus to prosper;
- supporting democratic transitions from Nigeria to Indonesia;
- helping Colombia defeat the drug traffickers who threaten its democracy;
- fighting weapons proliferation, terrorism and the nexus between them;
- restraining North Korea's and Iran's missile programs;
- maintaining vigilance against Iraq and working to bring about a change in regime;
- consolidating reforms to the world's financial architecture as the basis for sustained economic growth;
- launching a new global trade round;
- enacting legislation to promote trade with Africa and the Caribbean;
- pressing ahead with debt relief for countries fighting poverty and embracing good government;
- reversing global climate change; and protecting our oceans.

At this moment in history, the United States is called upon to lead - to marshal the forces of freedom and progress; to channel the energies of the global economy into lasting prosperity; to reinforce our democratic ideals and values; to enhance American security and global peace. We owe it to our children and grandchildren to meet these challenges and build a better and safer world.

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## Lesson 2: The United Nations: A Statement of Purpose

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Describe the purpose of the United Nations.
- Define the concept of globalization.
- Identify the global issues facing the United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Materials:

Student Handout: **Excerpts from the Charter of the United Nations**

Student Handout: **Address by Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the General Assembly**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Review with students the concepts of “sovereignty,” “engagement,” and “collective security” from the previous lesson.
  - a. Ask students to summarize the goals of U. S. foreign policy as expressed in President Clinton’s **A National Security Strategy for a New Century**. (See Lesson 1.)
  - b. Ask student’s to hypothesize what role collective security might play in achieving the goals of U.S. foreign policy.
2. Distribute the student handout **Excerpts from the Charter of the United Nations**.
  - a. Direct students to read Article 1.
  - b. Ask students to describe, in their own words, the purpose of the United Nations as expressed in Article 1.
  - c. Ask students to compare the purpose of the United Nations to the goals of American foreign policy expressed in **A National Security Strategy for a New Century**. What are the similarities and differences?
3. Direct students to read Article 2.
  - a. Ask students to explain how Article 2 expresses the concept of collective security.
  - b. Ask students to analyze the meaning of the statement that the U.N. cannot intervene in affairs that are “essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.” How does this relate to the concept of sovereignty?
  - c. Based on the information contained in Articles 1 and Article 2, ask students to describe the purpose of the United Nations. (Write a summary statement on the chalkboard.)
4. Distribute the student handout **Address by Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the General Assembly**.
  - a. Direct students to read the first section, “Globalization.”
  - b. Ask students to define the term “globalization” as it is used by Secretary-General Kofi Annan.
  - c. Construct a list on the chalkboard of the benefits of globalization, as listed in the handout.
  - d. Construct a list of challenges presented by globalization.
5. Direct students to read the remaining sections of the handout.
  - a. Ask students to explain the concept of “Freedom from Want” as described in the Secretary-General’s address. (Write the definition on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Ask students to explain the concept of “Freedom from Fear.” (Write the definition on the chalkboard.)
  - c. Ask students to explain the concept of “Freedom of Future Generations” as described in the Secretary-General’s address. (Write the definition on the chalkboard.)
  - d. Ask students to explain how the Secretary-General’s address deals with the issue of sovereignty.
  - e. Ask student’s to determine if they agree or disagree that these three issues should be global priorities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. If so, which do they believe should be the first priority?
  - f. Ask students to compare the Secretary-General’s priorities to the goals of American foreign policy expressed in **A National Security Strategy for a New Century**. What are the similarities and differences?

6. Direct students to compare the list of priorities established by Kofi Annan to the initial purpose of the United Nations as summarized in Article 1 and Article 2 of the United Nations Charter. Ask students to discuss the following questions:
  - a. "To what extent does the Secretary-General's report reflect the initial purpose of the United Nations?"
  - b. "Which purpose of the United Nations, as expressed in Article 1, appears to be the central issue in dealing with both the challenge of globalization and the priorities listed by the Secretary-General?"
  - c. "To what extent do the Secretary-General's comments reflect the fact that global stability and security are economic as well as political and military issues?"
7. Culminating Activity

Direct students to write an essay on the following topic: "Given that the United States is the world's only superpower, what role should it assume within the United Nations and the international community to address the issues raised by the Secretary-General's report?"

## **Excerpts from the Charter of the United Nations\***

### **Article 1**

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective, collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

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### **Article 2**

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles:

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are not endangered.
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.
7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

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*\*The full text of the U.N. Charter can be found at [www.un.org/overview/charter/contents.html](http://www.un.org/overview/charter/contents.html)*

## Address by Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the General Assembly (April 3, 2000)

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The Millennium might have been no more than an accident of the calendar. But you, the Governments and peoples of the world, have chosen to make it more than that - an occasion for all humanity to celebrate, and to reflect.

The world did celebrate on New Year's Eve, in one time zone after another. And you, the General Assembly, have provided a unique opportunity for us all to reflect on our common destiny, by convening what will surely be the largest gathering of political leaders the world has ever seen.

The object of my Report is to provide that gathering with a basic document to work from. In it, I have attempted to identify the main challenges that we face, as we enter the twenty-first century; and to sketch out an action plan for addressing them.

### **Globalization**

If one word encapsulates the changes we are living through, it is "globalization."

We live in a world that is interconnected as never before - one in which groups and individuals interact more and more directly across State frontiers, often without involving the State at all.

This has its dangers, of course. Crime, narcotics, terrorism, disease, weapons - all these move back and forth faster, and in greater numbers, than in the past. People feel threatened by events far away.

But the benefits of globalization are obvious too: faster growth, higher living standards, and new opportunities - not only for individuals but also for better understanding between nations, and for common action.

One problem is that, at present, these opportunities are far from equally distributed. How can we say that the half of the human race, which has yet to make or receive a telephone call, let alone use a computer, is taking part in globalization? We cannot, without insulting their poverty.

A second problem is that, even where the global market does reach, it is not yet underpinned, as national markets are, by rules based on shared social objectives. In the absence of such rules, globalization makes many people feel they are at the mercy of unpredictable forces.

So, Mr. President, the overarching challenge of our times is to make globalization mean more than bigger markets. To make a success of this great upheaval we must learn how to govern better, and - above all - how to govern better together.

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We need to make our States stronger and more effective at the national level. And we need to get them working together on global issues - all pulling their weight and all having their say.

What are these global issues? I have grouped them under three headings, each of which I relate to a fundamental human freedom - freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to sustain their lives on this planet.

**Freedom from  
Want**

First, freedom from want. How can we call human beings free and equal in dignity when over a billion of them are struggling to survive on less than one dollar a day, without safe drinking water, and when half of all humanity lacks adequate sanitation? Some of us are worrying about whether the stock market will crash, or struggling to master our latest computer, while more than half our fellow men and women have much more basic worries, such as where their children's next meal is coming from.

Unless we redouble and concert our efforts, poverty and inequality will get worse still, since world population will grow by a further two billion in the next quarter-century, with almost all the increase in the poorest countries.

Many of these problems are worst in sub-Saharan Africa, where extreme poverty affects a higher proportion of the population than anywhere else, and is compounded by a higher incidence of conflict, HIV/AIDS, and other ills. I am asking the world community to make special provision for Africa's needs, and give full support to Africans in their struggle to overcome these problems.

My Report sets a series of targets for reversing these frightening trends throughout the world.

Within the next fifteen years, I believe we can halve the population of people living in extreme poverty; ensure that all children - girls and boys alike, particularly the girls - receive a full primary education; and halt the spread of HIV/AIDS. In twenty years, we can also transform the lives of one hundred million slum dwellers around the world. And I believe we should be able to offer all young people between 15 and 24 the chance of decent work.

These targets are realistic, if we take full advantage of the opportunities offered by globalization and the revolution in information technology.

Much depends on developing countries themselves adopting the right policies, but the industrialized world too has a vital part to play. It must fully open its markets to products from developing countries. It must provide faster and deeper debt relief. And it must give more, and better focused, development assistance.

Needless to say, the role of the private sector is also crucial. It is vital that we form new partnerships to make the most of new technology. I am announcing several new examples in my Report.

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One is a network of ten thousand online sites to provide hospitals and clinics in developing countries with the up-to-date health information and resources they need.

Another is a consortium of high-tech volunteer groups from industrialized countries, to train people in developing countries in the uses and opportunities of information technology.

And a third is an initiative, led by one of the biggest international telecommunications groups, to provide round-the-clock communications in areas that have been struck by natural disasters - when instant information can save the lives of thousands of people.

**Freedom from Fear**

The second main heading in the Report is freedom from fear. Wars between States are mercifully less frequent than they used to be. But in the last decade internal wars have claimed more than five million lives, and driven many times that number of people from their homes. Moreover, we still live under the shadow of weapons of mass destruction.

Both these threats, I believe, require us to think of security less in terms of merely defending territory, and more in terms of protecting people. That means we must tackle the threat of deadly conflict at every stage in the process.

We must do more to prevent conflicts happening at all. Most conflicts happen in poor countries, especially those which are badly governed or where power and wealth are very unfairly distributed between ethnic or religious groups. So the best way to prevent conflict is to promote political arrangements in which all groups are fairly represented, combined with human rights, minority rights, and broad-based economic development.

Also, illicit transfers of weapons, money or natural resources must be forced into the limelight, so we can control them better.

We must protect vulnerable people by finding better ways to enforce humanitarian and human rights law, and to ensure that gross violations do not go unpunished. National sovereignty offers vital protection to small and weak States, but it should not be a shield for crimes against humanity. In extreme cases the clash of these two principles confronts us with a real dilemma, and the Security Council may have a moral duty to act on behalf of the international community.

But in most cases the international community should be able to preserve peace by measures that do not infringe State sovereignty. It can do so, if our capacity to conduct peace operations is strengthened. On this point, the Millennium Summit will receive separate recommendations from a high-level panel I have established to study the issue.

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Economic sanctions are one weapon available to the Security Council, of which it made extensive use during the 1990s. But too often these sanctions fail to impress delinquent rulers, while causing much unnecessary suffering to innocent people. We must target them better.

Finally, we must pursue our disarmament agenda more vigorously. Since 1995 it has lost momentum in an alarming way. That means controlling the traffic in small arms much more tightly, but also returning to the vexed issue of nuclear weapons.

This month's review conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty is likely to be a depressing affair unless there are clear signals that all parties, including the nuclear weapons states, are ready for a real effort. I am suggesting that a broader-based international conference, to identify ways of eliminating nuclear dangers of all kinds, should now be seriously considered.

**Freedom of  
Future  
Generations**

The third fundamental freedom my Report addresses is one that is not clearly identified in the Charter, because in 1945 our founders could scarcely imagine that it would ever be threatened. I mean the freedom of future generations to sustain their lives on this planet.

Even now, many of us have not understood how seriously that freedom is threatened. I am told that, in all your deliberations and all your preparatory work for the Millennium Assembly over the last eighteen months, the environment was never seriously considered. And in preparing this section of my Report I found many fewer policy prescriptions ready to be put into practice than I did in the other areas I have mentioned.

Yet the facts set out in that section are deeply troubling. I beseech you to read it with at least as much attention as the rest of the Report. If I could sum it up in one sentence, I should say we are plundering our children's heritage to pay for our present unsustainable practices.

This must stop. We must reduce emissions of carbon and other "greenhouse gases," to put a stop to global warming. Implementing the Kyoto Protocol is a vital first step.

The "Green Revolution," which brought dramatic increases in agricultural productivity in the 1970s and 1980s has slowed down. We need to follow it with a "Blue Revolution," focused on increasing productivity per unit of water, and on managing our watersheds and flood plains more carefully.

We must face the implications of a steadily shrinking surface of cultivable land, at a time when every year brings many millions of new mouths to feed. Biotechnology may offer the best hope, but only if we can resolve the controversies and allay the fears surrounding it. I am convening a global policy network to consider these issues urgently, so that the poor and hungry do not lose out.

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We must preserve our forests, fisheries, and the diversity of living species, all of which are close to collapsing under the pressure of human consumption and destruction.

In short, we need a new ethic of stewardship. We need a much better informed public, and we need to take environmental costs and benefits fully into account in our economic policy decisions. We need regulations and incentives to discourage pollution and over-consumption of non-renewable resources, and to encourage environment-friendly practices. And we need more accurate scientific data.

Above all we need to remember the old African wisdom which I learned as a child - that the earth is not ours. It is a treasure we hold in trust for our descendants.

But, you may be asking by now, what about the United Nations? Is not the theme of the Summit, and of the Report, "the role of the United Nations in the twenty-first century"?

Yes it is, and the Report contains a further section on renewing the United Nations, which I hope the Member States will take very seriously. But let us not forget why the United Nations matters. It matters only to the extent that it can make a useful contribution to solving the problems and accomplishing the tasks I have just outlined.

Those are the problems and the tasks which affect the everyday lives of our peoples. It is on how we handle them that the utility of the United Nations will be judged. If we lose sight of that point, the United Nations will have little or no role to play in the twenty-first century.

Let us never forget, Mr. President, that our Organization was founded in the name of "We, the Peoples" - the words I have chosen as the title of my Report. We are at the service of the world's peoples, and we must listen to them. They are telling us that our past achievements are not enough. They are telling us we must do more, and do it better.

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### Lesson 3: The United Nations: Structure and Function

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Outline the structure of the United Nations.
- Describe the functions of the General Assembly, Secretariat, Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice.

