

MAKING AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

JOHN T. ROURKE

RALPH G. CARTER

MARK A. BOYER

JOHN T. ROURKE

University of Connecticut

RALPH G. CARTER

Texas Christian University

MARK A. BOYER

University of Connecticut

MAKING AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY



The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.

Guilford, Connecticut

This book is dedicated

***from Ralph to Nita Carter, my wife, best friend,
and most constructive critic***

***from Mark to Craig, Dana, and Marissa Boyer,
who make life more fun and interesting***

from John to the first woman U.S. president



This book is printed
on recycled paper

Copyright © 1994 by The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may
be reproduced, stored, or transmitted in any form or by
any means, mechanical, electronic, photocopying,
recording, or otherwise, without prior written permission
of the copyright holder except in the case of brief
quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 92-76094

International Standard Book Number (ISBN) 1-56134-227-0

First Printing

The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.,
Sluice Dock, Guilford, Connecticut 06437

MAKING AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

About the Authors

JOHN T. ROURKE, Ph.D., is a professor of political science at The University of Connecticut. He is the author of *International Politics on the World Stage*, Fourth Edition (The Dushkin Publishing Group, 1993) and *Presidential Wars and American Democracy: Rally 'Round the Chief* (Paragon House, 1993); coauthor of *Direct Democracy and International Politics: Deciding International Issues Through Referendums* (Lynne Rienner, 1992); the editor of *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Politics*, Fourth Edition (The Dushkin Publishing Group, 1992); and the author of *Making Foreign Policy: United States, Soviet Union, China* (Brooks/Cole, 1990), *Congress and the Presidency in U.S. Foreign Policymaking* (Westview, 1985), and numerous articles and papers. He enjoys teaching introductory classes, and he does so each semester at the university's Storrs and Hartford campuses. His regard for students has molded his approach of conveying scholarship in a language and within a frame of reference that undergraduates can appreciate. Rourke believes that politics affect us all, and we can affect politics. Rourke practices what he propounds; he is involved in the university's internship program, advises one of its political clubs, has served as a staff member of Connecticut's legislature, and has been involved in political campaigns on the local, state, and national levels.

RALPH G. CARTER is an associate professor and chair of the political science department at Texas Christian University. His published articles deal with U.S. foreign policy making and issues involved in teaching foreign policy courses. A former member of the executive committee of the International Studies Association and president of its foreign policy analysis section, he currently serves on the American Political Science Association's program committee, representing the public opinion and foreign policy section. The recipient of numerous teaching awards at Texas Christian University, his Ph.D. is from Ohio State University.

MARK A. BOYER, Ph.D., is an associate professor of political science at The University of Connecticut. He is author of *International Cooperation and Public Goods: Opportunities for the Western Alliance* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), as well as articles in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Defence Economics*, and a number of chapters in edited volumes. He is a 1992-1993 Pew Faculty Fellow in International Affairs and a 1986-1988 SSRC-MacArthur Fellow in International Peace and Security. He directs the Connecticut Project in International Negotiation (CPIN), which conducts computer-assisted foreign policy simulations for high school students throughout the northeastern United States and was initially funded by grants from the United States Institute for Peace and the National Science Foundation. He teaches a range of courses, including introductory undergraduate courses in international relations and American foreign policy, and graduate courses in international negotiation and bargaining and international security. In all of his courses, he employs a wide mix of teaching approaches, ranging from case teaching to various types of simulations, and is a strong proponent of active forms of learning.

PREFACE

The purpose of *Making American Foreign Policy* is to illustrate to students how the United States makes its foreign and national policies in the post-cold war world. The ending of the bipolar superpower confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, growing global interdependence, and other factors have produced important changes in the way that U.S. foreign policy is made, with shifts in the relative importance of both the various actors and the issues involved. Texts that do not include these changes—such as the growing importance of congressional and public inputs to foreign policy making in an era when there no longer is a consensus on what the U.S. world role should be—no longer accurately reflect the realities of the American foreign policy making process.

The aim of this text is to provide an accurate and up-to-date analysis of the foreign policy making process that will be an effective tool from which professors can teach and students can learn. To meet this goal, there are several standards that have guided our efforts.

Theoretical Sophistication One criterion that we emphasize is theoretical sophistication. With regard to this standard, we have done two things. First, we have met the sophistication standard by making a real effort to cite, apply, and discuss a strong representation of the most current research available on the U.S. foreign policy process. A quick perusal of the extensive bibliography will indicate that the sources are the most current of any text available in the field. The bibliography also provides students with an array of sources that they can use for further study.

