

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. BACKGROUND

United States and Vietnam relationship was on hiatus after the end of Vietnam War until 1995. The hiatus was including on diplomatic, implementing economic and arms embargo to Vietnam. U.S. even issued the travel ban status to Vietnam. Human right issues became the reason of the U.S. embargo because according to U.S., Vietnam was still susceptible for the violation of human rights, and also U.S. as the capitalism icon and Soviet Union as the socialism icon and anti capitalism also made Vietnam as the enemy of United States. U.S. consider that Soviet Union and some states which support Soviet Union as the enemy, make the embargo for company in United States to embargo business activity.<sup>1</sup>

The plan for re-opening diplomatic relations was established in 1991 under George Bush administration. The two sides agreed to settle MIA (Missing in Action) issue by opening a U.S. government office. Following it, U.S. lifted travel ban status for organized U.S. travel to Vietnam, cleared the way for international lending, and lifted trade embargo. Finally, in 1995 U.S. opened embassy in Vietnam and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> The re-establishment was influenced by the large Vietnamese-American population who shift their view from opposing to

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<sup>1</sup> US Withdrawal (1969-73). (n.d.). Retrieved June 24, 2016, from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/asia\\_pac/05/vietnam\\_war/html/us\\_withdrawal.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/asia_pac/05/vietnam_war/html/us_withdrawal.stm)

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Department of State. (2016). *U.S. Embassy in Vietnam*. U.S.-Vietnam Relations. Retrieved May 29, 2016 from <http://vietnam.usembassy.gov/chronology.html#1991>

supporting the Hanoi government. The opportunity for American companies to stake claims in East Asia also became the supporting factor of the re-establishment.<sup>3</sup>

The development of diplomatic relations is significant which is showed in the economic and educational sector. In the economic sector, the trade values between two countries surpassed \$45 billion and had nearly tripled in the last seven years. Vietnam is included in the top 50 trade partners of U.S as the export to Vietnam increased 23% in 2015. United States also became the Vietnam largest export market, with the increase of 24 percent year on year. Both countries also join Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). United States committed to help Vietnam in fully implementing the agreement by giving technical assistance. The U.S. investment in Vietnam reaches nearly \$1,5 billion over the past seven years.<sup>4</sup>

On the educational sector, nearly 19.000 Vietnam students now studying in the U.S., 40% increasing from 2009. More than 80.000 Vietnamese visited U.S. in 2015, and thousands of U.S. citizens visited Vietnam. The new implemented Fulbright University Vietnam (FUV) which was opened in Ho Chi Minh City will help to bring Vietnam an independent and world class education. United States also help to improve the quality of Vietnam education by connecting American universities with Vietnamese higher education.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Kurlantzick, J. (2013, May 22). Why did the United States reestablish diplomatic relations with communist states like China and Vietnam? Retrieved June 23, 2016, from <http://www.cfr.org/diplomacy-and-statecraft/why-did-united-states-reestablish-diplomatic-relations-communist-states-like-china-vietnam/p30749>

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Relations With Vietnam. (2016). Retrieved October 30, 2016, from <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/4130.htm>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

However, the good diplomatic relation does not yet touch the military sector which is a vital aspect in relation between two countries. The embargo on military sector was still implemented prior to 2014 until the lifting arms embargo began in October 2014 on the navy sector at first. The US had partially lifted a long-time sale embargo as the output on tightened cooperation between both countries. Vietnam also, in fact, is one of the several nations which have territorial problem with China on South China Sea. The policy also acts as incentive policy to Vietnam in human rights issues to achieve the peace and principle objective. Gaining peace by using cooperation and diplomacy over military means to influence other actors and to promote the principle of human rights in Vietnam.

On May 23, 2016, President Obama announced that U.S. would lift the embargo on lethal weapon to Vietnam, which implicitly means that U.S. totally lifted the arm embargo. It was announced at the joint news conference between Barrack Obama with Vietnamese President, Tran Dai Quang, when President Obama visited Vietnam. President Obama emphasized that this decision was taken on maturing relationship between U.S. and Vietnam also in strengthening security and trade relationship after Vietnam War. In the visit, there were also joined Secretary of State John F. Kerry, a veteran of Vietnam War, Senator Thomas Carper (D-Del) who supported Trans-Pacific Partnership where both U.S. and Vietnam joined, Representative Joaquin Castro and Representative Beto O'Rourke.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Nakamura, D. (2016, May 23). In historic move, U.S. lifts embargo on arms sales to Vietnam. Retrieved June 23, 2016, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/05/23/in-historic-move-u-s-lifts-arms-sales-embargo-to-vietnam/>

