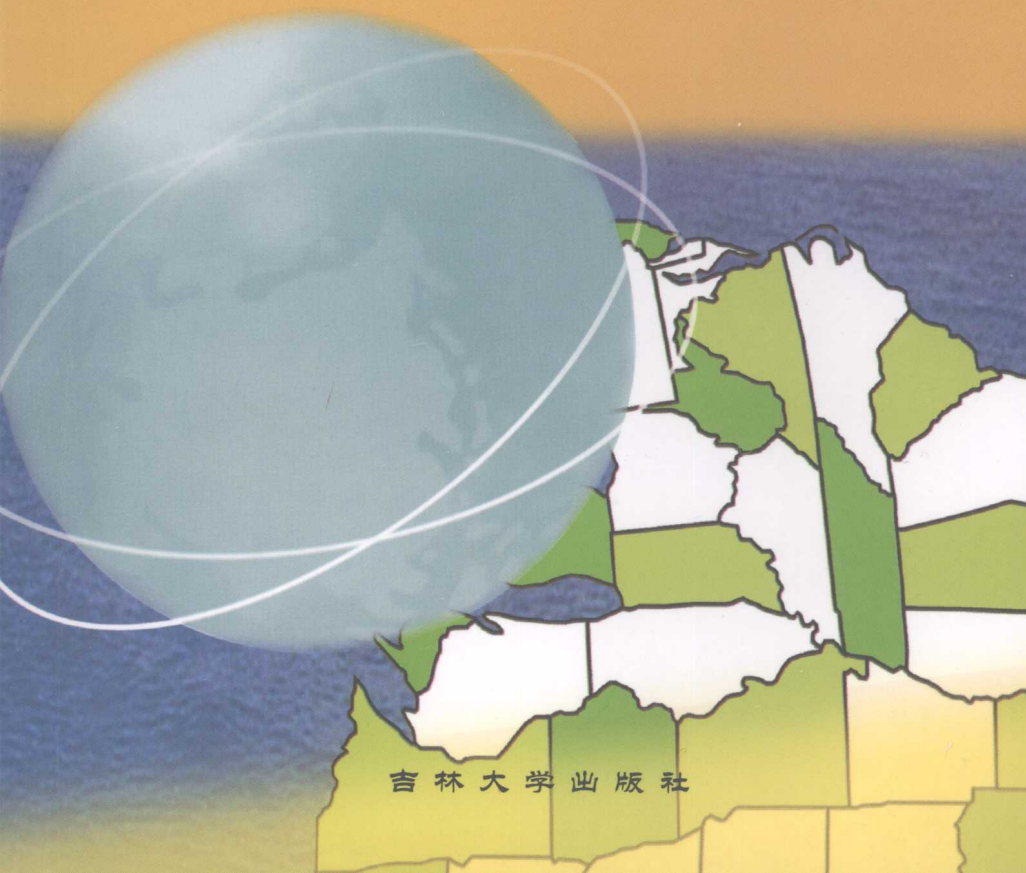


The

United State's Foreign Policy

Wu Xiaochun
Ding Qiyu
Huang Xiao



吉林大学出版社

JOINTLY SPONSORED BY CHANGSHA
UNIVERSITY AND QINGDAO UNIVERSITY

The United States' Foreign Policy

Wu Xiaochun Ding Qiyu Huang Xiao

吉林大学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

美国外交政策简介/吴晓春,丁启玉著. —长春:吉林
大学出版社,2007.5

ISBN 978-7-5601-3572-4

I. 美… II. ①吴…②丁… III. 美国对外政策—简介

IV. D871.20

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2007) 第065573号

美国外交政策简介

吴晓春、丁启玉 著

责任编辑、责任校对:朱 进

封面设计:韩玲玲

吉林大学出版社出版发行

长春市太平彩印有限公司印刷

社址:长春市明德路421号

电话:0431-88499826

网址:<http://www.jlu.com.cn>

E-mail:jlup@mail.jlu.edu.cn

开本:850×1168毫米 1/32

2007年5月第1版

印张:8

2007年5月第1次印刷

字数:220千字

印数:1—700册

ISBN 978-7-5601-3572-4

定价:25.00元

版权所有 翻印必究

前言

外交政策是国家战略在对外关系方面的具体化,是国家处理国际问题和对外关系的基本原则。它提供了国家进行外交活动的方针和政策,同时它又是国家对某一地区、国家以及在国际政治、国际关系中某些具体问题的政策。