A second way we endeavor to help students think in sophisticated theoretical terms is by analyzing the foreign policy making process with four theoretical models: the presidential, political, administrative, and sub-government models. Not only do we introduce and explain these models in a separate chapter, we explicitly incorporate them in each subsequent chapter of the book. Thus, policy making models are not just brought up and then forgotten. In *Making American Foreign Policy* the models are an integral part of the book and are used repeatedly and explicitly in a way that students can readily understand.

User Friendly A second criterion of an effective text is that it must help students to learn. We have borne in mind that we are writing to undergraduates, not colleagues. We have written in a clear, understandable, and

lively fashion and have avoided using jargon wherever possible. Furthermore, we have enlivened the presentation by providing information in a variety of visual formats: figures, tables, boxed inserts, editorial cartoons, maps, and photographs. Important concepts are boldfaced, and a glossary is provided. Each chapter has a brief table of contents on its first page; each chapter ends with a numbered summary. There are also numerous headings, italicized words, and other “signposts” to help students understand both the organization and the important points of the narrative. Finally, an appendix illustrates the steps involved in producing a good college research paper. This specific, “how to” approach should be a valuable aid to the student and also should make the instructor’s task easier when research papers are a part of the course.

Relevant and Up-to-Date A third criterion of an effective text is that it engage the reader’s interest. We have used several strategies to draw the students into the subject of the text. One approach is to explain to the students why they should care about foreign policy and who makes it. This subject is the focus of a great deal of the first chapter. Keeping the interest of students is also aided by richly illustrating theoretical points and by being up-to-date. We have taken care to use illustrations, with a particular emphasis on the Clinton administration, to support the theoretical points being made.

Dynamic We believe that a fourth standard of a good text, at least in political science, is that it encourages students not only to think, but to act. We want to empower students to take part in the foreign policy process. We do this in two ways. First, we use the concept of democracy as a theme throughout the book. Our purpose is to foster student thinking about how democratic foreign policy making *is* and how democratic it *ought* to be. Second, we include an appendix illustrating some very specific ways that students can get involved in the foreign policy making process. In this way, we not only encourage students to get involved, we try to show them how they can do so.

Organization A brief look at the book’s contents shows that it features a comprehensive coverage of the American foreign policy making process. Chapter 1 established the theme of how democratic the foreign policy process is and ought to be. Throughout the text, “is” and “ought to be” are standards about which the reader is challenged to think and to make judgments. This first chapter also conveys to its readers how they are affected by foreign policy and why who decides what American foreign policy will be makes a substantive difference. The setting in which foreign policy is made is explicitly addressed, as well. Chapters 2 and 3 analyze the international setting by examining the past and present place of the United States in the international system and how that system constrains U.S. policy. Chapter 4 addresses the domestic setting by taking up American political culture and its impact on policy. Chapter 5 focuses on the human setting, with an

emphasis on the nature of humans and how their interactions affect policy making.

In chapter 6, the presidential, political, administrative, and subgovernment models of foreign policy making are introduced, described, and illustrated. Thereafter, these models are used in each subsequent chapter to explain the roles of the various actors in the policy process and the policy making associated with the implementation of policy. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 discuss the presidency, Congress, and the interaction between these two branches in making foreign policy. Chapter 10 covers the bureaucracy, chapter 11 examines interest groups and the media, and chapter 12 explores public opinion and elections.

Chapters 13, 14, and 15 discuss the instruments of policy, illustrating respectively the use of diplomacy, economics, and violence. Following a brief epilogue are the two appendixes, which discuss how to write a research paper and how to get personally involved in the foreign policy making process.

Making American Foreign Policy is also accompanied by an instructor's resource guide. It contains chapter abstracts, suggestions for further reading for each chapter, a test bank, and simulation exercises that the instructor can use to more fully involve the students.

In summary, we have been guided by our experiences in teaching American foreign policy making courses. Our hope is that we have produced a text that walks a fine line—one which is sufficiently substantive, analytical, and theoretical to satisfy our scholarly expectations, while being interesting enough not to lose the undergraduate student reader. We trust that we have found that middle ground, but we welcome your comments, criticisms, and suggestions.

TO THE STUDENT

We hope you already realize that American foreign policy affects you directly. The choices made by U.S. foreign policy makers affect your life in a variety of ways: the value of the money in your pocket, the number and nature of jobs awaiting you following graduation, your safety and security both here and abroad, the quality of the physical environment in which you live, and other aspects of your existence are determined, in part, by U.S. foreign relations. Ultimately, American foreign policy makers could make decisions causing you to go off to war, risking death or injury in pursuit of goals thought by them to be important.

