

Counting the Public In

POWER, CONFLICT, AND DEMOCRACY
American Politics into the Twenty-first Century
Robert Y. Shapiro, Editor

POWER, CONFLICT, AND DEMOCRACY:
AMERICAN POLITICS INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
Robert Y. Shapiro, Editor

This series focuses on how the will of the people and the public interest are promoted, encouraged, or thwarted. It aims to question not only the direction American politics will take as it enters the twenty-first century but also the direction American politics has already taken.

The series addresses the role of interest groups and social and political movements; openness in American politics; important developments in institutions such as the executive, legislative, and judicial branches at all levels of government as well as the bureaucracies thus created; the changing behavior of politicians and political parties; the role of public opinion; and the functioning of mass media. Because problems drive politics, the series also examines important policy issues in both domestic and foreign affairs.

The series welcomes all theoretical perspectives, methodologies, and types of evidence that answer important questions about trends in American politics.

JOHN G. GEER, *From Tea Leaves to Opinion Polls: A Theory of Democratic Leadership*

KIM FRIDKIN KAHN, *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns*

KELLY D. PATTERSON, *Political Parties and the Maintenance of Liberal Democracy*

DONA COOPER HAMILTON AND CHARLES V. HAMILTON, *The Dual Agenda: Race and Social Welfare Policies of Civil Rights Organizations*

HANES WALTON, JR., *African-American Power and Politics: The Political Context Variable*

AMY FRIED, *Muffled Echoes: Oliver North and the Politics of Public Opinion*

RUSSELL D. RILEY, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality: Nation-Keeping from 1831 to 1965*

ROBERT W. BAILEY, *Gay Politics, Urban Politics: Identity and Economics in the Urban Setting*

RONALD T. LIBBY, *ECO-WARS: Political Campaigns and Social Movements*

Counting the Public In

Presidents, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy

DOUGLAS C. FOYLE



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW YORK

Columbia University Press
Publishers Since 1893
New York Chichester, West Sussex

Copyright © 1999 Columbia University Press
All rights reserved

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University Library, for permission to use the John Foster Dulles Oral History Collection, the John Foster Dulles Papers, the Emmet Hughes Papers, and the Karl Lott Rankin Papers.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Robert Bowie for permission to cite and/or quote from his oral history in the John Foster Dulles Oral History Collection, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University Library.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Oral History Collection of Columbia University for permission to cite and/or quote from James Hagerty Oral History #91, Arthur Kimball Oral History #66, and Carl McCardle Oral History #116. Published with the permission of the Oral History Collection of Columbia University.

Portions of Chapters 1, 2, and 3 were first published in "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Elite Beliefs as a Mediating Variable," *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (March 1997): 141–169. Used by permission of Blackwell Publishers and the International Studies Association.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Foyle, Douglas C.

Counting the public in : presidents, public opinion, and foreign
policy / Douglas C. Foyle

p. cm. — (Power, conflict, and democracy)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-231-11068-5 (cl. : alk. paper). — ISBN 0-231-11069-3 (alk.
paper)

1. United States—Foreign relations—Public opinion.

2. Presidents—United States—Decision making. I. Title.

II. Series.

JZ1480.F69 1999

327.73—dc21

98-45781



Casebound editions of Columbia University Press books are printed on
permanent and durable acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America

c 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

p 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To Laura

<i>Preface</i>	<i>vii</i>
CHAPTER ONE	
Linking Public Opinion and Foreign Policy	<i>1</i>
CHAPTER TWO	
Preserving Public Support: Eisenhower and Dulles as Pragmatists	<i>31</i>
CHAPTER THREE	
The Crisis Context: Anticipating Domestic Opposition over the Offshore Islands	<i>51</i>
CHAPTER FOUR	
The Reflexive Context: Boxed in by Public Opinion at Dien Bien Phu	<i>79</i>
CHAPTER FIVE	
The Innovative Context: Standing Firm, Pushing Forward, and Giving Way After <i>Sputnik</i>	<i>113</i>
CHAPTER SIX	
The Deliberative Context: Leadership and Limitations in the Formulation of the New Look	<i>149</i>