Materials:

Student Handout: **How the UN Works**

Student Handout: **Can the UN Succeed?**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Review the purpose of the United Nations as established in the previous lesson.
  - a. Summarize the goals of U.S. foreign policy as expressed in President Clinton's **A National Security Strategy for a New Century**. (See Lesson 1.)
  - b. Review with students the concepts of "engagement" and "collective security."
2. Distribute the student handout **How the UN Works**.
  - a. Direct students to read the "Overview" section.
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the importance of the following statements in the third paragraph:
    - UN members are sovereign states.
    - The UN is not a world government and does not make laws.
  - c. Emphasize that the UN provides a forum for nations to discuss important international issues and to promote collective action to resolve international problems.
3. Direct students to read the second section, "The General Assembly."
  - a. Ask students to summarize, in their own words, the purpose of the General Assembly. (Write the summary definition on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Define the term "consensus," and ask students to explain why reaching consensus is an important diplomatic step in resolving international issues.
  - c. Ask students to evaluate the significance of the statement that "The Assembly cannot force action by any state." How does this reflect the principle of sovereignty?
  - d. Ask students to evaluate the significance of the fact that each nation has a single vote in the General Assembly. Whose voice, then, will be heard in the discussions and debates that take place?
4. Direct students to read the next section, "The Security Council."
  - a. Ask students to summarize, in their own words, the purpose of the Security Council. (Write the summary definition on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the significance of the veto power of the five permanent members.
  - c. Write the names of the five permanent members on the chalkboard. Ask students to hypothesize why these five nations have been granted permanent status with veto power. (If the class has not yet discussed the Second World War, explain the balance of power situation at the end of that conflict.)
  - d. Ask students to evaluate the significance of the statement that "all Member States are obligated to carry out the Council's decisions." How does this reflect the principle of sovereignty?
5. Direct students to read the next section, "The Secretariat."
  - a. Ask students to summarize, in their own words, the responsibilities of the Secretary-General. (Write the summary definition on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Explain to the class the concept of the "bully pulpit" from American presidential politics. To what extent does the Secretary-General's office provide a similar function for the discussion of global issues and the conduct of diplomacy?

- c. Ask students to explain how this role is reflected in Kofi Annan's millennium address to the General Assembly. (See Lesson 2.)
6. Direct students to read the next section, "The Economic and Social Council."
  - a. Ask students to summarize, in their own words, the purpose of the Economic and Social Council. (Write the summary definition on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Given the issues surrounding globalization raised by Kofi Annan in his millennium address to the General Assembly (see Lesson 2), how significant does the role of the Economic and Social Council appear to be?
7. Direct students to read the final section, "The International Court of Justice."
  - a. Ask students to summarize, in their own words, the purpose of the International Court of Justice. (Write the summary definition on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the significance of the statement that "Participation by States in a proceeding is voluntary, but if a state agrees to participate, its obligated to comply with the Court's decision." How does this reflect the principle of sovereignty?
8. Culminating Activity  
Distribute the essay question "Can the UN Succeed?" Give students sufficient time to write their answers, then ask them to share their answers with the class.

# How the UN Works

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## Overview

The United Nations was established on October 24, 1945, by 51 countries committed to preserving peace through international cooperation and collective security. Today, nearly every nation in the world belongs to the UN: membership now totals 188 countries.

When States become Members of the United Nations, they agree to accept the obligations of the UN Charter, an international treaty that sets out basic principles of international relations. According to the Charter, the UN has four purposes: to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights, and to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations.

UN Members are sovereign countries. The United Nations is not a world government, and it does not make laws. It does, however, provide the means to help resolve international conflict and formulate policies on matters affecting all of us. At the UN, all the Member States - large and small, rich and poor, with differing political views and social systems - have a voice and vote in this process.

The United Nations has six main organs. Five of them - the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat - are based at UN Headquarters in New York.\* The sixth, the International Court of Justice, is located at The Hague, the Netherlands.

(\*By 1994, all Trust Territories had attained self-government or independence. Its work completed, the Trusteeship Council now consists only of the five permanent members of the Security Council.)

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## The General Assembly

All UN Member States are represented in the General Assembly - a kind of parliament of nations which meets to consider the world's most pressing problems. Each Member State has one vote. Decisions on "important matters," such as international peace and security, admitting new members, the UN budget and the budget for peacekeeping, are decided by two-thirds majority. Other matters are decided by simple majority. In recent years, a special effort has been made to reach decisions through consensus, rather than by taking a formal vote.

The Assembly cannot force action by any State, but its recommendations are an important indication of world opinion and represent the moral authority of the community of nations.

When the Assembly is not meeting, its work is carried out by its six main committees, other subsidiary bodies and the UN Secretariat.

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**The Security Council**

The UN Charter gives the Security Council primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. The Council may convene at any time, day or night, whenever peace is threatened. Under the Charter, all Member States are obligated to carry out the Council's decisions.

There are 15 Council members. Five of these - China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States - are permanent members. The other 10 are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. Member States have discussed making changes in Council membership to reflect today's political and economic realities.

Decisions of the Council require nine yes votes. Except in votes on procedural questions, a decision cannot be taken if there is a no vote, or veto, by a permanent member.

When the Council considers a threat to international peace, it first explores ways to settle the dispute peacefully. It may suggest principles for a settlement or undertake mediation. In the event of fighting, the Council tries to secure a cease-fire. It may send a peacekeeping mission to help the parties maintain the truce and to keep opposing forces apart.

The Council can take measures to enforce its decisions. It can impose economic sanctions or order an arms embargo. On rare occasions, the Council has authorized Member States to use "all necessary means," including collective military action, to see that its decisions are carried out.

The Council also makes recommendations to the General Assembly on the appointment of a new Secretary-General and on the admission of new Members to the UN.

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**The Secretariat**

The Secretariat carries out the substantive and administrative work of the United Nations as directed by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the other organs. At its head is the Secretary-General, who provides overall administrative guidance.

The Secretariat consists of departments and offices with a total staff of about 8,700 under the regular budget, drawn from some 160 countries. Duty stations include UN Headquarters in New York as well as UN offices in Geneva, Vienna and Nairobi.

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**The Economic and Social Council**

The Economic and Social Council, under the overall authority of the General Assembly, coordinates the economic and social work of the United Nations and the UN family. As the central forum for discussing international economic and social issues and for formulating policy recommendations, the Council plays a key role in fostering international cooperation for development. It also consults with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), thereby maintaining a vital link between the United Nations and civil society.

The Council has 54 members, elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms. It meets throughout the year and holds a major session in July, during which a special meeting of Ministers discusses major economic and social issues. Beginning in 1998, the Council expanded its discussions to include humanitarian themes.

The Council's subsidiary bodies meet regularly and report back to it. The Commission on Human Rights, for example, monitors the observance of human rights throughout the world. Other bodies focus on such issues as social development, the status of women, crime prevention, narcotic drugs and environmental protection. Five regional commissions promote economic development and strengthened economic relations in their respective regions.

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**The International Court of Justice**

The International Court of Justice, also known as the World Court, is the main judicial organ of the UN. Consisting of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Court decides disputes between countries. Participation by States in a proceeding is voluntary, but if a State agrees to participate, it is obligated to comply with the Court's decision. The Court also provides advisory opinions to the General Assembly and the Security Council upon request.

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## Lesson 4: The UN and Peacekeeping

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Analyze the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security.
- Distinguish between the concepts of peacemaking, peace-building, and peacekeeping.
- Analyze the role of the Secretary-General in the peacemaking process
- Explain the “power problem” faced by the UN in its efforts to maintain international peace and security.

Materials:

Student Handout: **The UN and Peacekeeping**

Student Handout: **The Blue Helmets**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Remind students that the United Nations has four primary goals (write each goal on the chalkboard:
  - a. To maintain international peace and security.
  - b. To develop friendly relations among nations.
  - c. To cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights.
  - d. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations.
2. Ask students to hypothesize how each of the following might assist in these goals, based on the material learned in the previous lesson:
  - a. Security Council
  - b. Secretary General
3. Distribute the student handout entitled **The UN and Peacekeeping**
  - a. Direct students to read the “Introduction” and the section on “Disarmament.”
  - b. Ask students to define the role the United Nations appears to have played in disarmament negotiations. What does it mean to be a “forum for multilateral negotiations?”
  - c. Ask students to examine the four primary goals of the UN and to determine if the organization appears to have been successful in achieving these goals.
4. Direct students to read the “Peacemaking” section.
  - a. Ask students to define the concept of “peacemaking.”
  - b. Ask students to analyze the role of the Secretary-General in the peacemaking process. How does the Secretary-General’s role help to achieve the goals of the UN?
5. Direct students to read the sections on “Peace-building” and “Peacekeeping”.
  - a. Ask students to distinguish the difference between “peace-building” and “peacekeeping.”
  - b. Ask students to explain what role the Security Council would play in both “peace-building” and “peacekeeping” operations.
  - c. Ask students to explain how “peace-building” and “peacekeeping” reflect the goals of the UN.
  - d. Ask students to hypothesize how, since the UN is a voluntary assembly of independent nations, it can provide sufficient military forces, and funding for those forces, to carry out peacekeeping operations. (i.e. It must depend upon the voluntary contributions of its members for both forces and funding.)
6. Distribute the student handout entitled **The Blue Helmets**
  - a. Direct students to read the “Overview,” “Average strength and cost,” and “Leading troop contributors” sections.
  - b. Ask students to identify anything in the readings that may have surprised them, including the relatively small number of forces contributed by the 5 permanent members, including the United States.
  - c. Ask students to hypothesize why the 5 permanent members appear to be relatively small contributors to UN peacekeeping forces. How might this reflect the issue of sovereignty?

7. Direct students to read the “Leading financial contributors” section.
  - a. Ask students to identify anything in the readings that may have surprised them, including the large percentage of funds contributed by the United States.
  - b. Ask students to evaluate how the list reflects that “power” is not just military but also economic and financial in nature.
8. Research Opportunity  
Using available library, Internet (<http://www.un.org>), and news sources, assign interested students to analyze existing UN peacekeeping operations in selected areas and to report to the class on the current status of these operations.
9. Culminating Activity  
Direct students to write an essay that addresses the following question: “How does UN reliance on voluntary military and financial contributions create a ‘power problem’ in its peacekeeping efforts to maintain international peace and security?”

# The UN and Peacekeeping

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## **Introduction**

Preserving world peace is a central purpose of the United Nations. Under the Charter, Member States agree to settle disputes by peaceful means and refrain from threatening or using force against other States.

Over the years, the UN has played a major role in helping defuse international crises and in resolving protracted conflicts. It has undertaken complex operations involving peacemaking, peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance. It has worked to prevent conflicts from breaking out. And in post-conflict situations, it has increasingly undertaken coordinated action to address the root causes of war and lay the foundation for durable peace.

UN efforts have produced dramatic results. The UN helped defuse the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 and the Middle East crisis in 1973. In 1988, a UN-sponsored peace settlement ended the Iran-Iraq war, and in the following year UN-sponsored negotiations led to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In the 1990s, the UN was instrumental in restoring sovereignty to Kuwait, and played a major role in ending civil wars in Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mozambique, restoring the democratically elected government in Haiti, and resolving or containing conflict in various other countries.

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## **Disarmament**

Halting the spread of arms and reducing and eventually eliminating all weapons of mass destruction are major goals of the United Nations. The UN has been an ongoing forum for disarmament negotiations, making recommendations and initiating studies. It supports multilateral negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament and in other international bodies. These negotiations have produced such agreements as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968), the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (1996) and the treaties establishing nuclear-free zones.

Other treaties prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons (1992) and bacteriological weapons (1972), ban nuclear weapons from the seabed and ocean floor (1971) and outer space (1967); and ban or restrict other types of weapons. In 1997, more than 100 nations signed the Ottawa Convention outlawing landmines. The UN encourages all nations to adhere to this and other treaties banning destructive weapons of war. The UN is also supporting efforts to control small arms and light weapons. As decided by the General Assembly, an international conference in 2001 will focus on the illicit trade in small arms.

The Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency, through a system of safeguard agreements, ensures that nuclear materials and equipment intended for peaceful uses are not diverted to military purposes. And in The Hague, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons collects information on chemical facilities worldwide and conducts routine inspections to ensure adherence to the chemical weapons convention.

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**Peacemaking** UN peacemaking brings hostile parties to agreement through diplomatic means. The Security Council, in efforts to maintain international peace and security, may recommend ways to avoid conflict or restore or secure peace - through negotiation, for example, or recourse to the International Court of Justice.

The Secretary-General plays an important role in peacemaking. The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which appears to threaten international peace and security; may use "good offices" to carry out mediation; or exercise "quiet diplomacy" behind the scenes, either personally or through special envoys. The Secretary-General also undertakes "preventive diplomacy" aimed at resolving disputes before they escalate. The Secretary-General may also send a fact-finding mission, support regional peacemaking efforts or set up a local UN political office to help build trust between the parties in conflict.

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**Peace-building** The UN is increasingly undertaking activities which focus on the underlying causes of violence. Development assistance is a key element of peace-building. In cooperation with UN agencies, and with the participation of donor countries, host governments and NGOs, the United Nations works to support good governance, civil law and order, elections and human rights in countries struggling to deal with the aftermath of conflict. At the same time, it helps these countries rebuild administrative, health, educational and other services disrupted by conflict.

Some of these activities, such as the UN's supervision of the 1989 elections in Namibia, mine-clearance programs in Mozambique and police training in Haiti, take place within the framework of a UN peacekeeping operation and may continue when the operation withdraws. Others are requested by governments, as in Cambodia where the UN maintains a human rights office, or in Guatemala where the UN is helping to implement peace agreements which affect virtually all aspects of national life.

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**Peacekeeping** The Security Council sets up UN peacekeeping operations and defines their scope and mandate in efforts to maintain peace and international security. Most operations involve military duties, such as observing a cease-fire or establishing a buffer zone while negotiators seek a long-term solution. Others may require civilian police or incorporate civilian personnel who help organize elections or monitor human rights. Some operations, like the one in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, have been deployed as a means to help prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Operations have also been deployed to monitor peace agreements in cooperation with peacekeeping forces of regional organizations.

Peacekeeping operations may last for a few months or continue for many years. The UN's operation at the cease-fire line between India and Pakistan in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, for example, was established in 1949, and UN peacekeepers have been in Cyprus since 1964. In contrast, the UN was able to complete its 1994 mission in the Aouzou Strip between Libya and Chad in a little over a month.