Because you are so affected, it is important that you understand the process by which these decisions are made. *Who* makes policy partly determines *what* policy is adopted. Moreover, we live in a democracy. There is no reason that you, as a citizen, should not participate in foreign policy making just as you participate in domestic policy making. Perhaps the most direct way to affect foreign policy is to occupy specific foreign policy mak-

ing roles in our government. Obviously, the foreign policy officials of tomorrow are the students of today. You, or some of your peers, could be important government officials 20 or 30 years from now.

We have tried to write this text using a straightforward, understandable style. When you are reading it, pay attention to the outline that precedes each chapter. It tells you what is about to be covered. Furthermore, each chapter ends with a numbered summary. While this summary can help you review the scope of the chapter, remember that it is no substitute for carefully studying the chapter.

There are also many visual items here: figures, tables, maps, boxed inserts, and photographs. Pay close attention to them. They have been carefully chosen to help graphically represent many of the ideas presented in the text. However, no one book can include everything you need to know to understand the various topics we treat in the following pages. To help you identify other relevant works, we have used an "in-text" reference system that gives you citations as you read. Thus (Powell, 1993:37) refers to page 37 of the article published by Colin Powell in 1993, which is listed alphabetically in the references at the end of the book.

We have other features that we think you will find useful. For example, important political science terms or concepts are highlighted in **boldface**. The explanations for such highlighted items can be found in the glossary at the end of the text. Also, we have included two appendixes at the end of the text as well. These are just for your use. One walks you through the steps involved in writing a traditional college research paper. Even if you think you know how to do this, take a look at our suggestions. You may be surprised at what useful tips you can learn. The other appendix talks in some specificity about how you can affect foreign policy making *right now*. It gives you ideas about how to get involved in the process. More specifically, this appendix provides the names and phone numbers of some groups you might want to contact.

Since we care what you think, we would value your feedback about this book. Have we reached you? Does our approach work, or could it be significantly improved? You are encouraged to share your comments, criticisms, or suggestions by writing to us in care of The Dushkin Publishing Group, Sluice Dock, Guilford, Connecticut, 06437. This book, just like the broader world in which we live, can be improved, but only if you care enough to think and act.

John T. Rourke
Ralph G. Carter
Mark A. Boyer

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In particular, each of the authors is much indebted to his colleagues for their suggestions and support in the writing of this text. Collectively, we would like to thank these reviewers for their insightful criticisms and valuable advice:

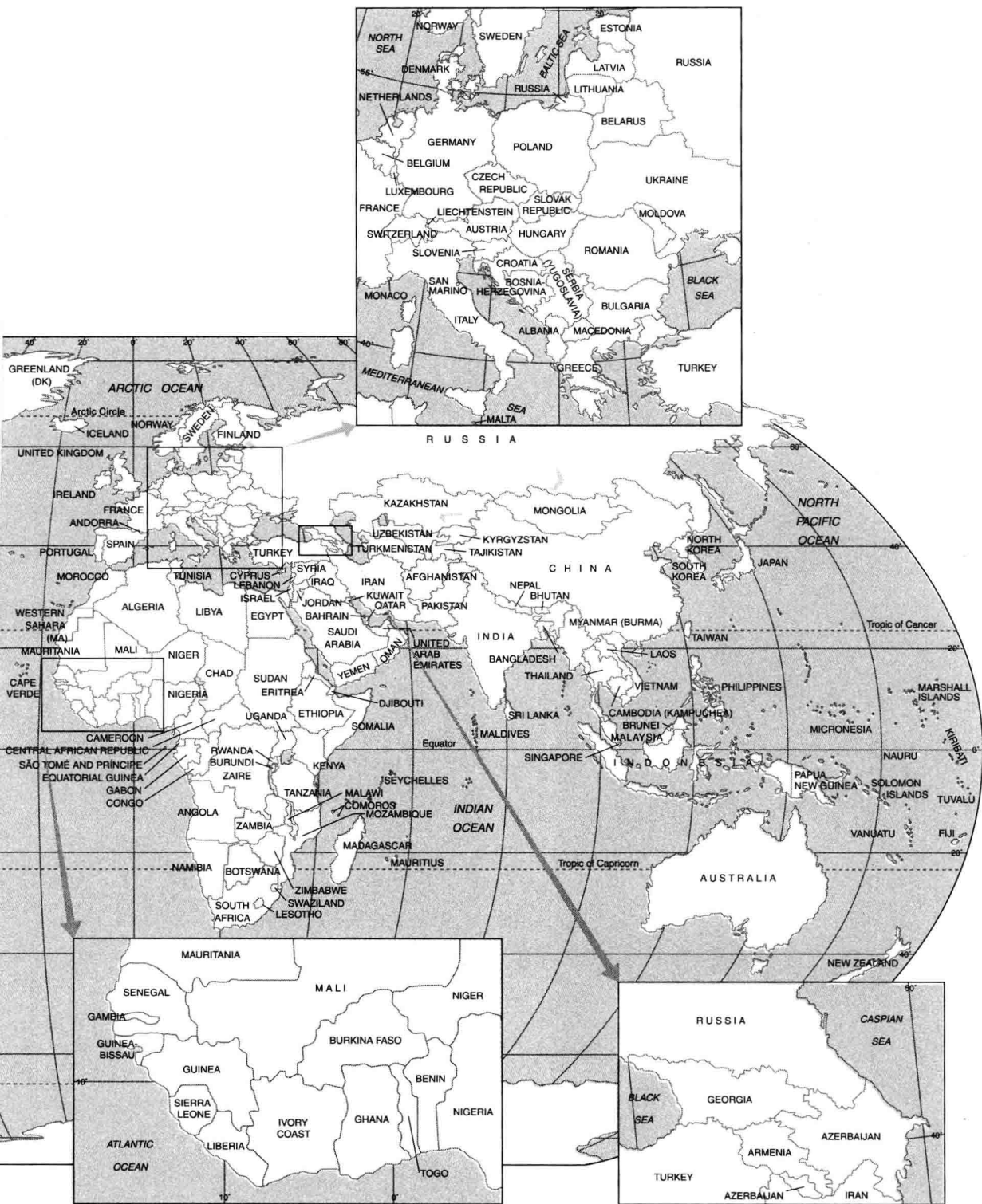
Linda Shull Adams	Baylor University
Richard S. Flickinger	Wittenberg University
Martha Gibson	University of Connecticut
Heidi H. Hobbs	Illinois State University
David S. McLellan	Miami University
Donald A. Sylvan	Ohio State University
Louis M. Terrell	San Diego State University