CHAPTER SEVEN

Presidential Beliefs Orientations Since World War II	179
--	-----

CHAPTER EIGHT

Crises and Recent Presidents	201
------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER NINE

Deliberative Cases and Recent Presidents	229
--	-----

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusions and Implications for Theory and Practice	257
--	-----

<i>Methods Appendix</i>	291
-------------------------	-----

<i>Notes</i>	297
--------------	-----

<i>Bibliography</i>	349
---------------------	-----

<i>Index</i>	369
--------------	-----

My interest in the connection between public opinion and foreign policy grew out of a fascination with the broader topic of the domestic determinants of international relations. In explanations of international outcomes, even though much of the international relations literature has traditionally de-emphasized factors internal to the state, my training and reading have led me to think otherwise. Sometimes a state's international position is so restricting that domestic politics has little influence, but most of the time domestic factors figure prominently in international choices. As the recent literature on the interaction between domestic factors and international relations suggests, national leaders consider more than just the international environment. Because leaders' political fortunes (regardless of whether they live in a democratic or an authoritarian nation) depend in part on the success or failure of their foreign policies, they base their decisions on the domestic context as well. Accordingly, any analysis that overlooks the domestic component of a state's policies leaves out a significant part of the causal explanation for international outcomes.

This book considers one aspect of the domestic sources of international politics: the potential linkage between public opinion and foreign policy. I argue that the influence of public opinion on foreign policy outcomes is determined by the interaction between a decision maker's

beliefs about the proper role of public opinion in foreign policy formulation and the decision context in which a foreign policy choice must be made. My research suggests that some people's beliefs open them to consider public preferences when making foreign policy choices. Other officials' views make them relatively unresponsive to the public's wishes. Because the conditions under which a choice must be made can alter the type of information that leaders have about public opinion and their perception of their ability to develop public support, I maintain that an individual's beliefs about public opinion and the decision context in which a choice must be made interact to determine the influence of public opinion. I explore this argument by analyzing the beliefs of American presidents from Harry Truman through Bill Clinton. I then examine the connections between these beliefs and foreign policy decisions in case studies of the choices of presidents holding a wide range of views about public opinion. Based on this analysis, I conclude that public opinion can play an important constraining role in foreign policy choices.

This project would have been difficult to complete without the advice, assistance, and support of several persons and institutions. At the top of this list is my graduate school adviser and mentor, Ole Holsti. I attribute my expeditious and successful passage through graduate school to advice he gave to my entering graduate class on our first day. His counsel to "kill two birds with one stone" by directing every course paper to either developing a workable dissertation or a publication became the touchstone of my early graduate work. His presence from the beginning also helped channel my interests in the domestic determinants of foreign policy to fertile research grounds. He patiently read every draft I gave him of first my dissertation and then my book manuscript and provided both advice and encouragement throughout the long process leading up to publication. On a practical level, he helped in the more mundane issues of finding fellowship support, providing guidance in developing and writing a dissertation, finding a publisher for my work, and bringing it to its published form. To say the least, his guidance reflects the model of the role that a mentor should play. He will always have my profound gratitude.

My thanks also go to the other members of my dissertation committee, who provided invaluable comments and assistance on my dissertation. Although I significantly reworked the form and added a great deal of substance to the book, my original ideas were developed in my disser-

tation. In addition to helping shape the original research plan, John Brehm and Peter Feaver generously read rough drafts of each chapter. Their comments on the evolving dissertation were always insightful and had a profound influence on the final product. Albert Eldridge provided a great deal of assistance in forming my dissertation and developing my approach to the subject as well as commenting critically on the draft itself. Historian Alex Roland helped me select cases and form an archival research strategy and sensitized me to the need to remain attentive to the uniqueness of historical circumstances. These people's help and advice improved my work in incalculable ways.