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# The Blue Helmets

## Overview

Since the UN deployed its first peacekeepers in 1948, some 118 countries have voluntarily provided more than 750,000 military and civilian police personnel. They have served, along with thousands of civilians, in 53 peacekeeping operations.

As of August 1, 1998, the United Nations was maintaining 15 peacekeeping operations around the world. These world-wide missions involve the deployment of 14,537 troops from 76 countries. The leading troop suppliers to the UN's 1998 peacekeeping activities are shown below. The UN peacekeeping budget for the year to June 20, 1998 was \$1.3 billion. Arrears in payments of contributions to the UN peacekeeping budget amounted to \$1.5 billion, of which the US owed 63% and Russia 9%.

## Average strength and cost of UN peacekeeping forces, 1991-1998

Year	Troops	Other UN Personnel	Total	UN Costs (\$ million)
1991	9,000	5,000	14,000	\$380
1992	33,000	12,000	45,000	\$1,330
1993	67,000	22,000	89,000	\$3,000
1994	72,000	13,000	85,000	\$3,400
1995	61,000	12,000	73,000	\$3,300
1996	21,000	7,000	28,000	\$1,600
1997	20,000	10,000	30,000	\$1,300
1998	15,000	9,000	24,000	\$1,000

## Leading troop contributors to UN operations (as of June 30, 1998).

Country	Strength
Poland	1,048
Bangladesh	886
Austria	795
Ghana	789
Finland	777
Norway	729
Ireland	726

Country	Strength
Argentina	696
France	677
Nepal	649
USA	622
Fiji	602
UK	393
India	297
Canada	292

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**Leading financial contributors to UN operations, 1998 (in \$ millions)**

	<b>1998 Assessment</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Total Arrears</b>
United States	288	31.5	966
Japan	160	17.6	19
Germany	86	9.5	10
France	71	7.8	22
UK	56	6.1	-
Italy	48	5.3	7
Russia	33	3.6	129
Canada	26	2.8	-
Spain	23	2.5	1
Netherlands	15	1.6	-
Australia	13	1.5	-
Sweden	10	1.1	-
Belgium	10	1.1	-
Brazil	3	0.3	13
Rep. of Korea	2	0.2	1
<i>Sub-total</i>	844	92.4	1,168
Other	69	7.6	360
<i>Total</i>	913	100.0	1,528

(Note: The Clinton Administration and the United States Congress have been working to reach agreement on U.S. funding of UN peacekeeping operations.)

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## Lesson 5: The Security Council: A Case Study in Decision Making

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Analyze the status of major international powers in the modern world.
- Identify the factors that create and contribute to a nation's political power.
- Evaluate how the functioning of the Security Council reflects the nature of the "power problem."

Materials:

Library and Internet resources.

Procedures and Activities:

1. Explain to the class that they are going to conduct a mock Security Council session.
  - a. Explain to students that there has been ongoing discussion regarding the structure of the Security Council. Particularly, since the Security Council reflects the legacy of World War II, some believe that the permanent members should reflect the realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century power structure and should also include better representation for developing countries.
  - b. Divide the class into research teams. Each team should represent one of the fifteen members of the Security Council, the 5 permanent and 10 non-permanent members. (For the current list of non-permanent members, access the United Nations web-site (<http://www.un.org>)
  - c. Select 3 additional teams to represent the nations of Japan, Germany, and India, respectively. (Note: If, at the time of the simulation, one of these nations is a non-permanent member of the Security Council, a separate team will not be needed.)
  - d. Remind the class that, in order for resolutions to pass the Security Council, nine members, including all 5 permanent members, must vote in the affirmative.
  - e. Using available library, textbook, and/or Internet resources, direct the teams representing the Security Council members to research their nation's national, foreign policy, and economic interests, paying close attention to bilateral agreements and trade arrangements they may have with other nations.
  - f. Direct the teams representing Japan, Germany, and India to do similar research and to prepare a presentation, based on their nation's position in the world, explaining why their nation should be included as a permanent members of the Security Council.
2. After research has been completed, assemble the class in a mock Security Council session.
  - a. Direct the teams representing Japan, Germany, and India to make their presentations to the Security Council explaining why their nation should be included as a permanent member of the Security Council.
  - b. Following the presentations, direct the teams representing the Security Council to debate the following resolutions. Emphasize that students must represent the interests of their nation, as discovered during their research. (Teams representing Japan, Germany, and India may be present to participate in the debate, but cannot vote on the resolutions, even if they are actually one of the non-permanent members at the time.)
    - Resolved: The Security Council should change its structure and eliminate an existing permanent member to make room for a replacement from either Japan, Germany, or India. (Note: The answer will always be NO, since the permanent members would use their veto power to prevent the resolution from passing.)
    - Resolved: The Security Council should change its structure to allow one or more additional permanent members. (Note: If the answer is NO, skip the remaining resolutions. If the answer is YES, direct the teams to debate whether a nation should meet a certain criteria in order to become a permanent member of the Security Council.)

- Resolved: Japan should be admitted as a permanent member of the Security Council.
  - Resolved: Germany should be admitted as a permanent member of the Security Council.
  - Resolved: India should be admitted as a permanent member of the Security Council.
3. Culminating Activity
- a. Debrief the class and have each team explain why they chose to vote as they did.
  - b. Direct students to write an essay addressing the following question: “How does the debate over changing the structure of the Security Council reflect the ‘power problem’ faced by the nation you represented?” “How does it reflect the ‘power problem’ faced by the other nations involved?”

***Trade, Aid & Development:  
Issues and Institutions***

## Lesson 6: Trade, Daily Living, and the “Power Problem”

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Explain the impact of trade on daily life in the United States.
- Evaluate the link between economic policy and security interests.
- Hypothesize how economic interests may affect a nation’s “power problem.”

Materials:

Student Handout: **Twenty Minutes in a Working Parent’s Morning**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Distribute the student handout **Twenty Minutes in a Working Parent’s Morning**.
  - a. Direct students to read the initial article in the handout.
  - b. Ask students to explain what they think the point of the article is.
  - c. Direct students to highlight those passages in the handout that indicate use of products made outside of the United States. (Create a list of those products and their place of origin on the chalkboard.)
  - d. Ask students to provide a list of products from their own home or personal possessions that were created outside of the United States. (Add these products and their places of origin to the list on the chalkboard.\* Include in the list the number of students who report using that type of product.)
  - e. Ask students to draw a conclusion about the role of trade in both their daily lives and the daily life of the United States in general.
2. Direct the students to read President Clinton’s comments.
  - a. Ask students to analyze the passage and to identify its key point. (Write a summary statement on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Ask students to focus on the first sentence in the passage. If “economic and security interests are inextricably linked,” how might that affect the nation’s “power problem?”
  - c. Ask students to focus on the second sentence. If our prosperity “depends on the stability in key regions with which we trade,” how might economic interests shape our foreign policy? Is isolationism or engagement the best approach to problems in these regions?
  - d. Ask students to hypothesize why President Clinton believes that America must take a leadership role in international development, financial, and trade institutions. How might it be related to our security interests?
3. Culminating Activity.
  - a. Direct students to write an essay addressing the following issue: “How important is trade to the economic interests of the United States? What should the United States be willing to do to protect these economic interests?”
  - b. After completion of the essays, ask students to share their responses and encourage discussion to reach a consensus on American economic interests and their importance.

(\*Retain this list for use in succeeding lessons.)

## Twenty Minutes in a Working Parent's Morning

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I woke up, alerted not only by the cries of Atticus, our alley cat, but by the shrill alarm of my General Electric alarm clock made in Hong Kong. I sprang out of bed and headed downstairs to get the Mexican-made Proctor-Silex coffee-maker ready. As I filled the machine with coffee imported from Colombia, my 3-year-old son screamed that he wanted out of his U.S.-built bed. He climbed out and tossed his U.S.-made J.P Stevens sheets, decorated with Bert and Ernie—the U.S.-created characters from Sesame Street—to the floor. He then demanded orange juice. After bringing him the juice—a mixture from Florida and Brazil—he promptly yelled that he did not want to go to his Montessori (a teaching approach imported from Italy) preschool. Instead he wanted to go to Paramount's Kings Dominion (a U.S.-owned amusement park. After telling him he had to go to school and I had to go to work, I stumbled back to the kitchen to fix our breakfast.

I turned on the radio, waiting for the news. Madonna, born in Michigan, was singing a song about playgrounds for a movie about baseball titled *A League of Their Own*, made by Columbia Pictures. Columbia, once owned by Coca-Cola, is now owned by Sony, the Japanese company that brought Americans the "Walkman" portable stereo.

Meanwhile, my son screamed that he wanted to eat breakfast with his stuffed animal, a Thai-made facsimile of the Lion King. He poured his milk over his Wheaties—a cereal made in Michigan. Then he tried to feed the Lion King sesame crackers made in Israel topped with British-made orange marmalade. Not surprisingly, the stuffed animal did not open its mouth.

I ran out to get *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*—newspapers written and printed in the good old USA by two venerable U.S. companies. It was a windy morning and the delivery person had somehow wedged one paper under the front wheel of my Honda—a Japanese car made in Ohio. Trade, sports, and the weather were in the news. A few days ago, the top headline of *The New York Times* had read, "President Imposes Trade Sanction on Chinese Goods, Billions in Tariffs." Today's *Washington Post* featured a headline that read, "U.S. Presses Ahead with China Trade." While scurrying wildly to get dressed and find my Nike sneakers (made in South Korea), I wondered why the United States was pressing ahead with China trade if it was imposing sanctions on China.

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**President Bill Clinton,  
December 1999**

“Our economic and security interests are inextricably linked. Prosperity at home depends on stability in key regions with which we trade or from which we import critical commodities, such as oil and natural gas. Prosperity also demands our leadership in international development, financial, and trade institutions. In turn, the strength of our diplomacy, our ability to maintain an unrivaled military, and the attractiveness of our values abroad depend in large part on the strength of our economy.”

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## Lesson 7: Developing a Trade Policy

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Define the concept of “trade policy.”
- Distinguish between protectionist views and free trade views.
- Describe the purpose of tariffs and quotas.
- Explain how standards create defacto trade barriers.
- Explain the concepts of absolute advantage and comparative advantage.
- Explain the concept of economic interdependence.

Materials:

Student Handout: **Issues in Developing a Trade Policy**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Review the consensus reached on the two issues in the previous lesson.
  - a. Question #1: How important is trade to the economic interests of the United States? (Write a summary statement on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Question #2: What should the United States be willing to do to protect these economic interests? (Write a summary statement on the chalkboard.)
2. Distribute the student handout **Trade, Jobs, and Interdependence**.
  - a. Direct students to read the “Overview” section.
  - b. Based on the evidence given in the paragraph, ask students to evaluate the current significance of trade to the U.S. economy.
  - c. Ask students to compare the summary statement on the chalkboard for Question #1 to the information in the paragraph. Does the information support or refute their hypothesis?
3. Direct students to read the “Why We Trade” section.
  - a. Write the three reasons given in the handout on the chalkboard.
  - b. Refer to the list of products created in the previous lesson, and ask students to classify the products they listed according to the three categories in the handout.
  - c. Ask students to analyze the categories of products they’ve created and to explain which categories of products they tend to use most frequently or in the greatest numbers.
4. Direct students to read the “Trade Policy” section.
  - a. Ask students to define the concept of “trade policy” based on the information presented in the handout.
  - b. Direct students to examine the last paragraph in this section. Why might it be said that those who make trade policy have to juggle conflicting interests? How might the groups listed have conflicting interests?
5. Direct students to read the “Protectionist Views” and “Types of Trade Barriers” sections.
  - a. Ask students to explain the purpose of trade barriers from the protectionist view.
  - b. Ask students to hypothesize which groups or interests would be protected by erecting trade barriers such as quotas or tariffs.
  - c. Ask students to hypothesize what impact defacto trade barriers (i.e. Standards) would have upon trade relations with other countries.
  - d. Ask students to speculate on how other nations might respond to the erection of trade barriers. How would that effect U.S. economic security as a whole?
6. Direct students to read the “Free Trade” section.
  - a. Ask students to explain how protectionist views and free trade views differ.
  - b. Ask students to hypothesize which groups or interests would benefit from a free trade policy.
  - c. Write the terms “absolute advantage” and “comparative advantage” on the chalkboard.
  - d. Ask students to explain why absolute advantage and/or comparative advantage might be desirable from an individual business point of view and/or a national point of view.

7. Direct students to read the “Trade and American Jobs” and the “VCR Example” sections.
  - a. Ask students to explain the point of the VCR example.
  - b. Ask students to compare a consumer’s point of view and a displaced worker’s point of view based on the article. Whose interests must the government take into consideration when making trade policy?
8. Research Opportunity
  - a. Using various textbook, library, or Internet resources, select a group of students to research the initial arguments for and against NAFTA.
  - b. Assign another group of students to research trade results between the U.S., Mexico, and Canada since the inception of NAFTA.
  - c. Direct each group to report back to the class on their findings.
  - d. Ask the class to debate the benefits of NAFTA for the U.S. economy.
9. Culminating Activity

Direct students to write a short essay that answers the following question: “What type of trade policy, protectionist or free trade, would be most beneficial for the United States at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century?” (Students must provide a logical rationale and supporting evidence to validate their positions.)

# Issues in Developing a Trade Policy

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## Overview

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the American economy has become increasingly intertwined with the world economy for several reasons. First, although the United States is self-sufficient in many areas, Americans import many goods and services. Some of these imports are necessities; some are luxuries. Second, although most Americans are not directly employed in importing or exporting, many of the new high-paying jobs in the United States come from its growing exports. According to the *1995 Economic Report of the President*, exports have been responsible for one-third of the U.S. economy's growth from 1986 to 1994. By 1994, U.S. exports supported almost 12 million U.S. jobs that paid approximately 15 percent more than the average U.S. wage, and accounted for nearly 23 percent of the nation's gross domestic product. This is twice the value of trade in 1970.