Our publisher has been steadfast in this endeavor, for which we are immensely grateful. We also thank the important people around us.

J.T.R.
R.G.C.
M.A.B.

Countries of the World





CONTENTS IN BRIEF

Preface vii

To the Student ix

Countries of the World xxiv

Chapter 1	DEMOCRACY AND DECIDING FOREIGN POLICY	1
Chapter 2	THE HISTORICAL INTERNATIONAL SETTING	24
Chapter 3	THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SETTING	51
Chapter 4	POLITICAL CULTURE: THE DOMESTIC SETTING	84
Chapter 5	THE HUMAN SETTING	123
Chapter 6	THE THEORY OF FOREIGN POLICY PROCESSES	142
Chapter 7	THE PRESIDENCY	165
Chapter 8	CONGRESS	196
Chapter 9	THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS STRUGGLE FOR POWER	231
Chapter 10	THE BUREAUCRACY	268
Chapter 11	NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY MAKING: INTEREST GROUPS AND THE MEDIA	315
Chapter 12	PUBLIC OPINION	356
Chapter 13	THE DIPLOMATIC INSTRUMENT	395
Chapter 14	THE ECONOMIC INSTRUMENT	431
Chapter 15	THE INSTRUMENTS OF VIOLENCE	479
Appendix 1	WRITING THE GREAT AMERICAN TERM PAPER	A1
Appendix 2	DEMOCRACY, FOREIGN POLICY, AND YOU: MAKING A DIFFERENCE	A17

Endnotes xxvii

Glossary xxxvii

Abbreviations xliii

References xlv

Index lxxv

CONTENTS

Preface vii

To the Student ix

Countries of the World xxiv

1

DEMOCRACY AND DECIDING FOREIGN POLICY 1

Making Foreign Policy: What Is, Why Care, What Ought to Be 1

Making Foreign Policy: What Is? 2

Making Foreign Policy: Why Care? 4

Policy process affects policy substance 4

Policy affects you 6

The gap between the opinions of leaders and the public 8

Changing what is to what ought to be 9

Making Foreign Policy: What Ought to Be 10

Democracy and foreign policy: Introducing the debate 10

Democracy: Early foundations, early doubts 11

Democracy and Foreign Policy: Continuing the Debate 12

Democracy and Foreign Policy: Two Alternatives 14

Limited foreign policy participation 15

Extended foreign policy participation 20

Summary 23

2

THE HISTORICAL INTERNATIONAL SETTING 24

Limited Possibilities: International and Domestic 25

Understanding International Systems 26

The Nature of International Systems 26

Characteristics of the International System 27

Organizational structure 27

Types of actors 28

Number of system poles 29

Distribution of power assets 29

Norms of behavior 30

Geographic characteristics 30
Scope and level of interaction 30

The U.S. Global Role: The Growth of a Superpower 31

- U.S. Power and International Activity Expand 32
 - Power and international activity to 1900* 32
 - Power and international activity, 1900–1945* 35
 - Power and international activity, 1945–1975* 36
- Americans Define and Dominate a Sphere of Influence 38
- The U.S. Expansion in the World Economy 40
 - Trade, investment, and imperialism* 40
 - The United States as international economic leader* 42
- The United States: A Most Unrevolutionary Country 45
 - Containing communism* 45
 - The Third World as a cold war battlefield* 48
 - The end of consensus* 49