美国外交政策不仅是国际关系学界学者们和从事该学科学习的学生们关注的对象,也是其他学科学者们、学生们,甚至是普通民众喜爱的谈资。虽然目前无论是西方学术界还是国内研究界对于“美国外交政策”已经有了不少成果,而且不乏真知灼见,但是,美国学者在行文时总不能摆脱美国价值观的影响,很难进行换位思考。我国学者的研究多以“美国外交政策”的一个方面,如美国的对华政策、美国外交史、美国外交与文化等为切入点进行专题研究,缺乏对美国外交政策的模式、过程与历史的全方位介绍。对于非国际关系学科的学生而言,这些成果难免有些晦涩高深,让他们常常望而却步。同时,目前国内的相关研究成果均为中文,鲜见国人自己撰写或主编的同类英文题材。

出于为非国际关系学科的学习者提供一些外交和美国外交基础知识,以拓宽其知识面、提高其跨学科学习和研究兴趣的目的,我们完成了这本书。本书力图用浅显易懂的语言、精炼的篇幅、明晰的框架、突出的重点为读者展开一幅关于美国外交的较完整画卷,其中包括外交政策和外交决策过程的定义与模式、美国外交政策的制定过程、美国外交的传统核心价值观——天赋使命、美国外交政策的目标、简明美国外交政策史以及美国外交政策的未来等内容。

我们认为,在全球化程度日益深化的今天,英语学习的重要性越来越显著。因此,我们使用了双语表述的方式来介绍美国的外交政策。除最后一章外,全书各章均由英文内容、中文主要内容和关键词(英文)三个部分构成。我们希望这种表述方法能在提高读者研习英文能力的同时,帮助他们完全理解每一章

的主要内容,把握重点。

本书各作者分别承担了以下撰写任务:吴晓春,第1、2、3、4章;丁启玉,第7、8、9、10章;黄笑,第5、6章。吴晓春还负责了前言和书目的编写工作,并审阅、修改了全部书稿。

本书的撰写和出版离不开许多领导、老师和朋友多方面的关心和支持。他们中有我的博士生导师北京大学国际关系学院的刘金质教授,长沙学院院长刘耘教授、副院长屈林岩教授、邓球柏教授、长沙学院外语系系主任刘超先教授、长沙学院教务处各位老师、中南大学国际关系系系主任罗会钧教授、中共中央党校李亚新老师、东北师范大学王光厚老师等。刘金质教授和刘耘教授对本书的选题、主要内容和框架提出了非常宝贵的意见和建议,给了我很大的启发,使我的思路更加清晰。他们待人的真诚与宽厚、治学的严谨与认真令我深深感动,在此特表示最诚挚的感谢。

本书的撰写还得益于所参考和借鉴的众多书籍,已分别在各章的参考书目和总书目中列出。它们的版权属于有关的个人或机构,谨对与此有关的作者、编者和出版者致以诚挚的谢意。

由于本书成稿时间仓促,加之我们的学识和水平有限,书中的错谬和疏漏之处在所难免,恳请读者批评指正。

吴晓春

2006年5月于长沙学院

Contents

Part I Foreign Policy

Chapter 1 Foreign Policy	1
Defining Foreign Policy	1
Foreign Policy Process	2
Sources Influencing Foreign Policy Decisions	4

Part II Process, Values and Objectives of U. S. Foreign Policy

Chapter 2 An Overview of the Foreign Policy Process in the United States	13
The President	13
Federal Agencies	16
Congress	18
Public Opinion	20
 Chapter 3 American Mission	26
The Puritans in the Immigrants from European Continent	27
The Puritans' Beliefs for the New World	29
American Mission	31
The Illusion of American Mission	33
 Chapter 4 Goals and Objectives of U. S. Foreign Policy	40
Promotion of American National Interest	44
Promotion of American Values	46
Containment of Perceived Communist and Soviet Threat	49
The Pursuit of World Leadership	52