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## Why We Trade

Trade always occurs because the companies or individuals doing the trading believe they will gain something from the exchange. Americans exchange their money or work or products for:

- Other goods that they do not make (such as cocoa).
  - Products they do not make enough of (such as gasoline).
  - Items that they do not make as efficiently as overseas manufacturers (such as lace tablecloths or color televisions).
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## Trade Policy

Because trade is so economically important, trade policies are politically important. Governmental decisions on trade will affect the nation's economic growth and stability, the standard of living of a large percentage of the population, and perhaps U.S. political stability.

In addition, policy makers must also weigh the international as well as the domestic effects of their decisions. Trade relations are an important component of U.S. foreign policy, and trade policy could disrupt important alliances.

In making trade policy, the President and Congress must weigh international and domestic factors, assess security interests and political considerations, and balance consumer, taxpayer, worker, proprietor, and voter interests. Juggling these interests is not easy.

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## Protectionist Views

Americans who hold **protectionist views** think the federal government has a responsibility to protect U.S. workers and firms hurt by foreign competition. They want their elected officials to erect trade barriers to foreign imports.

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**Types of Trade Barriers**

Tariffs: A tariff is essentially a tax that a nation's government applies to foreign-made goods as they come into the nation. Producers increase their prices to consumers to recover the costs of tariffs.

Quotas: Quotas limit the quantity of goods that can be imported. Because they have been limited to a certain amount of goods, foreign producers are likely to export higher-valued items, which are generally more profitable.

Standards: Governments make laws and regulations, called standards, to protect the health, safety, security, environment, or consumer interests of their citizens. While these laws are not designed to limit trade, they can become what are often called **defacto trade barriers**. There are two types of standards:

- Product standard—relates to the quality of the final product. (Example: U.S. standards to guarantee that toys will not hurt children.)
- Process standard—relates to the process by which a good or service is produced. (Example: standards for use of pesticides in growing crops.)

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**Free Trade Views**

Americans who believe markets work best without government interference; advocate free markets within the United States as well as across borders—markets without trade barriers. These people hold what are termed **free trade views**.

All countries, including the poorest, have assets—human, industrial, natural, financial—which they can employ to produce goods and services for their domestic markets or to compete overseas. According to classic economic theory, a nation's businesses have an "**absolute advantage**" if they can produce a good or service more efficiently than can companies in another nation. However, each trading nation will gain more if, rather than trying to produce everything it needs, it specializes in using its assets to produce those goods and services its businesses can make at the lowest relative cost and at greatest efficiency. "**Comparative advantage**" means that countries prosper by taking advantage of their assets in order to concentrate on what they can produce best.

Most companies recognize that the bigger the market (access to large numbers of customers) the greater their potential. This is where free trade comes in. Trade policies that allow the unrestricted flow of goods and services between countries can multiply the rewards that come with producing the best products, with the best design, at the best price.

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**Trade and American Jobs**

Few people can estimate the potential job loss or gain from trade because no one can predict how technological, social, or political changes will effect the global economy. Economic history reveals that freer trade policies have indeed led to some job losses, but that those policies have also created many new jobs for Americans. Are the people who lost jobs as a result of import competition able to transfer to those industries that are growing because of world trade?

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**VCR Example**

Although a U.S. company invented the video cassette recorder (VCR), Japanese companies such as Matsushita (Panasonic) and Sony soon began to excel at producing VCRs for world markets. By the mid-1980s, no U.S. company was making VCRs in the United States. The American employee who once worked to produce VCRs may disagree with the trade policies that permit such imports. In the face of unemployment and economic dislocation, this worker's neighbors may share that conclusion. Such workers and the communities in which they live may want the government to follow a trade policy that they believe will protect their jobs and companies.

By contrast, workers and communities that benefit from the importation of foreign-made VCRs may oppose a policy that restricts imports to protect U.S. companies. Many Americans unload the ships that bring the imports, drive the trucks that take imported goods to businesses, and sell the imports in retail stores. These people owe much of their livelihood to the financing, importation, distribution, and sales of foreign-made goods and services.

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Adapted from *Are There Trade-Offs When Americans Trade?* by Susan A. Aaronson

## Lesson 8: A Global Perspective on Development

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Compare standards of living in high income, middle income, and low income nations.
- Compare the apparent needs of low income nations to those of high income nations.
- Evaluate the role of trade in promoting economic growth in developing nations.

Materials:

Student Handout: **Analyzing Development Data**

Student Handout: **Development Data Statistics (1998)**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Place the terms “high income,” “middle income,” and “low income” on the chalkboard.
  - a. Explain that nations, like individuals, can be classified by the amount of income they generate. In the case of nations, this can be seen by such statistics as GNP Per Capita (Gross National Product divided by the total population, which gives a total amount of GNP generated per person in a given year.)
  - b. Write the number \$4,890 on the chalkboard. Explain that this is the average global GNP Per Capita, taking all of the wealth generated by the world’s economies and divided by the total global population.
  - c. Ask students to hypothesize, based on this average, what a “high income” GNP Per Capita might be. (Write the consensus figure on the chalkboard.)
  - d. Follow the same procedure for “middle income” and “low income” averages.
2. Distribute the student handout **Analyzing Development Data**.
  - a. Explain that the World Bank gathers and publishes statistics that enable analysts to compare relative standards of living in various nations around the world.
  - b. Review with students the meanings of each of the statistical categories listed in the handout.
  - c. As you review each statistic, ask students to hypothesize how the data might differ between “high income,” “middle income” and “low income” nations.
  - d. Direct students to record their hypotheses in the margins of the handout.
3. Distribute the student handout **Development Data Statistics (1998)**.
  - a. Explain that the United States is an example of a high income (HI), highly industrialized **developed** nation.
  - b. Direct students to analyze the statistics for the United States as listed on the handout.
  - c. Ask students to compare the statistics to the hypotheses they created for a “high income” nation. What are the similarities and differences?
  - d. Ask students to identify those statistics that they believe are the most significant in illustrating America’s standard of living and to explain why they consider them the most significant?
  - e. Direct students to locate the other high income (HI) nation on the chart (Australia) and to compare their statistics with those of the United States. What are the similarities and differences?
  - f. Write the phrase G-7 on the chalkboard. Explain to students that the Group of 7 or G-7 nations are the world’s most highly industrialized, wealthiest, and most developed countries.
  - g. List the G-7 nations. (U.S., Germany, Japan, Italy, France, the United Kingdom, and Canada)
  - h. Ask students to draw a conclusion regarding the relative standard of living shared by the G-7 and other highly industrialized nations and to hypothesize why they have such high standards of living.
4. Direct students to analyze the statistics for the Mexico and Botswana as listed on the handout.

- a. Explain that Mexico and Botswana are both examples of upper middle income (UMI), partially industrialized **developing** nations.
  - b. Direct students to compare the statistics for Mexico and Botswana to those of the United States and Australia. What are the similarities and differences?
  - c. Ask students to explain which statistics they believe indicate the most significant differences between upper middle income and high income nations. How do they account for these differences?
5. Direct students to analyze the statistics for the Peru and Iran as listed on the handout.
- a. Explain that Mexico and Botswana are both examples of lower middle income (LMI), partially industrialized **developing** nations.
  - b. Direct students to compare the statistics for Peru and Iran to those of Mexico and Botswana. What are the similarities and differences?
  - c. Ask students to explain which statistics they believe indicate the most significant differences between upper middle income and lower middle income nations. How do they account for these differences?
6. Direct students to analyze the statistics for the Chad and Nepal as listed on the handout.
- a. Explain that Chad and Nepal are both examples of low income (LI), less industrialized **underdeveloped** nations.
  - b. Direct students to compare the statistics for Chad and Nepal to both UMI nations (Mexico and Botswana) and to both HI nations (United States and Australia).
  - c. Ask students to evaluate the degree of difference between the high income and low income nations.
  - d. Ask students to explain which statistics they believe indicate the most significant differences between the three categories of nations?
  - e. Direct students to analyze the statistics for China as listed on the handout and to compare them to those for Chad and Nepal.
  - f. Ask students to hypothesize why China would be classified in the same category as Chad and Nepal although they appear to have a higher standard of living. (i.e. GNP Per Capita is national wealth divided by the total population.) Would they suggest a reclassification? Based on what statistics?
7. Direct students to focus on the trade statistics on the handout.
- a. Based on the "Trade as share of GDP" statistics, ask students to evaluate the importance of trade in the economies of developing nations.
  - b. Ask students to hypothesize what developing nations might gain from trade and why underdeveloped nations might seek open trade markets for their goods.
  - c. Direct students to construct a list of needs that less developed nations might fill by trading with the G-7 nations.
8. Culminating Activity.  
Direct students to write a summary essay based on the following question:  
"Standards of living vary around the world. Compare the needs of:
- A teenager living in a developed G-7 nation.
  - A teenager living in a developing nation.
  - A teenager living in an underdeveloped nation.
- In what sense would their needs be similar? What differences would they encounter in filling those needs?"

## Analyzing Development Data

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<b>Child malnutrition</b>	The percentage of children under the age of five whose weight for age is more than two standard deviations below the average.
<b>Fertility rate</b>	The number of children that would be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her childbearing years and bear children in accordance with current age-specific fertility rates.
<b>GDP annual growth</b>	The one year growth rate in real gross domestic product (gross value added by all resident and non-resident producers in an economy, plus indirect taxes.)
<b>GNP per capita</b>	The gross national product (final value of goods and services produced by the residents of an economy) divided by the nation's total population.
<b>Illiteracy</b>	The percentage of adults (male or female) who cannot, with understanding, read and write a short, simple statement about their everyday life.
<b>Infant mortality rate</b>	The number of infants who die before reaching one year of age, per 1,000 live births in the same year.
<b>Life expectancy</b>	The number of years a newborn infant would live if prevailing patterns of mortality at the time of birth were to stay the same throughout its life.
<b>Net primary school enrollment</b>	The ratio students actually enrolled in primary school, regardless of age, of the total population eligible to be enrolled in primary school.
<b>Net secondary school enrollment</b>	The ratio students actually enrolled in secondary school, regardless of age, of the total population eligible to be enrolled in secondary school.
<b>Paved roads</b>	Those surfaced with crushed stone (macadam) and hydrocarbon binder or bituminized agents, with concrete, or with cobblestones, as a percentage of all the country's roads, measured in length.

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<b>Personal computers</b>	The estimated number of self-contained computers (PCs) designed to be used by a single individual, per 1,000 people.
<b>Population growth</b>	The one-year rate of growth in total population.
<b>Population per square kilometer</b>	The total population divided by land area in square kilometers.
<b>Telephone mainlines</b>	Telephone lines connecting a customer's equipment to the public switched telephone network, per 1,000 people.
<b>Trade as share of GDP</b>	The sum of exports and imports of goods and services expressed as a percentage of the gross domestic product.
<b>Trade growth</b>	The difference between the annual growth in trade of goods and services and the growth of GDP from 1988 – 1998.
<b>Under 5 mortality rate</b>	The probability that a newborn baby will die before reaching the age of five, if subject to current age-specific mortality rates.
<b>Urban population</b>	The mid-year population of areas defined as urban in each country and reported to the United Nations.

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Data courtesy of the World Bank ([www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org))

## Development Data Statistics (1998)

	<b>World</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>Chad</b>	<b>Mexico</b>	<b>Iran</b>	<b>Nepal</b>	<b>Botswana</b>	<b>Peru</b>	<b>China</b>	<b>Australia</b>
Population (millions)	5,897	270	7	96	62	23	2	25	1,239	19
Population growth	1.4%	0.9%	2.7%	1.6%	1.7%	2.3%	1.9%	1.7%	0.9%	1.2
Population/sq. km	45	30	6	50	38	160	3	19	133	2
Life expectancy	67	77	48	72	71	58	46	69	70	79
Fertility Rate	3	2	6	3	3	4	4	3	2	2
Infant mortality rate	54	7	99	30	26	77	62	40	31	5
Under 5 mortality rate	75	9*	172	35	33	107	105	47	36	6
Child malnutrition	--	1%*	39%*	14%**	16%*	57%*	--	--	16%*	0%*
Urban population	46%	77%	23%	74%	61%	11%	49%	72%	31%	85%
Illiteracy (male)	18%	--	51%	7	18%	43%	27%	6%	9%	--
Illiteracy (female)	32%	--	69%	11%	33%	78%	22%	16%	25%	--
Net primary school enrollment	--	100%*	48%*	100%*	90%*	78%*	80%*	94%*	100%*	100%
Net secondary school enrollment	--	96%*	18%*	66%*	81%*	55%*	89%*	84%*	70%	96%
Telephone main lines	146	661	1	104	112	8	65	67	70	512
Personal computers	71	459	--	47	32*	--	25	18	9	412
Paved roads	43%*	59%*	1%**	30%*	50%*	42%*	24%*	13%	--	39%*
GNP per capita	\$4,890	\$29,240	\$230	\$3,840	\$1,650	\$210	\$3,070	\$2,440	\$750	\$20,640
GDP annual growth	1.7%	3.9%	8.1%	4.8%	1.7%	2.3%	3.5%	0.3%	7.8%	5.1%
Trade as share of GDP	28.3%	19.9%	7.2%	32.9%	8.4%	6.5%	42.4%	13.1%	8.3%	27.8%
Trade growth	--	5.6%	-2.0%	9.3%	-5.4%	8.6%	-3.7%	-3.8%	3.1%	4.6%
<b>Type</b>		HI	LI	UMI	LMI	LI	UMI	LMI	LI	HI

## Lesson 8: International Economic Institutions and US Trade Policy

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Describe the purpose of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).
- Explain the purpose of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).
- List the four essential functions of the World Trade Organization (WTO).
- Describe the role of developing countries within the WTO.
- Identify the basic decision making mechanisms within the WTO.
- Evaluate the position of the United States in regards to GATT and the WTO.