Summary 50

3

THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SETTING 51

The U.S. Global Role: Hegemon or Has-Been? 52

- U.S. Power and International Activity 52
 - Warming relations with adversaries* 52
 - Cooling relations with allies* 59
 - U.S. power: Declining or returning to normalcy* 62
 - U.S. power: First among equals* 64
- The U.S. Sphere of Influence: President Monroe Lives! 66
 - Carrots when possible* 66
 - Sticks when necessary* 68
- The United States in the World Economy 69
 - The U.S. economic position weakens in the 1980s* 70
 - Continued economic travail in the 1990s* 72
 - Defending U.S. economic interests: The Persian Gulf* 73
- The United States: Still a Most Unrevolutionary Country 77
 - The 1980s: Struggling with a faltering status quo* 77
 - The 1990s: Defining a new world order in the American image* 79

Summary 82

4

POLITICAL CULTURE: THE DOMESTIC SETTING 84

Understanding Political Culture 85

The American Self-Image and Values 86

- Exceptionalism 86
- Moralism 87
- Liberalism 90
 - Individual rights and democracy* 91
 - Capitalism* 93

<i>Legalism</i>	94
American Images of and Interaction with Others	97
Messianism	97
<i>Early international messianism</i>	97
<i>Recent messianism: A retreat to the hill</i>	98
Idealism	99
<i>Early idealism</i>	100
<i>Recent idealism</i>	101
Paternalism	102
Racism	104
<i>Early racism</i>	104
<i>Racism since Vietnam</i>	105
Pragmatism	107
<i>Early pragmatism</i>	108
<i>Recent pragmatism</i>	109
The American Image of the U.S. Role in the World	110
Early Isolationism	111
<i>The origins of isolationism</i>	111
<i>Isolationism, security, and antimilitary sentiment</i>	112
<i>Isolationism begins to ebb</i>	113
Internationalism	114
Recent Internationalism and Isolationism	115
<i>Prevailing internationalism</i>	116
<i>Isolationist pressures</i>	118
Summary	121

5

THE HUMAN SETTING 123

Human Decision Making 123

 Decision Making: The Human Species 124

Biological factors 124

Psychological factors 125

 Decision Making: Cognitive Limits 126

The nature of cognitive limits 127

The impact of cognitive limits 127

Decisions in Organizational Settings 129

 Role Definition 129

 Small Group Decisions 130

Idiosyncratic Human Decisions 133

 Perceptions 133

 Personality 136

 Emotions 138

 Mental and Physical Health 139

 The Impact of Idiosyncratic Factors on Policy 140

Summary 141

6

THE THEORY OF FOREIGN POLICY PROCESSES 142

Policy Making Models 143

- The Presidential Model 144
- The Political Model 145
- The Administrative Model 149
- The Subgovernment Model 150

Which Policy Model When 152

- Types of Situations 152
- Types of Issue Areas 154
 - Foreign, domestic, and intermestic policy* 155
 - High prominence and low prominence issues* 159
 - Defining situations and issue areas* 160
- Creating a Model Matrix 163

Summary 164

7

THE PRESIDENCY 165

The Sources of Presidential Power: Formal and Informal 166

Formal Presidential Power and Restraints 167

- Formal Presidential Powers 167
 - Commander in chief* 167
 - Head diplomat* 174
 - Chief executive officer* 180
- Formal Restraints on Presidential Powers 184

Informal Presidential Power and Restraints 185

- Informal Presidential Powers 185
 - Presidential prestige* 185
 - Expectations of presidential leadership* 186
 - Focus of attention, information, and expertise* 189
- Informal Restraints on Presidential Power 192
 - Public opinion* 193
 - Physical and intellectual limits* 194

Summary 195

8

CONGRESS 196

A Tale of Two Congresses 196

- Congress Combative: Getting out of Vietnam 197
- Congress Compliant: Getting into the Persian Gulf 199
- A Tale of Two Congresses: Thinking about the Differences 201

The Sources of Congressional Power: Formal and Informal 202

- Congress's Formal Powers 202