Part III A Brief History of U. S. Foreign Policy

Chapter 5 Finding a Place in the World; 1756 – 1865	61
The American Colonies	61
American Revolution	64
Louisiana Purchase	68
War of 1812	69
Monroe Doctrine	71
Texas Annexation	72
Trent Affairs	74
 Chapter 6 Building an Empire; 1865 – 1914	 82
List of Territorial Acquisitions during the 19th Century	82
Emergence as a World Power; Spanish-American War	83
Colonization of the Philippines; U. S. First Step onto Asia-Pacific	86
The Open Door Policy	88
Big Stick Diplomacy and Dollar Diplomacy; Progressive Foreign Policy in Asia and Latin America	90
Digging Panama Canal	93
 Chapter 7 Becoming a Global Power; 1914 – 1945	 101
American Foreign Policy During World War I; 1914 – 1918	102
The Inter-War Years; 1918 – 1941	107
American Foreign Policy During World War II; 1941 – 1945	117
 Chapter 8 Fighting the Cold War; 1945 – 1989	 128
The Post-War World before the Cold War; 1945 – 1947	129
Truman, Eisenhower, and the Cold War; 1948 – 1961.	136
JFK, LBJ, and the Crises of the 1960s	150
Grand Strategy Under Nixon and Ford; 1969 – 1977	161

From Détente to Renewed Confrontation and Containment; 1977 – 1989	172
 Chapter 9 Shaping the Post – Cold War World :	
1989 – 2005	188
George Bush ’ s Foreign Policy: 1989 – 1993	189
Clinton ’ s Presidency; 1993 – 2001	200
George W. Bush ’ s Foreign Policy; 2001 – 2005	213
 Part IV The Future of U. S. Foreign Policy	
Chapter 10 The Future of U. S. Foreign Policy	223
Located in a New Framework Unipolar Moment	223
The U. S. Role in World Politics	225
Agenda for Future American Foreign Policy	228
Specific Foreign Relations	233
 Bibliography	240

Part I Foreign Policy

Chapter 1 Foreign Policy

This chapter first defines foreign policy as well as the process of foreign policy. Then it discusses the sources influencing foreign policy decisions. The sources examined include individuals, groups, bureaucratic agencies, interest groups and public opinions.

Defining Foreign Policy

Foreign policies are strategies governments use to guide their actions toward other states. They consist of two basic elements: the objectives that state leaders seek to attain abroad and the general means or instruments by which state leaders intend to pursue these objectives. The goal of implementing foreign policies serves as a guide for day-to-day decisions made by various arms of government.

Every day, states take actions in international affairs. Diplomats are appointed, given instructions for negotiations or recalled home. Military forces are moved around and occasionally sent into battle. Trade negotiations reach agreements or adjourn. Behind each of these actions are decisions by foreign policy bureaucrats in national capitals (including but not limited to the top state leaders). These decisions in turn generally reflect the overall policies states have developed to govern their relationship with other states.

Foreign policy is formulated in the light of a nation's power actually and potentially for the pursuit of its diplomatic objectives, the realization and improvement of national interest and the domestic and international context. The assessment of the power of a nation is vital to the cause of peace. A nation that overrates its power is likely to set itself unattainable goals. Such a nation is likely to use up its strength and not to be strong enough to deter a hostile na-

tion from challenging it. The failure of its foreign policy may force the nation to retrace its steps and to redefine its objectives in view of its actual strength. Yet it is more likely that such a nation will go forward on the road toward an unattainable goal, strain all its resources to achieve it and finally seek solutions in war. National interest, a threefold definition composed of the integrity of territory, sovereignty, and culture, is also the governing principle for the formulation of foreign policy. The survival of a nation is its vital national interest, which takes into account mainly the nation's independence, security and well-being of its people. The making of foreign policy decisions also depends upon the international and domestic context. The foreign policy bureaucrats adjust foreign policies to the political and cultural conditions of the nation as well as the world.

The means that officials choose to pursue the objectives in foreign policy can be categorized as political, economical, cultural and military. They include persuasion and compromise, economical and military aid, sanctions, public diplomacy, intelligence collection, war, military intervention and so on.