Materials:

Student Handout: **Trade at the Turn of the Century**

Student Handout: **US Policy: GATT, WTO, and Development**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Review the differences in standard of living discussed in the previous lesson.
  - a. Ask students to summarize the comparative standards of living in “high income,” “middle income,” and “low income” nations.
  - b. Ask students to explain how the needs of the average citizen in each of these types of nations might differ.
2. Distribute copies of the student handout **Trade at the Turn of the Century**
  - a. Direct students to read the “Introduction.”
  - b. Ask students to explain how access to the global media might affect how citizens in each of the three types of nations might view their standard of living in comparison to the others. How would that make them feel?
  - c. Ask students to focus on the last paragraph in the section. If global market forces are shaping world order, what impact does that have on a nation’s “power problem” and sense of security?
3. Direct students to read the “World Bank” and “International Monetary Fund” sections.
  - a. Ask students to describe the purpose of both the World Bank and the IMF. (Write their summary statements on the chalkboard.) In what sense do they perform similar functions?
  - b. Ask students to evaluate how “low income” nations might benefit from the operations of the IMF and the World Bank. What concerns might “low income” nations have when seeking help from these institutions?
  - c. Ask students to evaluate how “middle income” nations might benefit from the operations of the IMF and the World Bank. What concerns might “middle income” nations have when seeking help from these institutions?
  - d. Ask students to evaluate how “high income” nations might benefit from the operations of the IMF and the World Bank. In what sense would their involvement differ from the other types of nations? What concerns might they have?
4. Direct students to read the next four sections (“GATT,” “The World Trade Organization,” “Trade Without Discrimination,” and “Encouraging Development and Reform.”)
  - a. Ask students to describe the purpose of GATT and the WTO. (Write their summary statements on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the meaning of the “most favored nation” clause. What appears to be its intent?
  - c. Ask students to evaluate how “low income” nations might benefit from the operations of the WTO.
  - d. Ask students to evaluate how “middle income” nations might benefit from the operations of the WTO.
  - e. Ask students to evaluate how “high income” nations might benefit from the operations of the WTO.



5. Direct students to focus on the five listed purposes of the World Trade Organization and to circle or highlight the last two.
  - a. Ask students to analyze these two purposes carefully. Why might a nation concerned about its “power problem” and economic security be concerned that the WTO oversees national trade policies and engages in global economic policy-making?
  - b. Direct students to read the “How the WTO works” section.
  - c. Ask students to evaluate this decision making process. Would this process alleviate the concerns of a nation concerned about its “power problem” and economic security? What benefits arise from reaching agreement by consensus?
6. Distribute copies of the student handout **US Policy: GATT, WTO, and Development**.
  - a. Direct students to read the “Promoting an Open Trading System” section.
  - b. Ask students to analyze the U.S. position on involvement with GATT and the WTO. What are the primary reasons that the U.S. government supports involvement in the WTO? (Write student responses on the chalkboard.)
  - c. Ask students to hypothesize how U.S. engagement in the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank might aid the United States in addressing the “power problem” and American economic security.
7. Direct students to read the “Promoting Sustainable Development” section.
  - a. Ask students to analyze what the United States sees as its primary interests in promoting development in developing and underdeveloped nations. What are the humanitarian interests? What are the economic interests?
  - b. Ask students to place themselves in the position of a “low income” nation. Would they have a positive or negative response to the statements in this section? Why?
8. Culminating Activity
  - a. Review with students their observations from the culminating activity of the previous lesson.
  - b. Assign each student to one of three groups: “high income,” “middle income,” and “low income.” (Be certain to distribute the types of nations equitably.)
  - c. Give students the following assignment:
 

“You are the newly elected leader of a [HI, MI, LI] nation. You are about to deliver your first televised address to your nation. The address concerns your new administration’s position on international trade, economic development, and participation in the global economic community. Write a speech that presents your vision of the challenges facing your country, the case for engagement in the global economic community, and how your policies would address the needs of your nation.”

(Students may use the Development Data Statistics from the previous lesson as a resource.)

# Trade at the Turn of the Century

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## Introduction

With the end of the Cold War, trade has become a major policy issue. As Americans became less concerned with the spread of communism, they began to pay more attention to their own nation's economic future. In the 1990s, trade became front-page news and trade negotiators turned into major political figures. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) became household terms.

The West also saw a fundamental shift in economic policy start to take place. As the world became more economically interconnected, globalizing economic tendencies are changing the way we think about world order. . . . It is evident that growing economic interconnectedness, combined with the influence of the Internet and a global media (especially television) that glamorizes consumerism and creates a common awareness of breaking news in real time, is reshaping our sense of world order in fundamental respects.

Global market forces, in the form of multinational corporations and banks, exert a strong independent influence and operate internationally with only minimal regulation. Also significant is the emergence of local and transnational initiatives that are organized by voluntary groupings of people concerned about issues that may range from the construction of a dam to government oppression. World order is being shaped by these various forces.

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## The World Bank

The World Bank is a specialized United Nations agency. The bank grants loans only to member nations, for the purpose of financing specific projects. To ensure repayment, member governments must guarantee loans made to private concerns within their territories. After the loan has been made, the bank requires periodic reports, both from the borrower and from its own observers, on the use of the loan and on the progress of the project.

In the early period of the World Bank's existence, loans were granted chiefly to European countries and were used for the reconstruction of industries damaged or destroyed during World War II (1939-1945). Since the late 1960s most loans have been granted to economically developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Since the 1980s, the bank has given particular attention to projects that could directly benefit the poorest people in developing nations by helping them to raise their productivity and to gain access to such necessities as safe water and waste-disposal facilities, health care, family-planning assistance, nutrition, education, and housing.

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**The  
International  
Monetary Fund  
(IMF)**

The IMF is an international organization of 182 member countries, established to promote international monetary cooperation, exchange stability, and orderly exchange arrangements; to foster economic growth and high levels of employment; and to provide temporary financial assistance to countries to help ease balance of payments adjustment.

The IMF is a cooperative institution—in some ways like a credit union—in which member governments provide temporary financial assistance to any member country experiencing difficulties in paying for imports of goods and services and/or servicing its foreign debt. In return, the country agrees to undertake policy reforms to correct the problems that underlie its balance of payments difficulties. The temporary financial assistance from the IMF provides members the “opportunity to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international prosperity.”

The IMF extends financial assistance to a borrowing member country by providing it with reserve assets (in the form of widely accepted foreign currencies) obtained from other members. This is accomplished by the borrower “purchasing,” with its own currency reserve, financial assets from the IMF. Financial assistance is repaid by the borrower—“repurchasing” its own currency held by the IMF with international reserve assets. This purchase-repurchase mechanism explains why, from an accounting perspective, the IMF’s total resources do not vary as a result of IMF financial assistance extended or repaid. Financial assistance is typically made available in installments that are linked to the borrowing country’s observance of specific economic and financial policy conditions (“performance criteria” or “benchmarks”) that must be satisfied before the next installment is released.

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**GATT**

Although the GATT may seem new to many Americans, it has been around since 1947. That year, the United States and twenty-two other trading nations met in Geneva, Switzerland, to negotiate trade barrier reduction and rules to govern trade. The result of their negotiations was called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). GATT was never a formal international institution. It was simply a temporary multilateral agreement designed to provide a framework of rules and a forum to work out trade barrier reductions among nations. It operated like a club: Nations met to negotiate the reduction of trade barriers such as quotas and tariffs.

During the organization's existence, GATT members sponsored eight separate rounds of trade negotiations. The last round ended in 1994, and in it GATT members and seven other nations signed a trade pact that will eventually cut tariffs and reduce or eliminate other obstacles to trade. The pact also took steps toward opening trade in investments and services among member nations and strengthening protection for intellectual property—that is, creative works that can be protected legally. The 1994 GATT pact also provided for the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which took over GATT's functions.

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**The World Trade Organization**

The WTO was established on January 1, 1995. Out of a potential membership of 152 countries and territories, 76 governments became members of the WTO on its first day, with some 50 other governments at various stages of completing their domestic ratification procedures, and the remainder engaged in negotiating their terms of entry.

While the GATT applied only to trade in merchandise goods, the WTO covers trade in goods, services and trade in ideas or intellectual property. The WTO is based in Geneva, Switzerland. Its essential functions are:

- Administering and implementing the multilateral and plurilateral trade agreements that together make up the WTO.
- Acting as a forum for multilateral trade negotiations.
- Seeking to resolve trade disputes.
- Overseeing national trade policies.
- Cooperating with other international institutions involved in global economic policy-making.

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**Trade Without Discrimination**

For almost fifty years, key provisions of GATT outlawed discrimination among members and between imported and domestically-produced merchandise. Rules on non-discrimination are designed to secure fair conditions of trade.

According to the “most-favored-nation” (MFN) clause, members are bound to grant to the products of other members treatment no less favorable than that accorded to the products of any other country. Thus, no country is to give special trading advantages to another or to discriminate against it; all are on an equal basis and all share the benefits of any moves towards lower trade barriers.

There are a number of exceptions to this clause—notably that covering customs unions and freed trade areas (i.e. NAFTA, European Economic Union, etc.). However, most-favored-nation treatment generally ensures that developing countries and others with little economic leverage are able to benefit freely from the best trading conditions wherever and whenever they are negotiated.

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**Encouraging Development and Reform**

Over three-quarters of WTO members are developing countries and countries in the process of economic reform from non-market systems. During the Uruguay Round, over 60 such countries implemented trade liberalization programs. At this time, developing countries and transition economies took a much more active and influential role in the Uruguay Round negotiations than in any previous round.

This trend effectively killed the notion that the trading system existed only for industrialized countries. It also changed the previous emphasis on exempting developing countries from certain GATT provisions and agreements. With the end of the Uruguay Round, developing countries showed themselves prepared to take on most of the obligations that are required of developed countries.

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**How the WTO Works**

The work of the WTO is undertaken by representatives of member governments, but its roots lie in the everyday activity of industry and commerce. Trade policies and negotiating positions are formulated in capitals, usually with a substantial advisory input from private firms, business organizations, farmers as well as consumer and other interest groups. Most countries have a diplomatic mission in Geneva, Switzerland, sometimes headed by a special ambassador to the WTO, whose officials attend meetings of the many negotiating and administrative bodies at WTO headquarters. Sometimes expert representatives are sent directly from capitals to put forward their governments' views on specific questions.

The WTO continues a long tradition in GATT of seeking to make decisions not by voting but by consensus. This procedure allows members to ensure their interests are properly considered even though, on occasion, they may decide to join a consensus in the overall interests of the multilateral trading system. Where consensus is not possible, the WTO Agreement allows for voting. In such circumstances, decisions are taken by a majority of the votes cast and on the basis of one country, one vote.

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## U.S. Policy: GATT, WTO, and Development

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### **Promoting an Open Trading System**

In a world where 96 percent of the world's consumers live outside the United States, we must continue to expand our international trade to sustain economic growth at home. The rapidly expanding global economy presents enormous opportunities for American companies and workers, particularly in emerging markets. Our prosperity as a nation in the twenty-first century will depend upon our ability to compete effectively in international markets.

The Administration remains committed to carrying forward the success of the Uruguay Round under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and to the success of the World Trade Organization (WTO) as a forum for openly resolving disputes.

We also have a full agenda of accession negotiations with economies seeking to join the WTO. The United States is setting high standards for accession in terms of adherence to the rules and market access. Accessions offer an opportunity to help ground new economies in the rules-based trading system and reinforce their own reform programs.

We have also made important strides on labor issues. WTO members have affirmed their commitment to observing core labor standards: the right to organize and bargain collectively, and prohibitions against employment discrimination, child labor and forced labor. We will continue pressing for better integration of the international core labor standards into the WTO's work, including through closer WTO interaction with the International Labor Organization (ILO).

We will work to ensure that a new round of global trade talks includes bringing down barriers in agriculture, manufacturing and services, keeping electronic commerce tariff-free, and ensuring that trade will lift living conditions for working people everywhere while protecting the environment. We remain determined to move forward on the path of free trade and economic growth while ensuring that a human face is put on the global economy.

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### **Promoting Sustainable Development**

Developing countries face an array of challenges in their efforts to achieve broad-based economic and social progress and participate more fully in the opportunities presented by globalization. Poor environmental and natural resource management can impede sustainable development efforts and promote regional instability. Many nations are struggling to provide jobs, education and other services to their citizens. Three billion people, half the world's population, subsist on less than two dollars a day. Their continued poverty leads to hunger, malnutrition, economic migration and political unrest. Malaria, AIDS and other epidemics, including some that can spread through environmental damage, threaten to overwhelm the health facilities of developing countries, disrupt societies and economic growth, and spread disease to other parts of the world.

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Sustainable development brings higher incomes and more open markets that create steadily expanding opportunities for U.S. trade and investment. It improves the prospects for democracy and social stability in developing countries and increases global economic growth, on which the demand for U.S. exports depends. It alleviates pressure on the global environment, reduces the attraction of the illegal drug trade and other illicit commerce, and improves health and economic productivity. U.S. foreign assistance focuses on five key elements of sustainable development: broad-based economic growth, human capacity development, environmental protection, population and health, and democracy. We will continue to advocate environmentally sound private investment and responsible approaches by international lenders.

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Excerpted from *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*, December 1999

## Lesson 10: Making Trade Policy: A Simulation

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Identify the specific trading policies of nations in the contemporary world.
- Explain how the trade policies of individual nations might compete.
- Evaluate the difficulties in balancing conflicting interests in developing a trade policy.

Materials:

Internet, library, and textbook resources.