## **B. RESEARCH QUESTION**

This research aims to explain the changing policy of U.S. to Vietnam on the arm embargo. However, the writer would focus on the domestic factor which influences the decision. The research question would be: *Why did U.S. lift arms embargo to Vietnam?*

## **C. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

In order to be able to analyze the issue and answer the research question, the writer will use foreign policy concept by Jack C. Plano and Roy T. Olton and Bureaucratic Politics Model by Graham T. Allison

### **1. Foreign Policy Concept by Jack C. Plano and Roy T. Olton**

According to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton in *International Relations Dictionary*, the definition of foreign policy is:

Foreign policy is a strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of state vis a vis other states or international entities aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest.<sup>7</sup>

Foreign policy is a strategy taken by a state to achieve its interests. Foreign policy becomes the base of formal and non-formal behavior of a state to other states or other international entities. It can be perceived as the participation

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<sup>7</sup> Plano, J. C., & Olton, R. (1988). *The international relations dictionary*. Santa Barbara, CA:

of a state in a complex and interdependent international relations. It also can be perceived as the response of a state to the action of another state or the environment of international politics.

Foreign policy is made by evaluating the state's possibilities, potentials, and capabilities to achieve the national interests. The making of foreign policy involved broad key actors in the governments in order to create an in-depth analysis from many perspectives that can reflect the holistic needs and interests of the state in the international politics.

## **2. Bureaucratic Politics Model by Graham T. Allison**

Bureaucratic Politics Model is the Model III of Foreign Policy Decision Making Model proposed by Graham T. Allison, after Rational Policy Model (Model I) and Organizational Process Model (Model II). In contrast with Rational Actor Model which see the government as unitary actor, this model sees many actors as the players who do not only focus on one issue only but many diverse issues as well.<sup>8</sup>

The basic unit of this model analysis is the policy as political outcome and the actor is a number of individual players who occupy a critical position in the government. The relation between those two is as Graham T. Allison stated that:

The decisions and actions of government are essentially intra-national political outcomes: The outcomes in the sense that

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<sup>8</sup> Allison, G. T. (1969, September). Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *American Political Science Review*, 63(03), 689-718. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from [http://www3.nccu.edu.tw/~lorenzo/Allison\\_Conceptual\\_Models.pdf](http://www3.nccu.edu.tw/~lorenzo/Allison_Conceptual_Models.pdf)

what happens is not chosen as a solution to a problem but rather result from compromise, coalition, competition, and confusion among government officials who see different faces of an issue; political in the sense that activity from which the outcomes emerge is best characterized as bargaining.<sup>9</sup>

According to Graham T. Allison in *Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications*, the Bureaucratic Politics Model is supported by some organizing concepts, those are:

a. Players in Position

The actor is a number of individual players who put to the key strategic positions within the government system. They are given different and specific tasks according to the position they held. The positions would lead to what players may and must do as the phrase of where you stand depends on where you sit. The classifications are:

- i. Chiefs, for example the President, Secretary of Defense, State, and Treasury, Director of CIA, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Special Assistant for National Security Affairs
- ii. Staffers who are the immediate staff of each Chiefs
- iii. Indians who are the political appointees and permanent government officials within each departments and agencies

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<sup>9</sup> Allison, G. T., & Halperin, M. H. (1972, Spring). *Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications*. *Theory and Policy in International Relations*, 24, 40-79. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from [http://scholar.google.com/scholar\\_url?url=http://sites.google.com/site/jlechl2/Allison.Halperin.BureaucraticPoliticsWorldPolitics.1972.pdf&hl=id&sa=X&scisig=AAGBfm1k0rtBB6\\_q6en4laeg](http://scholar.google.com/scholar_url?url=http://sites.google.com/site/jlechl2/Allison.Halperin.BureaucraticPoliticsWorldPolitics.1972.pdf&hl=id&sa=X&scisig=AAGBfm1k0rtBB6_q6en4laeg)

iv. Ad Hoc Players who are actors in wider government game, such as the Congress, the members of press, and the spokesmen for important interest groups.

b. Parochial Priorities, Perceptions and Issues

Different positions would give different perceptions for the individual players, it would give different answers of the questions “what is the issue?” and “what must be done?”

c. Interests, Stake, and Power

The actors would rely of their power or the effective influence on policy outcomes, which derived from three elements: bargaining advantages, his skill and will in using bargaining advantages, and other players’ perception on the first two elements. The actors’ formal authority and obligations, institutional backing, constituents, expertise, and status. The power would be more effective if the actors have enhanced reputation.

d. Problems and Problems

The actors do not only face on issue at a time but many issues. It makes the actors must focus on the decisions which have to be made now instead of the total strategy to the problem. Thus, solutions to the strategic problems raised from the deadlines, the issues raised in the games, and the

The interests then channeled into the bureaucracy within the government system. Action-channel is the regularized ways of producing action concerning types of issues, structure the game by pre-selecting the major players, determining their points of entrance into the game, and distributing particular advantages and disadvantages for each game. It will determine “who’s got the action.”