Other scholars provided helpful comments on papers based on the larger work or in conversations on my project. Many thanks for their advice go to Badredine Arfi, Larry Baum, Bob Billings, Bill Boettcher, Ralph Carter, Rick Herrmann, Heidi Hobbs, Lynn Kuzma, Richard Ned Lebow, Timothy Lomperis, Ed Mansfield, Randall Peterson, Tom Preston, Mark Schafer, Keith Shimko, John Sullivan, Don Sylvan, Philip Tetlock, Stuart Thorson, Steve Walker, Yaacov Vertzberger, and Jim Voss. Several scholars assisted me by reading and providing valuable comments on the final draft of this book. My thanks in this regard go to Harvey Foyle, Patrick Haney, Margaret Hermann, and Philip Powlick.

Several archivists shared their knowledge and expertise of their library's holdings. At the Eisenhower Library in Abilene, Kansas, David Haight and Herb Pankratz were always helpful in suggesting potentially useful collections to check and in helping me examine the library's papers. At the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library of Princeton University, Monica Ruscil and the rest of the staff were always eager to answer questions and provide guidance on their collections. At the National Archives in Washington, D.C., Kenneth Heger and John VanDereedt in the Civil Branch and Kenneth Schlesinger in the Modern Military Branch shared their knowledge of the archives' expansive collections. Their assistance greatly helped in sifting through the chaff to locate key files and documents. At the U.S. Army Military History Institute in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Richard J. Sommers and David A. Keough made my examination of their collections productive.

I would not have been able to make the trips to these archives or written this book without financial assistance from several sources. A postdoctoral fellowship at the Mershon Center of The Ohio State University allowed me the freedom to conduct additional research and improve the manuscript. I benefited greatly from a fellowship from the National Science Foundation Grant (DIR-9113599) to the Mershon

Center Research Training Group on the Role of Cognition in Collective Political Decision Making at The Ohio State University, which provided both living expenses and research support. A Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency provided living and tuition support to allow me to concentrate on writing. A travel grant from the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute provided financial support for one of my trips to the Eisenhower Library. Summer research grants from the political science department at Duke University also defrayed the costs of my archival work and costs associated with completing my dissertation. Thanks go to Randall Calvert, chair of the political science department at the University of Rochester, New York, for allowing me access to the university's resources during time I spent there.

At Columbia University Press, acquiring editor John Michel provided invaluable guidance and insight into the publication process. His assistant, Alexander Thorp, responded to my inquiries in rapid order. Assistant managing editor Ronald Harris shepherded my manuscript through the editorial process and smoothed the inevitable bumps along the way. Margaret B. Yamashita copyedited the book with conscientiousness and professionalism. The anonymous reviewers for the press provided valuable comments and suggestions. I have produced a better book because of their assistance.

Robert Bowie graciously granted his permission to cite his oral history comments. The Columbia University Oral History Research Office also gave me permission to quote from and cite interviews from James Hagerty Oral History 91, Arthur Kimball Oral History 66, and Carl McCardle Oral History 116. The International Studies Association and Blackwell Publishers granted their permission to use material that appeared in my article "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Elite Beliefs as a Mediating Variable," *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (1997):141–69. Materials from the John Foster Dulles Oral History Collection, the John Foster Dulles Papers, the Emmet Hughes Papers, and the Karl Lott Rankin Papers are used by permission of the Princeton University Libraries.

On a more personal level, I want to thank my parents, Harvey and Joanne Foyle, for providing emotional and financial support during my undergraduate and graduate careers. They never doubted my ability to persevere and complete what I started. I would not have accomplished this task without them. My parents-in-law, Philip Wurtz and Rita

Wurtz, and other family members always were interested in my work and supportive of my efforts.

Finally, my wife, Laura, remained a constant source of support throughout graduate school and in producing this book. She listened to endless one-sided conversations with good humor and patience and read countless drafts. Her editing skills and attention to detail were much appreciated. The issues on which her advice proved valuable are too numerous to count. Throughout the years of graduate work and beyond, she constantly supported me in both big and small ways, even as the pressures from her own doctoral program and work as a clinical psychologist placed demands on her. I can only hope that I gave her half the assistance and support that she gave me.

Counting the Public In