Procedures and Activities:

1. Review with the following issues with the class:
  - a. The concept of “trade policy.”
  - b. The difference between protectionist views and free trade views.
  - c. The concepts of absolute advantage and comparative advantage.
  - d. The concept of economic interdependence.
2. Assign each student a specific nation in the contemporary world to research. (Use nations that are not included in the Development Data Statistics referenced previously. Assure that each student is assigned the same type of nation referenced in the speech he/she composed in the previous lesson.)
  - a. Explain to the class that they are conducting research for the purpose of writing a report that:
    - Describes the standard of living within the assigned nation.
    - Identifies the apparent trade policy being followed by the nation (protectionist or free trade).
    - Analyzes those areas where the nation has an absolute or comparative advantage in any area.
    - Assesses the level of involvement of the nation in the global economic community.
    - Evaluates the role of trade in the nation’s economy.
  - b. Allow sufficient time for students to utilize available resources to complete this task. (See “Web Sites for Additional Information on Global Issues” for a list of useful Internet resources.)
3. Upon completion of the reports, redistribute to each student their speech written at the conclusion of the previous lesson.
  - a. Ask students to compose a revised version of the speech based on the data they discovered in their research.
  - b. Ask for two volunteers from each type of nation to read their speech to the class.
  - c. Direct students to evaluate the trade policy presented by each speaker. Is it similar to or different from theirs? Does this policy conflict in any way with the policy they are advocating for their nation? (Students may ask clarifying questions of each speaker, but are to withhold evaluative comments.)
4. Culminating Activity (This may be conducted over a series of class periods.)
  - a. Present each student with a placard upon which they can write the name of their country.
  - b. Direct students to review the resources, assets, and needs of the nation they researched.
  - c. Review the concept of “most favored nation” status with the class.
  - d. Present the following scenario:

“Your nation desires to obtain ‘most favored nation’ status with all of the other countries represented in the room. You have \_\_\_\_\_ minutes to negotiate as many effective agreements as possible. Make certain that the agreements you negotiate take full advantage of your country’s assets and resources and also are most likely to meet your nation’s needs.”



- e. Allow students sufficient time to conduct negotiations, depending on the number of students and the needs of the class.
- f. At the end of the session, direct each student to write a summary report of the negotiations. The report should list each successful negotiation, explain the benefits achieved by that negotiation, and also describe any difficulties or unexpected obstacles encountered in conducting negotiations. (You may wish to establish some form of award for the nation that achieved the most successful negotiated agreements in the time allotted.)

## *Turkey: Bridge or Fault Line?*

## Lesson 11: The Ottoman Empire

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Outline the history of the Ottoman Empire.
- Identify the factors that led to the decline of the Ottoman Empire.
- Evaluate the condition of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War.

Materials:

Student Handout: **The Ottoman Empire**

Student Handout: **Decline of the Ottoman Empire**

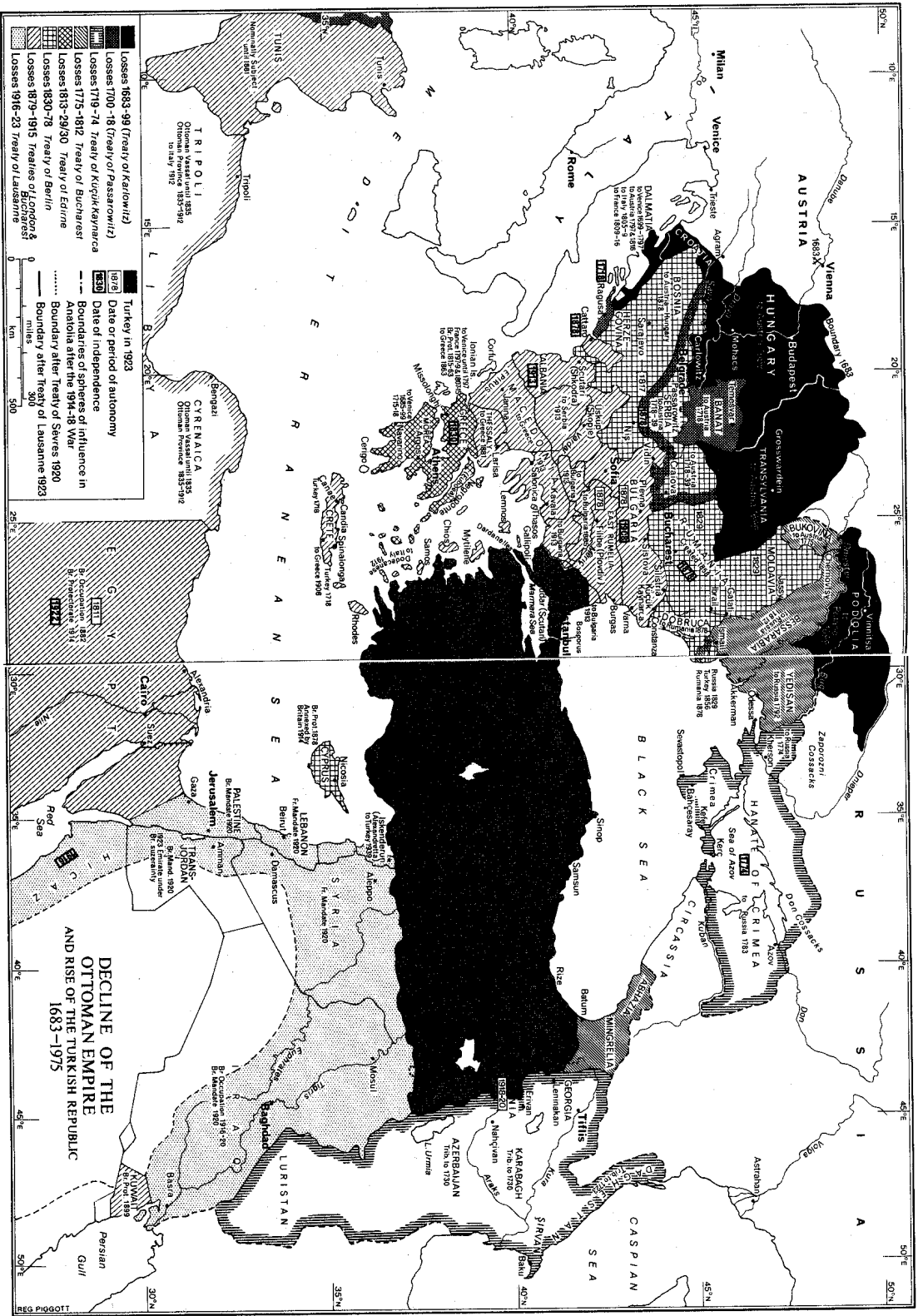
Procedures and Activities:

1. Distribute the student handout entitled **Decline of Ottoman Empire**.
  - a. Explain to the class that the shaded areas of the map, taken as a whole, indicate the size of the Ottoman Empire in the year 1683.
  - b. Using available contemporary maps (wall maps, desk maps, textbooks, etc.) work with students to identify the regions of North Africa, the Middle East, the Balkans, and Eastern Europe that were occupied by the Ottoman Empire at its greatest extent.
  - c. Ask students to hypothesize about the degree of power and influence such a state might have wielded at its height.
  - d. Direct students to focus on the map key in the lower left-hand corner of the map, and explain to the class that the map key indicates the regions lost by the Ottoman Empire from 1683 to 1923.
  - e. Direct students to focus on Anatolia, and explain that, at the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, this was all that was left of the Empire and now encompasses the modern state of Turkey.
  - f. Ask students to speculate on what “power problems” the Ottoman Empire might have faced that led to its decline.
2. Distribute the student handout entitled **The Ottoman Empire**.
  - a. Direct students to read the “Origins” section.
  - b. Ask students to identify the source of Ottoman power and strength as it expanded from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.
  - c. Ask students to evaluate the analysis provided in the third paragraph. To what extent was power and strength of the empire also the seed of its own destruction?
3. Write the terms “homogenous” and “multi-ethnic” on the chalkboard.
  - a. Ask students to define the two terms. (Write their definitions on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Direct students to read “The Ottoman State” section.
  - c. Ask students to identify the nature of the Ottoman state. Was it homogeneous and unified or multi-ethnic and diverse?
  - d. Ask students to evaluate the phrase “The empire was incoherent.” What evidence does the author present to support this theory that multiculturalism was a seed of destruction within the empire rather than an asset?
4. Direct students to read “Decline” section and to highlight or underline the primary reasons given for the decline of the Ottoman Empire.
  - a. Ask students to identify what they consider to be the primary factors leading to the decline of the empire. (List their answers on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the role of the religion of Islam within Ottoman society. To what extent was it a unifying force? To what extent was it divisive?
  - c. Write the terms “centralized” and “decentralized” on the chalkboard.
  - d. Explain to the class that centralized states are those with one central law-making authority that is capable of enforcing its decisions. Decentralized states are those where decision making power is diverse and enforcement is generally in the hands of local officials rather than a central authority.

- e. Ask students to evaluate decision-making authority within the Ottoman Empire. Was it centralized or decentralized? To what extent would this situation provide a seed of destruction within the empire?
5. Direct students to read “The Ottoman Empire and the First World War” section.
- a. Ask students to evaluate the impact of World War I upon the Empire. (Refer back to the **Decline of the Ottoman Empire** map as a reference.)
  - b. Ask students to hypothesize, based on the information presented, what the most pressing needs of the Empire would be at the end of the First World War. (Write their list on the chalkboard.)
  - c. Direct students to focus on the last paragraph in the handout. Ask students to speculate on how much success this new leader would have in creating stable economic, political, and social institutions on a national level, given the existing condition of the country.
6. Culminating Activity  
Direct students to write an essay, based on their knowledge of the condition of Turkey in 1923, that addresses the following question:

“If you were the new leader of Turkey in 1923, what would be your first priority?”

# Decline of the Ottoman Empire



From *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Volume I: Empire of the Gazis, 1280-1808 by Stanford J. Shaw, 1977. Published by Cambridge University Press. Copyright and reproduced by permission of Cambridge University Press, New York.

# The Ottoman Empire

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## Origins

Beginning around A.D. 1000, waves of nomad horsemen streamed forth from the steppes and deserts of central and northeast Asia, conquering the peoples and lands in their path as they rode west. The Ottoman Empire, founded by Turkish-speaking horsemen who had converted to Islam, was one such empire; it took its name from Osman, a borderland *ghazi* (warrior for the Muslim faith) born in the 13th century, who campaigned on the outskirts of the Eastern Roman (or Byzantine) Empire in Anatolia.

In the 15th century Osman's successors conquered and replaced the Byzantine Empire. Riding on to new conquests, the Ottoman Turks expanded in all directions: north to the Crimea, east to Baghdad and Basra, south to the coasts of Arabia and the Gulf, west to Egypt and North Africa-and into Europe. At its peak, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Empire included most of the Middle East, North Africa, and what are now the Balkan countries of Europe-Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria, as well as much of Hungary. It stretched from the Persian Gulf to the river Danube; its armies stopped only at the gates of Vienna. Its population was estimated at between 30 and 50 million at a time when England's population was perhaps four million; and it ruled more than 20 nationalities.

The Ottomans never entirely outgrew their origins as a marauding war band. They enriched themselves by capturing wealth and slaves; the slaves, conscripted into the Ottoman ranks, rose to replace the commanders who retired, and went on to capture wealth and slaves in their turn. Invading new territories was the only path they knew to economic growth. In the 16th and 17th centuries, when the conquests turned into defeats and retreats, the dynamic of Ottoman existence was lost; the Turks had mastered the arts of war but not those of government.

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## The Ottoman State

The empire was incoherent. Its Ottoman rulers were not an ethnic group; though they spoke Turkish, many were descendants of once-Christian slaves from Balkan Europe and elsewhere. The empire's subjects (a wide variety of peoples, speaking Turkish, Semitic, Kurdish, Slavic, Armenian, Greek, and other languages) had little in common with, and in many cases little love for, one another. Though European observers later were to generalize about, for example, "Arabs," in fact Egyptians and Arabians, Syrians and Iraqis were peoples of different history, ethnic background, and outlook. The multinational, multilingual empire was a mosaic of peoples who did not mix; in the towns, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and others each lived in their own separate quarters.

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**Decline**

Religion had some sort of unifying effect, for the empire was a theocracy—a Muslim rather than a Turkish state—and most of its subjects were Muslims. The Ottoman sultan was regarded as caliph (temporal and spiritual successor to the Prophet, Muhammad) by the majority group within Islam, the Sunnis. But among others of the 71 sects of Islam, especially the numerous Shi'ites, there was doctrinal opposition to the sultan's Sunni faith and to his claims to the caliphate. For those who were not Muslim (perhaps 25 percent of the population at the beginning of the 20th century), but Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Armenian Gregorian, Jewish, Protestant, Maronite, Samaritan, Nestorian, Christian, Syrian United Orthodox, Monophysite, or anyone of a number of others, religion was a divisive rather than a unifying political factor.

Until the early 20th century, the Ottoman Empire was for most of the time under the absolute personal rule of the sultan. In at least one respect he was quite unlike a European monarch: As the son of a woman of the harem, he was always half-slave by birth. Under his rule, civil, military, and Holy Law administrations could be discerned in an empire carefully divided into provinces and cantons. But the appearance of orderly administration—indeed of effective administration of any sort—was a myth. As Gertrude Bell, an experienced English traveler in Middle Eastern lands, was later to write, "No country which turned to the eye of the world an appearance of established rule and centralized Government was, to a greater extent than the Ottoman Empire, a land of make-believe." There were army garrisons, it is true, scattered about the empire, but otherwise power was diffuse and the centralized authority was more myth than reality. Gertrude Bell, in the course of her travels, found that outside the towns, Ottoman administration vanished and the local sheikh or headman ruled instead. There were districts, too, where brigands roamed at will. The rickety Turkish government was even incapable of collecting its own taxes, the most basic act of imperial administration.