#### f. Action as Politics

After entering the bureaucracy, it would lead to government decisions and actions. It could be said that the decisions and actions emerged from various judgements regarding important choices. The actors have to become active players in order to get more considerations. In other words, the politics is “the mechanism of choice.”

#### g. Streams of Outcomes

The government decisions or actions then determined as “collages composed of individual acts, outcomes of minor and major games, and fouls-ups.”

Both theories are relevant in understanding the phenomena. Foreign policy concept stated that foreign policy is developed by the decision makers. The decision makers then explained further by the bureaucratic politic model that assume the foreign policy is not created by a single actor, but by many different actors within the government system. Foreign policy is the result from

compromise, coalition, competition, and confusion of different government actors who stand on different positions.

The essential actors of bureaucratic politic model in U.S. are the President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and Secretary of Treasury, Director of CIA, Joint Chief of Staffs, Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, and Congress. The President acts as the head of government and state. He is responsible for any policies that were made within the presidency, including the foreign policy. In making the foreign policy, the President is helped by the Secretary of State who is responsible for managing U.S. foreign relations and to coordinate the leadership role of U.S. in foreign policy.

The President is also assisted and advised by the Secretary of Defense who is more concerned on military and security matters. Secretary of Treasury has critical role for the financial and monetary matters. He is responsible for formulating and advising both domestic and international financial policies.

The information needed by the decision makers are provided by the Central Intelligence Agency or CIA. It is the intelligence body of U.S. which has primary mission to provide intelligence information to the President and other policy makers in making decisions regarding the national security and policies toward other countries.<sup>10</sup> Joint Chief of Staff acts as the primary military advisers to the President, Secretary of Defense, and the National Security Council.

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<sup>10</sup> About CIA. (2013). Retrieved October 30, 2016, from <https://www.cia.gov/about-cia/>

National Security Adviser is the position within the presidential subsystem that bearing the primary responsibility for foreign policy.<sup>11</sup>

Congress is the legislative branch of U.S. government that consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The primary function of Congress is to make laws in many matters, including foreign policy, defense, and economic aspects. Any bills should pass both Senate and House of Representative and then signed by the President before it can become the law. President also can pass a bill to the Congress to be approved.<sup>12</sup>

## D. HYPOTHESIS

U.S. lifted arms embargo to Vietnam because of the influences by U.S. Department of State and the Congress.

## E. METHOD OF RESEARCH

In order to analyze and examine research, it would need method of research. The method of research and data analysis that would be used in this undergraduate thesis are:

1. Study of Literature, this method will be used to examine the relevant data related to the case in order to explore the main problem as the starting point of this

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<sup>11</sup> Joint Chiefs of Staff. (2016). About the Joint Chiefs of Staffs. Retrieved December 15, 2016 from <http://www.jcs.mil/About/>

<sup>12</sup> Britannica.com. (March 25, 2009). Congress of the United States. Retrieved December 15, 2016 from <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Congress-of-the-United-States>

research. Conduct of this research will be synthesized from book references; magazines; internet-based sources as well as the scripts and journals (secondary data).

2. Data Analysis, the relevant findings to the research will be analyzed and examined in order to get the validity and relevancy to be used as the source in the research.

3. Verification of Hypothesis, which can be derived from discussion and analysis of the problem and the analysis.

## **F. PURPOSES OF THE WRITING**

1. To analyze the factors in decision making process in U.S. that make the outcome of lifting arms ban to Vietnam.

2. As the requirements of the written thesis for achieving the Bachelor of International Relations from Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

## **G. SCOPE OF RESEARCH**

This research would focus on the domestic politics factor that influence the decision on lifting arm embargo on Vietnam. The decision itself was taken in 2014. The decision is taken through complex actors within the government. The position of the subject of research would represent their position as a statesman.

However, the writer believes that there is political considerations before the decision was announced, and the considerations could be taken some years ago, which might have relation with the announcement to open diplomatic relations with Vietnam in 1995. Since then, there are some developments in relations between both states.

## **H. SYSTEMATIC OF RESEARCH**

**CHAPTER ONE.** This chapter is the introduction which consists of background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, purpose of writing and scope of research

**CHAPTER TWO.** This chapter will analyze about the United States, its political system and foreign policy of U.S.

**CHAPTER THREE.** This chapter will analyze about U.S.-Vietnam relations from Cold War until the lift of arms embargo

**CHAPTER FOUR.** This chapter will analyze the factors that influence to the decision of U.S. to lift arm embargo to Vietnam

**CHAPTER FIVE** is the conclusion