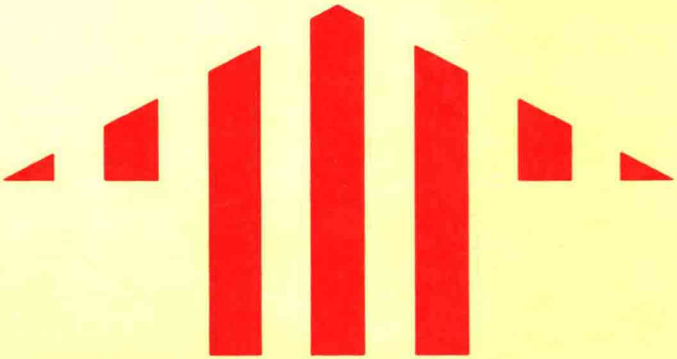
John P. Lovell

THE CHALLENGE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Purpose and Adaptation



JOHN P. LOVELL

The Challenge of American Foreign Policy

Purpose and Adaptation

MACMILLAN PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
NEW YORK
Collier Macmillan Publishers
LONDON

Macmillan Publishing Company
866 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022

Collier Macmillan Canada, Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Lovell, John P. (date)
The challenge of American foreign policy.

Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. United States—Foreign relations administration.
2. United States—Foreign relations—1945-
I. Title.
JX1706.L68 1985 353.0089 84-15421
ISBN 0-02-371800-5
PRINTING: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 YEAR: 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3

ISBN 0-02-371800-5

To William Metcalf Lovell
and the memory of
our brother, D. J.

Preface

For some years I have had the nagging feeling that Walt Kelly's cartoon character, Pogo, may have been right. Returning from the swampy field of battle, Pogo observed, "We have met the enemy, and they is us" [*sic*].

The observation, I fear, has applicability to American foreign policy in at least two respects. First, too many times in recent decades American policy makers have compounded rather than alleviated policy problems by their inability or failure to address root causes and by their failure to make adjustments in policy appropriate to changing circumstances. Second, the inadequacies of policy too often have been overlooked or dismissed by those of us who purport to be specialists in the study of foreign policy, reflecting serious deficiencies in the paradigms that we ourselves have employed in interpreting world affairs. Quite simply, often we have asked the wrong questions and therefore have arrived at conclusions that are misleading or irrelevant, and that—to the extent that such paradigms become assimilated into the policy process—make appropriate policy responses to future challenges less probable rather than more probable.

The theme of purposeful adaptation as the central imperative of foreign policy, as developed in this book, is designed to highlight questions that increasingly I have come to see as important—but too often neglected. My uneasiness about the prevailing assumptions and beliefs that have dominated the study and the practice of

American foreign policy goes back many years. Particularly in the era of growing American involvement in Vietnam it seemed to me that a sensitivity to the underlying dynamics of social and political change in Southeast Asia was almost totally missing from the calculations of American policy makers. The 1970s provided an added urgency to the need for policy and paradigmatic reappraisal and readjustment, occasioned, for example, by a world monetary crisis and an energy crisis.

Some readers will find it curious that it was during a year in Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, at the Army War College as a civilian visiting professor that thoughts for the book began to crystallize. The milieu of a military organization is not often thought to be conducive to intellectual creativity and reflection. But in 1978–1979, when I was in Carlisle, the Army itself was in the throes of institutional self-examination in the aftermath of Vietnam, which was reflected also in an openness to critical inquiry more generally about policy matters. The War College was fortunate to have as its commandant an exceptionally articulate and enlightened Army officer, Lieutenant General DeWitt Smith, who was committed to preparing students at the college adequately for future high-level policy responsibilities and thus for fostering an atmosphere in which such preparation was encouraged.

I shared an office with another civilian visiting professor. Eugene Rosi proved to be a kindred spirit in his outlook on foreign policy issues, which we discussed endlessly. From those discussions emerged an outline for this book, which was to have been co-authored. Gene was forced to leave behind those writing plans in order to assume new responsibilities as vice president for academic affairs at Monmouth College, New Jersey, but the book reflects many of the ideas that emerged from our dialogue.

Our mutual concern about the American policy response to the challenges of an era of change was underscored almost weekly if not daily in 1978–1979 by events and actions at home and abroad. For example, among the issues that commanded our attention as well as that of American policy makers in approximately an eighteen-month period beginning in the summer of 1978 were the following. Martial law was declared in Nicaragua in an effort by the Somoza regime to quell a widespread rebellion led by Sandinista forces; ultimately the Sandinistas prevailed and Somoza was forced into exile. Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat and Israeli leader

Menachim Begin met with President Jimmy Carter at Camp David to sign a peace accord, over the heated protests of other Middle Eastern Arab states. American Congressman Leo Ryan and four others were killed in Guyana investigating the activities of a religious cult in Jonestown; shortly thereafter the Reverend Jim Jones and over 900 of his followers had either committed suicide or were murdered. Pope Paul VI died, and within five weeks his successor, Pope John Paul I, also had died and was succeeded by the first Polish Pope, John Paul II.