What was more than a little unreal, then, was the claim that the sultan and his government ruled their domains in the sense in which Europeans understood government and administration. What was real in the Ottoman Empire tended to be local: A tribe, a clan, a sect, or a town was the true political unit to which loyalties adhered. This confused European observers, whose modern notions of citizenship and nationality were inapplicable to the crazy quilt of Ottoman politics. Europeans assumed that eventually they themselves would take control of the Ottoman domains and organize them on a more rational basis. In the early years of the 20th century it was reasonable to believe that the days of Turkish dominion were numbered.

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**The Ottoman  
Empire and the  
First World War**

By 1914 the much-diminished Ottoman Empire no longer ruled North Africa or Hungary or most of southeastern Europe. It had been in a retreat since the 18th century that finally looked like a rout. For decades, in the Ottoman army and in the schools, discontented men had told one another in the course of clandestine meetings that the empire had to be rapidly changed to meet the intellectual, industrial, and military challenges of modern Europe. Stimulated but confused by the nationalism that had become Europe's creed, intellectuals amongst the diverse Turkish-speaking and Arabic-speaking peoples of the empire sought to discover or to forge some sense of their own political identity.

In the final years before the outbreak of the First World War, obscure but ambitious new men took power in the Ottoman Empire, relegating the sultan to a figure-head position. The new men, leaders of the Young Turks, were at once the result and the cause of ferment in Constantinople, the Ottoman capital. In 1909 Sultan Abd al-Hamid was deposed and banished. Although the title of sultan was given to his brother, who ruled as Muhammad V, the Young Turks of the CUP were in command of the empire.

The 1914 assassination of Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand propelled Europe into World War I (1914-1918). World War I was a disaster for the Ottoman Empire, who aligned with the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria). Russia invaded Anatolia; the British, aided by an Arab revolt, swept through the Fertile Crescent; and eventually the Allies occupied Constantinople.

As the World War I peace negotiations dragged on, Mustafa Kemal organized a rival government in Ankara, which abolished the sultanate on November 1, 1922, formally ending the Ottoman Empire. The Republic of Turkey was founded the next year.

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Excerpted from *A Peace to End All Peace* (1989) by David Fromkin



## Lesson 12: The Nature of Leadership

Objectives: The students will be able to

- Identify the qualities possessed by effective leaders.
- Distinguish between “charismatic,” “traditional,” and “legalistic” leadership types.
- Evaluate the importance of leadership when a nation is in crisis.

Materials:

Student Handout: **On Leadership**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Write the term “leadership” on the chalkboard.
  - a. Direct the class to identify those characteristics, based on their experiences and observations, that characterize effective leaders. (Write their responses on the chalkboard.)
  - b. Ask students to study the list on the chalkboard and to rank the characteristics in order of significance, from most important to least important.
  - c. Work with the class to reach a consensus on the most important criteria by which effective leadership can be measured.
  - d. Probe student responses to elicit explanations of why they selected the identified criteria as most/least important.
2. Distribute the student handout **On Leadership**.
  - a. Direct students to read the “Definition” section.
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the statement “Leadership is trinitarian.” How is this reflected in the definition provided?
3. Direct students to read the “Relationship between leaders and followers” section.
  - a. Ask students to summarize the meaning of passage in their own words.
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the significance of the following statements from the passage:
    - “It is not the noblest call that gets answered, but the *answerable* call.”
    - “they must see things as the followers see them in order to recruit those followers.”
  - c. Direct students to examine the criteria for effective leadership that they created at the beginning of the lesson. Which of these criteria match the concepts listed in the passage?
4. Direct students to read the “Goals” section.
  - a. Ask students to summarize the meaning of passage in their own words.
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the significance of the following statements from the passage:
    - “It is the reason for the other two’s existence.”
    - “people follow most reliably when they are convinced that what they are doing is right.”
  - c. Direct students to examine the criteria for effective leadership that they created at the beginning of the lesson. Which of these criteria match the concepts listed in the passage?
5. Direct students to read the “Leadership types and situations” section.
  - a. Ask students to evaluate the significance of the statement “Leadership must differ from situation to situation.”
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the nature of “charismatic” leaders. What type of situations would demand charismatic leaders who create an entirely new social order? (Depending on the other material covered in class during the course of the year, ask students to provide examples from history.)
  - c. Ask students to evaluate the nature of “traditional” leaders. In what type of situations are traditional leaders most effective? (Depending on the other material covered in class during the course of the year, ask students to provide examples from history.)

- d. Ask students to evaluate the nature of “legalistic” leaders. In what type of situations are traditional leaders most effective? (Depending on the other material covered in class during the course of the year, ask students to provide examples from history.)
6. Culminating Activity
    - a. Review with students the economic, social, political, and international relations issues facing Turkey in 1923.
    - b. Direct students write a short essay that answers the following question and to provide a rationale for their position:

“Given Turkey’s condition in 1923, what type of leader (charismatic, traditional, or legalistic) does the situation demand?”
    - c. Ask students to share their answers with the class.
    - d. Through open discussion, work with the class to reach consensus on the type of leadership the Turkish situation in 1923 required.

## On Leadership

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### Definition

The leader is one who mobilizes others toward a goal shared by leaders and followers. Leadership is trinitarian. One-legged and two-legged chairs do not, of themselves, stand. A third leg is needed. Leaders, followers, and goals make up the three equally necessary supports for leadership.

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### Relationship between leaders and followers.

We have long lists of the leader's requisites—he or she needs determination, focus, a clear goal, a sense of priorities, and so on. We easily forget the first and all-encompassing need. The leader most needs followers. When those are lacking, the best ideas, the strongest will, the most wonderful smile have no effect. When Shakespeare's Welsh seer, Owen Glendower, boasts that "I can call sprits from the vasty deep," Hotspur deflates him with the commonsense answer: "Why, so can I, or so can anyone. But will they come when you do call them?" It is not the noblest call that gets answered, but the *answerable* call.

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To sound a certain trumpet does not mean just trumpeting one's own certitudes. It means sounding a specific call to specific people capable of a response. The leader can have the skill for his or her role, the occasion for its use, and still lack followers who will respond to the person or the moment. A leader whose qualities do not match those of potential followers is simply irrelevant. The world is not playing his or her game.

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There is something selfless in the very selfishness of leaders—they must see things as the followers see them in order to recruit those followers. . . . Followers judge leaders. Only if the leaders pass that test do they have any impact. The potential followers, if their judgment is poor, have judged themselves. If the leader takes his or her followers to the goal, to great achievements, it is because the followers were capable of that kind of response.

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**Goals**

So far I have been discussing just two things—leaders and followers. . . . But the discussion cannot get far without a third thing—the goal. This not something *added on* to the other two. It is the reason for the other two’s existence. It is the equalizer between leader and followers. The followers do not submit to the person of the leader. They join him or her in pursuit of the goal.

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David Hume, the eighteenth-century philosopher, knew that people follow most reliably when they are convinced that what they are doing is right. The goal must be shared, no matter how many other motives are present that are not shared.

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**Leadership types and situations**

The leader does not just vaguely affect others. He or she takes others toward the object of their *joint* quest. That object defines the kind of leadership at issue. Different types of leaders should be distinguished more by their goals than by the personality of the leader. The crisis of mere subsistence on a life raft calls for one type of leader. Democratic stability for another. Revolutionary activity for still a third. Leadership must differ from situation to situation.

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According to sociologist Max Weber, the style of leaders varies according to the structure of authority. He identified three main categories of leaders:

- The charismatic ruler is original in the most basic sense, originating an entire social order.
- The style of traditional rulers is ceremonial, evoking memories of past obligations incurred. Authority is no longer peculiar to their own person. It has been “handed down.”
- The style of the legalistic (constitutional) ruler is forensic, proceeding by dialogue with all the agents who work out the social contract.

Which of these three orders is the controlling one in American politics? Clearly the legalistic. The forensic style of such an order is reflected in the importance of presidential press conferences, congressional hearings, committee reports, party conventions, citizens’ forums, etc. Thus no American president, no matter how personally charming, can be a charismatic leader in Weber’s sense.

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Adapted from *Certain Trumpets: The Call of Leaders* by Gary Wills

## Lesson 13: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Outline the essential principles of “Kemalism.”
- Evaluate the effectiveness of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s programs.
- Apply criteria for effective leadership to the career of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Materials:

Student Handout: **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Review with students the most pressing needs facing Turkey in 1923. (Write a summary of these needs, as determined students, on the chalkboard.)
  - a. Economic
  - b. Social
  - c. Political
  - d. Cultural
  - e. International Relations
2. Review with the class the nature of leadership and the consensus reached at the end of the lesson.
  - a. What is the relationship between leaders and followers?
  - b. How do mutually shared goals unite leaders and followers?
  - c. What is the difference between charismatic, traditional, and legalistic leaders?
  - d. What type of leader did the Turkish situation of 1923 require?
2. Distribute the student handout **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk**.
  - a. Direct students to read the “Overview” section.
  - b. Ask students to review Atatürk’s goals. What type of leadership style (charismatic, traditional, or legalistic) would be required for this to happen?
3. Direct students to read the “Systemic Changes” and “Democracy” section.
  - a. Ask students to evaluate the degree of change indicated by the governmental reforms instituted by Atatürk. (Direct students to rate the degree of change on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 representing the most significant degree of change.)
  - b. Ask students to compare the changes in each section to the needs faced by Turkey in 1923. Which needs are being addressed by the reforms?
4. Direct students to read the “Secularism” section.
  - a. Ask students to evaluate the degree of change indicated by the cultural reforms instituted by Atatürk. (Direct students to rate the degree of change on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 representing the most significant degree of change.)
  - b. Ask students to compare the changes in each section to the needs faced by Turkey in 1923. Which needs are being addressed by the reforms?
5. Direct students to read the “Economy” section.
  - a. Ask students to evaluate the degree of change indicated by the economic reforms instituted by Atatürk. (Direct students to rate the degree of change on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 representing the most significant degree of change.)
  - b. Ask students to compare the changes in each section to the needs faced by Turkey in 1923. Which needs are being addressed by the reforms?
6. Direct students to read the “Education” section.
  - a. Ask students to evaluate the degree of change indicated by the educational reforms instituted by Atatürk. (Direct students to rate the degree of change on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 representing the most significant degree of change.)
  - b. Ask students to compare the changes in each section to the needs faced by Turkey in 1923. Which needs are being addressed by the reforms?

7. Direct students to read the “Foreign Relations” section.
  - a. Ask students to evaluate the impact of the international policies pursued by Atatürk. What appears to be the goal of these policies?
  - b. Ask students to compare the changes in each section to the needs faced by Turkey in 1923. Which needs are being addressed by the reforms?
  - c. How do these policies reflect Turkey’s “power problem” in the time of Atatürk’s rule?
8. Direct students to read the “Conclusion” section.
  - a. Given the evidence in the handout, ask students to summarize the essential principles of “Kemalism.”
  - b. Ask students to review the three goals of Atatürk’s reforms. Based on the evidence, how successful was he in achieving these goals?
  - c. Ask students to evaluate the sum total of Atatürk’s reforms. How successful was he in meeting Turkey’s needs?
  - d. Review the relationship between leaders, followers, and goals.
  - e. Ask students to explain why the average Turkish citizen might have supported Atatürk’s reforms.
9. Culminating Activity
  - a. Direct students to write a summary essay that addresses the following question. (Students should provide evidence to support their position.)

“Given the results of Atatürk’s reforms, does he appear to have been a charismatic, traditional, or legalistic leader?”
  - b. Ask students to share their answers with the class.
  - c. Through open discussion, work with the class to reach consensus on the nature and impact of Atatürk’s leadership.

# Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

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**Overview** Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is regarded as the savior of his country. As President for 15 years, until his death in 1938, he introduced a broad range of swift and sweeping reforms - in the political, social, legal, economic, and cultural areas. It became one of the most successful reform programs of the twentieth century. His reforms had very specific goals:

- Reorient Turkey to the West and away from the Islamic world.
  - Turn Turkey into a European society.
  - Redefine national identity.
- 

**Systemic Changes**

- Proclaimed the Turkish Republic in 1923.
- World recognized Turkish independence with Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.
- Prepared new constitution in 1924. All citizens of Turkey were classified as “Turks.”
- Abolished Sultanate and sent imperial family into exile.
- Abolished the caliphate (leadership role of the Islamic community) in 1924.
- Moved capital from Constantinople (renamed Istanbul) to Ankara.

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**Democracy** *"Sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the people."*

- Declared Turkey to be a democratic state.
  - Created a national presidency, national assembly, and elections at all levels.
  - Created the first political party—Republican People’s Party.
  - Allowed opposition parties to emerge, then closed them down.
  - Established an independent judiciary.
  - Women obtained the right to vote and serve in Parliament in 1934.
- 

**Secularism** *"We must liberate our concepts of justice, our laws and legal institutions from the bonds which hold a tight grip on us although they are incompatible with the needs of our century."*

- Saw Islam as the main force that had held the Ottomans back from modernization.
  - Declared Turkey to be a secular state. Islam was no longer the official religion.
  - Sought to keep religion out of politics. Religious authorities and mosques came under state control.
  - Outlawed polygamy in 1925.
  - Promoted Western dress. Discouraged the use of the veil by women and the traditional Turkish fez by men.
  - Created a new civil and criminal code, based on Italian-Swiss models, not on Islamic law.
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**Economy**

*"In order to raise our new Turkey to the level that she is worthy of, we must, under all circumstances, attach the highest importance to the national economy."*

- Established government ownership of key elements of the economy: power, mining, ports, dams, military, roads, water, steel, banking, railways, and (later) airlines.
  - Small and medium enterprises left open to the free market.
  - State put in control of money and exchange rates.
  - Started building of heavy industries.
  - Adopted import-substitution, high-tariff policies to protect infant industries.
- 

**Education**

*"The government's most creative and significant duty is education."*

- Established universal literacy as a national goal.
  - Instituted a comprehensive education system open to everyone, with compulsory primary school.
  - Promoted education for girls.
  - Promoted development of Western sciences and scientific method.
  - Promoted rationalism as the country's main approach to knowledge and learning.
  - Expanded and changed character of national universities.
  - Changed alphabet from Arabic to Latin in 1928.
  - Began the purification of the Turkish language, removing Arabic and Persian elements.
- 

**Foreign Relations**

*"Peace is the most effective way for nations to attain prosperity and happiness."*

- Did not pursue a policy of expansionism, and never engaged in any act contrary to peaceful co-existence.
  - Signed treaties with Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia in the Balkans, and with Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan in the East.
  - Maintained friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the United States, England, Germany, Italy, France, and all other states.
  - In the early 1930s, Atatürk and the Greek Premier Venizelos initiated and signed a treaty of peace and cooperation.
  - In 1932, the League of Nations invited Turkey to become a member.
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**Conclusion**

The New Turkey's ideology was, and remains, "*Kemalism*", later known as "*Atatürkism*". Its basic principles stress the republican form of government representing the power of electorate, secular administration, nationalism, mixed economy with state participation in many of the vital sectors, and modernization. Turkey was the first Moslem nation to become a Republic.