Foreign Policy Process

The foreign policy process is the set of procedures and structures that states use to arrive at foreign policy decisions and to implement them. States establish various organizational structures and functional relationships to create and carry out foreign policies. Officials and agencies (such as foreign ministry) collect information about a situation through various channels; they write memoranda outlining possible options for action; they hold meetings to discuss matters; some of them meet privately outside these meetings to decide how to steer the meetings in certain directions. Such activities, broadly defined, are what is meant by 'the foreign policy process'.

The foreign policy process is a process of decision making. In general, there are three models of decision making. The first is the

rational model in which decision makers calculate the costs and benefits of each possible course of action, and then choose the one with the highest benefits and lowest costs. Often they choose the action whose consequences best help to meet the state's established goals. The rational decision making process is done through a sequence of steps:

1. Clarify goals in the situation.
2. Order them by importance (in case different goals conflict)
3. List the alternatives available to achieve the goals
4. Investigate the consequences (probable and possible outcomes) of those alternatives
5. Choose the course of action that will produce the best outcome (in terms of reaching one's goals)

An alternative to the rational model of decision making is the **organizational process model**. In this model, foreign policy decision makers generally skip the labor-intensive process of identifying the goals and alternative actions, relying instead for most decisions on standardized responses from bureaucracies. For instance, the U. S. State Department every day receives over a thousand cables with reports or inquiries from its embassies around the world and sends out over a thousand cables to those embassies with instructions or responses. The vast majority of those cables are never seen by the top decision makers (the secretary of state or the president). Instead, they are handled by low-level decision makers who apply general principles. These low-level decisions may not even reflect the high-level policies adopted by top leaders, but rather have a life of their own. Organizational process model implies that decisions result from routine administrative procedures.

Another alternative to the rational model is the **government bargaining model**, in which foreign policy decisions result from the bargaining process among various government agencies that have somewhat divergent interests in the outcome. For example, in

1992, the Japanese government had to decide whether to allow sushi manufactured in California to be imported. The Agricultural Ministry, with an interest in the well-being of Japanese farmers, opposed the imports. The Foreign Ministry, with an interest in smooth relations with the United States, wanted to allow the imports. The final decision to allow imported sushi resulted from the tug-of-war between the ministries.

Sources Influencing Foreign Policy Decisions

Generally speaking, foreign policy outcomes result from four sources: namely, individual decision makers, the type of the society, the government that decision makers are working within and the international context of actions. Since the study of foreign policy concentrates on forces within the state, its main emphasis is on the individual and domestic levels of analysis.

Individuals are the only true actors in foreign policy. Every international event is the result, intended or unintended, of decisions made by individuals. Often the individuals are state leaders whose values and beliefs, personalities and rationality, biases and perceptions affect the decision-making. For instance, President Ronald Reagan had long-term hostility toward communism in general and more specifically toward the Soviet Union as the strongest of the communist states. He denounced Soviet communism as 'the focus of evil in the modern world', and he said, 'There is sin and evil in the world, and we are enjoined by Scripture and Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might.' Reagan's strong anti-communist ideology partly moved the United States from Détente back to its anti-Soviet position, which is also called Cold War II.

Groups also influence foreign policy decisions. Often the group is composed of the state leader's advisors or the legislative committee members cast in particular roles. The roles within particular groups can be based on factions, mediators, swing voters and so forth. For example, one advisor may often play the role of introdu-

cing new ideas while another might play the role of defending the status quo and another the role of staying neutral so as to assist the leader get an objective and comprehensive understanding of the case. Participants in a group rely on informal consultations in addition to formal meetings to make decisions. *Informal conversations* such as chats over lunch or at a party play an important part in decision making, though it is hard to measure. Some leaders create a 'kitchen cabinet'—a trusted group of friends who discuss policy issues with the leader even though they have no formal positions in government. For instance, Russian President Boris Yeltsin relied on the advice of his bodyguard, who was a trusted friend.