China reestablished formal diplomatic relations with the United States for the first time since they were broken at the outset of the 1949 Communist victory in the Chinese civil war. Vietnam invaded Kampuchea (Cambodia), and China in turn invaded Vietnam. Somalia, where the United States had established a military base, and Ethiopia, which was supported by a large contingent of Soviet and Cuban military advisors, went to war with one another. Several thousand Angolan-based rebels invaded Shaba province in Zaire. A presidential commission on Latin America chaired by Sol Linowitz, citing evidence from Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, El Salvador, and elsewhere, reported that "Latin America is suffering a plague of repression." In the face of widespread internal revolutionary opposition and American pressure, the Shah of Iran went into exile, and revolutionary leader Ayotollah Khomeini returned to Iran from exile in Paris. After months of Iranian turmoil, the American embassy in Teheran was seized and some sixty Americans were held hostage. The American ambassador to Afghanistan was assassinated; several months later a coup d'etat occurred, triggering a Soviet invasion to restore a government sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Alarmed by the buildup of Soviet nuclear missiles targeted at West Europe, the NATO defense ministers decided to install nuclear-armed cruise missiles and intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Europe. In South Korea, President Park Chung Hee was assassinated by his intelligence chief; a power struggle ensued that culminated in the imposition of another military-dominated regime.

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) announced two major price increases. Pennsylvania, among other states in the United States, partially rationed gasoline by limiting purchases to odd- or even-numbered days of the month, depending on the final digit on one's auto license plate. Finally, the threat

of disaster was posed by an accident at the Three-Mile Island nuclear reactor site, less than an hour from Carlisle.

These and other events provided the focal point for policy discussions. Typically, Gene Rosi and I would meet with several military faculty colleagues in the coffee shop first thing in the morning to explore the issues at hand, to ruminate on policy trends, to marvel at our colleagues' accounts of the inner workings of curious institutions such as the Pentagon, and—if no other topic generated spirited debate—to reargue American policies in Vietnam. The composition of this floating seminar varied somewhat from one day to the next. At the risk of failing to mention some of the key participants, I do want to acknowledge that the following Army colonels (all with advanced academic degrees in the social sciences, history, or the law) were among those who endeavored—sometimes successfully—to help me to sharpen my foreign policy views: Norm Smith, Zane Finkelstein, George Joulwan, Don Shaw, Dave Blackledge, Dick Rodney, George Shevlin, Jim Cullen, Dwight "Hooper" Adams.

Over a period of two decades, I have profited intellectually from exchanging foreign policy ideas with my colleagues at Indiana University. Harvey Starr, Bernard Morris, Edward Buehrig, and Alfred Diamant are among those whose ideas I have tapped with some regularity in recent years. Elinor Ostrom chaired the department of political science during the writing of the book: I appreciate her encouragement and the efforts that she has made to facilitate the work. I am also grateful to my students, undergraduate as well as graduate, with whom I have shared my ideas and whose questions and comments have pushed me to refine my analyses.

Larry Elowitz, John Fitzgerald, Betty Glad, and James Harf critiqued the entire manuscript for the publisher, who forwarded their comments to me. Lisa Condit, Glenn Hastedt, Harvey Starr, Susan Stoudinger, and Barry Zulauf provided comments on one or more chapters.

Bernadine Psaty and Barbara Hopkins helped with the typing, and Fern Anderson and Steve Flinn helped to initiate me to the wonders of the word processor.

I am grateful to the *Air University Review* for permission to incorporate into Chapter 5 portions of my article, "From Defense Policy to National Security Policy," which appeared in the AUR 32 (May–June 1981); and to the *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* for

permission to reprint, with modification, portions of my article, "The Idiom of National Security," from the *JPMS* 11 (Spring 1983). Also incorporated into various chapters are excerpts from my *Foreign Policy in Perspective* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), to which I hold rights.

Tolerance of the intrusion of the author's research and writing habits upon family activities has been provided by my wife, Joanne, and our college-aged children, Sara and David. I love them for that, but mostly for other reasons.

The book is dedicated to two others to whom I have been close for an even longer time—my brothers Bill and D.J.

J.P.L.

Contents

PART ONE

Foreign Policy: The Nature of the Challenge

CHAPTER 1

The Study of Foreign Policy

Americans look to their foreign-policy makers in the 1980s to help them meet enormous challenges. The risks of miscalculation and error have never been greater. Of particular concern is the danger of nuclear war in an era of strained relations between superpowers. Related concerns include the failure to secure a workable comprehensive arms control agreement among the superpowers, the continuing frailty of global mechanisms to contain or eliminating armed conflicts which carry the risk of escalation, and the prospect of nuclear-armed terrorists.

However, the challenges of the 1980s and 1990s are not limited to those of avoiding a nuclear holocaust. The world is experiencing profound economic, social, political, technological, and environmental changes—each of which has implications for the United States and for the well being of its people. The challenges of foreign policy therefore include defining and pursuing the national purpose in terms that are consonant with the diverse and changing needs of the American people, and adapting policies and policy institutions to a world environment in flux.

A major objective of this book is to increase the sensitivity of the reader to the imperatives of purpose and adaptation in American foreign policy. Supplementary objectives include familiarizing the reader with the foreign policy process, with the structures and institutions that are most centrally involved in the process at various stages, and with the instruments of foreign policy.