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## Lesson 14: Turkey and the Kurds

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Locate the region of Kurdistan on a map.
- Describe the situation of the Kurds within modern Turkey.
- Identify the goals of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).
- Evaluate Turkish relationships with the Kurdish minority.

Materials:

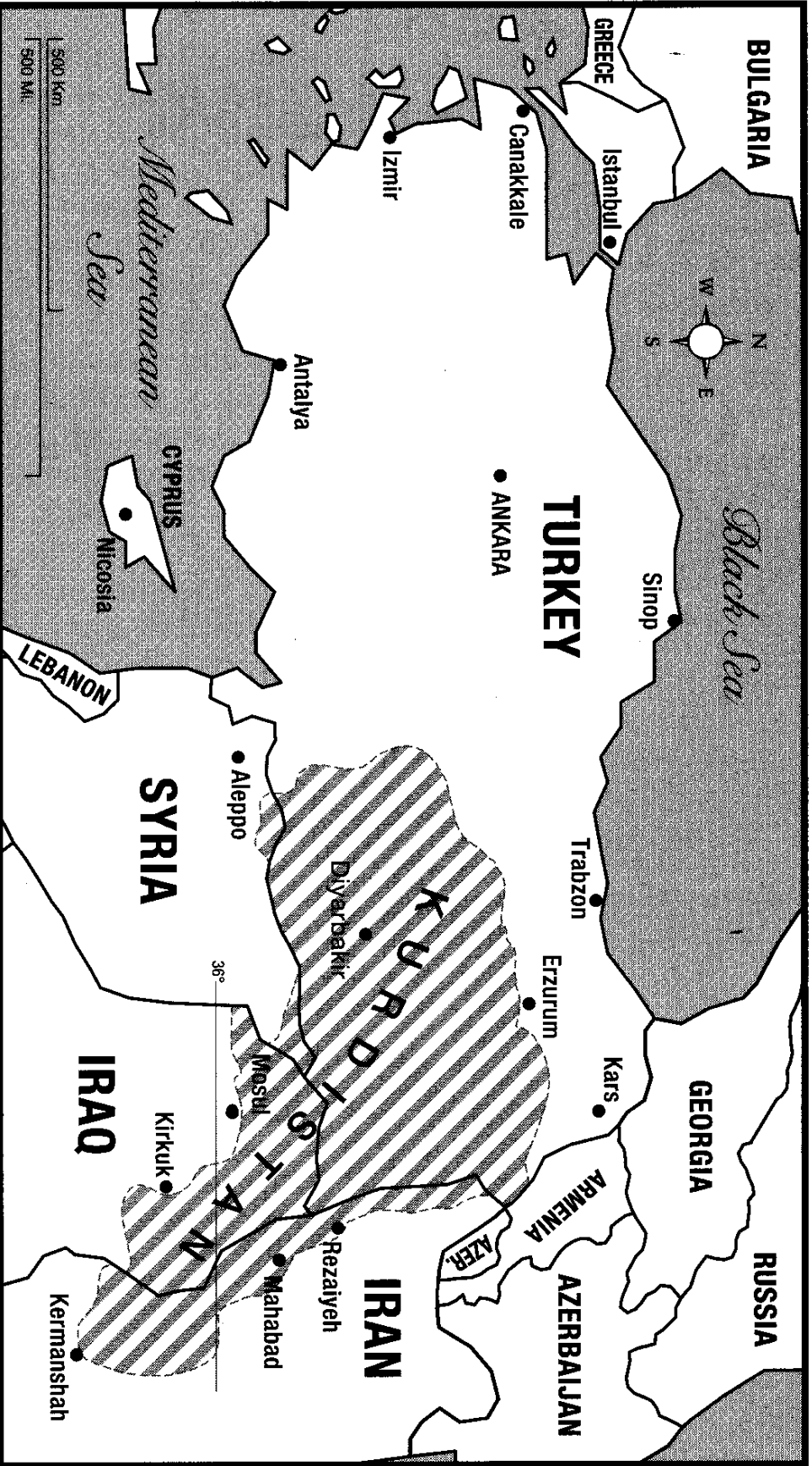
Student Handout: **Kurdistan**

Student Handout: **The Kurds**

Procedures and Activities:

1. Review with students the reforms instituted by Kemal Atatürk.
  - a. Write the phrase “All Turkish citizens are Turks” on the chalkboard.
  - b. Explain to the class that this was a central principle in the 1924 constitution developed by Atatürk.
  - c. Ask students to analyze the implication of this phrase. What role do minorities have in Turkey if this statement is true?
2. Distribute the student handout: **Kurdistan**.
  - a. Explain to the class that Kurdistan does not exist as a political entity. It refers to the region of the Middle East currently occupied by an ethnic group, known as the Kurds, who share a common language, culture, and traditions.
  - b. Ask students to identify those countries that, based on the map, would have Kurdish minorities. (If a topographic map is available, it would be helpful in illustrating the mountainous nature of the region, which helps to explain why the Kurds, though an ethnic group, are themselves fragmented.)
  - c. Ask students to identify which country appears to have the largest Kurdish minority. Why would the governments of these states be reluctant to support the creation of an independent Kurdistan? How might it create a “power problem” for each state?
3. Distribute the student handout: **The Kurds**.
  - a. Direct students to read the “Overview” and “History” sections.
  - b. Refer students to the statement on the chalkboard. What implication would this have for the Kurds?
  - c. Ask students to hypothesize why, given his plans for Turkey, Atatürk might have considered the creation of Kurdistan a threat.
  - d. Ask students to analyze Atatürk’s policies toward the Kurds. What appears to be Atatürk’s motivation? How would they have responded if they had been the Kurds?
4. Direct students to read the “Turkish Society” section.
  - a. Ask students to evaluate contemporary Turkish policy toward the Kurds. What appears to be its motivation? How is it similar to Atatürk’s policies?
  - b. Ask students to evaluate the meaning of the statement “Kurds function easily and without discrimination in society.” How does that compare to the other evidence in the passage?
5. Direct students to read the “The Separatists” section.
  - a. Ask students to identify the purpose of the Kurdistan Worker’s Party (PKK).
  - b. Ask students to analyze the attempts by the PKK to create a self-governing Kurdistan. What might account for their lack of success?
  - c. Ask students to evaluate the implications of the last paragraph. Why would most Kurds seek “a future within Turkey?” Why would they remain wary?

6. Research Opportunity
  - a. Divide the class into four research groups.
    - Kurds in Turkey
    - Kurds in Iraq
    - Kurds in Iran
    - Kurds in Europe
  - b. Using available textbook, library, and Internet resources, direct students to research the current social, political, and economic status of the Kurds within these areas.
  - c. Direct each group to give a five-minute presentation of their findings on how the Kurdish minority is treated within each area.
7. Culminating Activity
  - a. Write the following statement on the chalkboard: "Kurdistan is real, and Kurdistan is a dream."
  - b. Direct students to write an essay that evaluates the truth of this statement based on the material uncovered in this lesson.
  - c. Ask students to share their answers with the class.
  - d. Through open discussion, ask students to reach a consensus on how an official of the Turkish government might address the statement on the chalkboard.



# KURDISTAN

# The Kurds

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## Overview

The Kurds have throughout most of their history been tribesmen living in the high mountain valleys up and down the Tigris and Euphrates river valleys. Better-organized, more powerful peoples have always commanded the valley floors, the rivers, the best lands, and the population centers. In spite of being surrounded by larger ethnic groups, the Kurds have been able to maintain their identity in the Middle East for more than three thousand years.

Although accurate population figures are difficult to obtain, the Kurdish population was estimated at nearly 26 million in the 1990s. More than half the Kurds live in southeastern Turkey. About 25 percent reside in northern Iran, and about 17 percent live in western Iraq. Most of the remainder are found in small parts of northeastern Syria, and in Armenia and several of the other former republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Together, these regions make up a cultural area traditionally known as Kurdistan. In addition, in the late 1990s an estimated 850,000 Kurds lived in Europe, more than half of them in Germany.

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## History

The Kurds have mostly lived in small fragmented groups. They have never been politically unified in their history. Harsh physical terrain isolates and divides the approximately 2,500 autonomous Kurdish tribal groups. In addition, there is a long record of internal dissension and of rival tribal groups collaborating with outside governments against one another.

The Kurds had an opportunity to create an independent state at the end of the First World War. In the 1920 Treaty of Sevres, the victorious Allies forced the government of the Ottoman Empire to consent to a semiautonomous Kurdistan. But Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's new Turkish nationalist government predictably rejected the treaty.

Within Turkey, the creation of modern Turkish national identity under the leadership of Atatürk identified all peoples in Turkey as Turks. The 1924 Constitution defined all citizens of Turkey as Turks. The Kurds were either regarded as "mountain Turks" or their ethnicity was denied outright. Atatürk insisted on Kurdish assimilation. The government banned the Kurdish language, Kurdish music, and even Kurdish place names as it set about destroying the cultural and political identity of the Kurds.

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**Turkish Society**

Turks and Kurds are physically indistinguishable. While most Kurds are bilingual, Turks do not speak Kurdish, and schooling is conducted only in Turkish. It is illegal to teach Kurdish in schools, speak Kurdish in Parliament, print or broadcast in Kurdish, or advocate the Kurdish cause.

Many Kurds simply pass as Turks in everyday life. Kurds function easily and without discrimination in society, in Parliament, in the military, police, professions, and in educational institutions. People who openly claim some sort of Kurdish ancestry have served as mayor of Istanbul, prime minister, president, and even army chief of staff. There is no deeply embedded historical hatred between Turks and Kurds.

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**The Separatists**

Some Kurds have been assertive, seeking recognition of Kurdish ethnicity, Kurdish newspapers, TV, radio, and teaching Kurdish and Kurdish history in schools. In the past twenty years, a Kurdish separatist movement has gained momentum. In 1974, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), a radical separatist group, was formed led by Abdullah Ocalan "Apo". The same year, Kurds met with Iraq's government to discuss Kurdish self-rule in Iraq. When the talks failed, Kurds rioted. Iraq brutally repressed them, but this encouraged rather than discouraged Kurdish nationalism.

In 1979, Iran was taken over by conservative Muslims. When war broke out between Iran and Iraq in 1980, the Kurds sided with Iran, hoping to use the war to acquire a Kurdish state in northern Iraq. When the war ended in 1988 in a stalemate, Iraq took ruthless vengeance on the Kurds.

After the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Kurds again rose against the Iraqi government. To protect the Kurds from reprisals, the U.S. and its allies established a safe zone for Kurds in Iraq north of the 36<sup>th</sup> parallel. Iraqi troops are not allowed to enter this zone.

Within Turkey, the PKK started an armed rebellion beginning in 1984, mostly guerrilla raids in the southeast with occasional bombings in the big cities. The PKK was based in Syria, until Syria expelled Ocalan and the PKK under pressure from the Turks. In February 1999, Ocalan was captured in Kenya by Turkish special forces and returned to Turkey. During his trial, Ocalan called for a cease-fire.

Today, Kurdish nationalists seem to have abandoned their dreams of a Kurdish state in favor of a future within Turkey. But they remain wary.

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## Lesson 15: Modern Turkey

Objectives: The student will be able to:

- Analyze political, social, economic, and cultural institutions in modern Turkey.
- Define specific foreign policy goals for the United States based on these national interests.
- Apply principles of sound policy making in a crisis simulation.

Materials:

Textbook, library, and Internet materials.

**(Note:** Prior to the lesson, the teacher should contact the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey, 2525 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008 for available pamphlets and/or background information. Tel: (202) 612-6700 Fax: (202) 612-6744)

Procedures and Activities:

1. Review the goals for Turkey established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.
  - a. Politically reorient Turkey to the West and away from the Islamic world.
  - b. Turn Turkey into a European society.
  - c. Redefine national identity
2. Divide the class into small research teams, and assign each research team one of the following topics concerning modern Turkey:
  - a. Government
  - b. Economy
  - c. Society
  - d. Culture
  - e. Foreign relations
3. Using available textbook, library, Internet materials, and information received from the Turkish Embassy, direct students to conduct research on the topics provided. Some useful Internet sites are:
  - a. The CIA Factbook (<http://www.odci/cia/publications/factbook>)
  - b. The World Bank (<http://www.worldbank.org>)
  - c. The United Nations (<http://www.un.org>)
  - d. Embassy of the Republic of Turkey (<http://www.turkey.org>)
  - e. Department of State (<http://www.state.gov>)
  - f. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (<http://www.nato.int>)
4. Upon completion of research, bring the class together for brief oral presentations.
  - a. Direct each team to present a brief (5 minute) summary of their findings.
5. Culminating Activity  
Based on the information discovered during research and the information provided in the presentations, direct students to write a summary essay that answers the following question:

“Compare conditions within modern Turkey to the goals for Turkey established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Does it appear that his goals have achieved? To what extent does ‘Kemalism’ appear to be affecting Turkey as it enters the 21<sup>st</sup> century?”