In one respect, groups promote rationality by balancing out the blind spots and biases of any individual. Advisors or legislative committee members may force a state leader to reconsider a rash decision. And the interactions of different individuals in a group may result in formulation of goals that more closely reflect state interests rather than individual idiosyncrasies. However, group dynamics also introduce new source of irrationality into the decision-making process, one of which being the tendency for groups to validate wrong decision, convincing each other that a wrong idea is right. For example, in a simple psychology experiment, a group of six people is asked to compare the lengths of two lines projected onto a screen. When five of the people are accomplices instructed to say that line A is longer—when anyone can see that line B is longer—the sixth person is likely to agree with the group rather than believe her or his own eyes.

Foreign policy is formulated not only by state actors—state leaders and groups, but also by the substate actors—bureaucracies and societies.

The substate actors closest to the foreign policy process are the **state's bureaucratic agencies** maintained for developing and carrying out foreign policy. Different states maintain different foreign policy bureaucracies, but there are some common elements across states.

First, virtually all states maintain a diplomatic corps of diplomats working in embassies in foreign capitals as well as diplomats who remain at home to help coordinate foreign policy. States appoint ambassadors as their official representatives to other states and to international organizations. Diplomatic activities are organized through a foreign ministry or the equivalent (for example, the U. S. State Department). In some countries, some diplomats are political appointees who come and go with changes in government leaders. Others are career diplomats, who come up through the ranks of the Foreign Service and tend to outlast changes in administration.

Second, diplomats provide much of the information that goes into making foreign policies, but their main role is to carry out policies rather than create them. Nonetheless, foreign ministry bureaucrats can often make foreign relations so routine that top leaders and political appointees can come and go without greatly altering the country's relations.

Third, tension is common between state leaders and foreign policy bureaucrats. Both try to tame the other. Career diplomats try to orient new leaders and their appointees, and to control the flow of information they receive. Often, state leaders appoint a close friend or key advisor to manage the foreign policy bureaucracy. President Nixon did this with his trusted national security advisor, Henry Kissinger, as did President Bush the senior with his closest friend, James Baker.

In all states there are societal pressures that influence foreign policy. The pressures are exerted by **interest groups**—coalitions of people who share a common interest in the outcome of some political issue and who organize themselves to try to influence the outcome. Interest groups form around businesses, labor unions, churches, veterans, senior citizens, members of an occupation, or citizens concerned about an issue such as the environment.

Lobbying is the process of talking with legislators or officials to influence their decisions on some set of issues. A successful lobb-

ying depends on the interest group's ability to gain a hearing with busy officials, to present convincing arguments for the case and to trade favors in return for positive action on the issue. These favors—legal and illegal—range from campaign contributions through dinners at nice restaurants and trips to golf resorts, to securing illicit sexual liaisons and paying bribes. In many states corruption is a major problem in governmental decision making, and interest groups may induce government officials by illegal means to take certain actions.

Substate actors seek to influence **public opinion**—the range of views on foreign policy issues held by the citizens of a state. Public opinion has great influence on foreign policy. No government can rule by force alone; it needs legitimacy to survive. It must convince people to accept (if not to like) its policies, because in the end policies are carried out by ordinary people—soldiers, workers, petty bureaucrats. However, states do not merely respond to public opinion. Decision makers enjoy some autonomy to make their own choices, and they are pulled in various directions by bureaucracies and interest groups, whose views often conflict with the direction favored by public opinion at large. Furthermore, public opinion is seldom unified on any policy, and sophisticated polling can show that particular segments of the population (regions of the country, genders, income groups, races, etc.) often differ in their perceptions of foreign policy issues. On many foreign policy issues, public opinion varies considerably over time. So states use propaganda or try to manipulate the media to keep public opinion from diverging too much from state policies.

