AMERICAN LEADERSHIP in World Affairs

Vietnam and the breakdown of consensus

Ole R. Holsti and James N. Rosenau Duke University Of Southern California

> Boston ALLEN & UNWIN London Sydney

Contents

List of Tables Preface		page x	x
			xiii
1	Beneath the Flaps, Flips and Flops of American Foreign Policy		1
	The Lessons of Vietnam and the Uses of History		3
	The Lessons of Vietnam: The Continuing Debate The Vietnam Leadership Surveys		10 20
	Conclusion		21 25

2	Vietnam, Consensus, and the Belief Systems of American Leaders, 1976: Beliefs About the War	21
	Seven Leadership Groups	33
	Diagnosis: Sources of Failure in Vietnam	35
	An Unsound Undertaking	39
	Lack of Knowledge and Understanding	40
	The Actions of Others	41
	Military Factors	42
	Domestic Constraints	44
	World Opinion	46
	Sources of Failure: Conclusion	47
	Prognosis: The Consequences of Vietnam	47
	Impact on the International System	50
	Impact on Adversaries	53
	Constraints on Future American Foreign Policy	54
	Types of Future American Undertakings	55
	Impact on American Society	56
	Consequences of Vietnam: Conclusion	56
	Prescription: The Lessons of Vietnam	58
	The International System	58
	Adversaries	63
	The Utility of Military Power	64
	American Involvement Abroad	66
	Coping with Conflict	68
	Making Foreign Policy	69
	Domestic Constraints	70
	The Uses of History	71
	Lessons of Vietnam: Conclusion	74
	Conclusion	74
	Notes	78

3	Vietnam, Consensus and the Belief System of American Leaders, 1976: Post-Vietnam Foreign Policy Issues	83
	Foreign Policy Goals	85
	Responsibilities for Global Security	85
	Promoting American Interests and Institutions	87
	International Cooperation on Non-Military Issues	89
	International Cooperation on Security Issues	90
	Conclusion	90
	Rating Foreign Policy Performance	92
	America's Role in the World	94
	Free World Leader	94
	Economic Assistance	97
	Isolationism	98
	Conclusion	98
	American Policy Objectives in Underdeveloped Countries	100
	Conclusion	102
	Notes	106
4	The Three-Headed Eagle 1976: Three Perspectives on	
	Foreign Affairs	108
	Cold War Internationalism	108
	Post-Cold War Internationalism	116
	Semi-Isolationism	122
	Conclusion	128
	Notes	133
5	A Leadership Divided: Who Are the Cold War Internationalists, Post-Cold War Internationalists,	
	and Semi-Isolationists?	140
	Vietnam Policy Position	141
	Ideology	147
	Occupation	149
	Political Party	151
	Generation	153
	Military Service	163
	Gender	165
	Level of Political Interest	171
	Conclusion	173
	Notes	173
6	End of the "Vietnam Syndrome?": Continuity and Change in American Leadership Beliefs, 1976–1980	179
	Comparing Results of the 1976 and 1980 Surveys	
	Sources of Failure in Vietnam	182 182
	Consequences of the War in Vietnam	184
	Lessons of Vietnam	185

Foreign Policy Goals	191	
Foreign Policy Performance	193	
America's Role in the World	195	
The 1976 and 1980 Surveys: Group Comparisons		
Vietnam Policy Position	199	
Other Leader Attributes	206	
Three Foreign Policy Belief Systems	210	
Continuity and Change: A Panel Study	213	
Conclusion	214	
Notes	214	
7 Consensus Lost? Consensus Regained?	217	
Consensus Lost?	217	
Consensus Regained?	223	
Nixon, Ford and Détente	223	
Carter and Human Rights	224	
The Impact of Hostages in Iran and Russians in		
Afghanistan	226	
The 1980 Election: A Mandate and a New Conse		
The International System and American Security		
Détente	· 233	
Defense Spending and Arms Control	233	
A More Assertive Foreign Policy	235	
End of the "Vietnam Syndrome?"	238	
Conclusion	238	
Notes	240	
notes	243	
8 Conclusion: Prospects for Consensus in the	1980s 249	
Notes	258	
Appendix A. The 1976 and 1980 Leadership Samples		
Notes to Appendix A	264	
Appendix P. The 1076 and 1000 Questionneiro		
Appendix B. The 1976 and 1980 Questionnaire		
Notes to Appendix B	293	
Foreign Policy Leadership Project Questionnaire, February–March 1976		
Foreign Policy Leadership Project Questionnaire, March 1980		
1300	278	
Index	295	

9