主要内容:

外交政策(对外政策)指各国政府对他国的行动。外交政策包括国家领导人在国际事务中希望达到的目的以及为此而采取的手段和措施。

每天,各国在国际舞台上轮番登场。外交官各司其职,军队

被调动,贸易谈判或是达成协议或是无果。这一切离不开各国领导人和外交部官员的决策。而他们的决策也反应了各国在处理与他国关系时所采取的全面外交政策。

决策者在制订外交政策时要考虑基于各国已有和潜在的实力基础之上的外交目标的追求和实现、国家利益的维护和增进、国内因素和国际因素。一国如果高估本国实力,则有可能为其设置不可实现的目标,导致在两国冲突时耗尽国力却又无法阻止敌国的挑战。因此,一国外交决策的失败有可能使该国重新审视其外交政策,但该国也有可能一意孤行,为实现目标竭尽国力,最终不得不诉诸战争。一国为了实现其外交目标而采取的手段可分为政治、经济、文化和军事手段。国家利益包括一国领土、主权和文化的完整,在一国外交决策过程中处于支配性的地位。一国的生存与否是该国生死攸关的利益(vital national interest),涉及国家的独立、安全和国民的福祉。一国外交官员会依据国内国际形势的变化调整外交政策。

国家制定和执行外交政策离不开一整套系统的决策步骤和外交行政机构。外交官员和外交部门(如外交部)针对某一情况通过各种渠道收集信息、撰写备忘录、列出可采取的行动、召开正式会议进行讨论。有时,他们可能在正式会议之前举行秘密会议,以便操纵正式会议使之按照他们的需要进行。

外交决策模式分为三种类型,分别是:理性选择模式、组织过程模式、政府内协商模式(官僚政治模式)。理性选择决策模式的特点是决策者计算各种外交行为的成本和收益,从中挑选出成本最低收益最大的,而且这种外交行为形成的结果最能帮助实现一国既定的外交目标。理性决策过程包括以下几个步骤:第一,认定形势并明确目标;第二,在不同目标有冲突的情况下,按轻重缓急排序;第三,列出为实现目标可能采取的行动;第四,审查这些行动可能造成的后果;最后,挑选出最佳行动方案。在组织过程模式中,确定目标以及采取行动的过程只需要简单而繁琐的体力劳动,因此常常被决策者忽略不计,只需要官僚机构给予标准化的回应即可。比如美国国务院每天收到来自驻各国大使馆的一千多份电报,还要发出一千多份回复电报。了解一般外交工作守则的低级别的外交工作人员就可处理这些繁琐

的工作,不必提交到国务卿或总统那里。在官僚政治模式这种决策模式下,外交政策是具有不同利益的政府部门讨价还价后产生的结果。例如,1992年在日本政府考虑是否进口加利福尼亚生产的寿司时,代表日本农民利益的农业省和希望与美国交好的外务省产生了分歧。经过一场势均力敌的“拔河比赛”,日本政府最终决定进口美国产的“寿司”。

一般而言,决策者个人、政府类型、社会、和国际环境都会影响到外交决策。

在外交决策过程中,个人是唯一真实存在的行为体。每一个国际事件有意或是无意都是个人决定造成的结果。国家领导人的价值观和个人信念、个性特点和理性思维、癖好和感知经常会影响决策过程。例如,出于一直以来对共产主义和苏联强烈的敌视态度,里根总统入主白宫后,马上调动美国乃至西方的所有资源,与当时被他称为“邪恶帝国”、“现代世界的邪恶中心”的苏联展开新一轮“冷战”。

团体(groups)也能影响外交决策。团体通常由国家领导人身边的顾问或立法委员会成员组成。他们分别扮演着某种特殊的角色。这类特殊角色可以是代表小集团利益的、可以是中间人、也可以是代表摇摆不定的选民。例如,某位顾问乐于介绍新的观念,而另一位则倾向于保持现状,还有一位却是经常保持中立态度。这样三方作用下,国家领导人就能比较客观而全面地了解某个事件了。团体中的成员除了召开正式会议进行决策以外,还经常有非正式的磋商。不少领导人很依赖他们身边一些虽没有正式的职位但是颇受信任的朋友。普京总统就经常听取他一位保镖朋友的意见。在某些方面,团体意见可以纠正个人偏见和弥补视野上的盲区。顾问们和立法委员会成员可以使领导人重新考虑一个仓卒而成的决定。团体中个人之间的互动也可以使目标的形成更能反映国家的利益而非各人的嗜好。然而,团体中不可避免的盲目服从等特点也会给决策过程带来新的非理性影响。

外交政策的形成不仅取决于国家行为体,还要受到非国家行为体——官僚和社团的影响。

非国家行为体中与外交决策过程关系最为紧密的是国家的