

DRAFT: January 28, 2002

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICYMAKING PROCESS

Monday 1:30-4:00 pm, Van Munching Hall (Room tbd)
Spring 2002

Professor I. M. (Mac) Destler
CISSM Room 4113A
(301) 405-6357; fax 403-8107
email: mdestler@wam.umd.edu
Office Hours: Mon 4-5; Thurs 11-noon

OBJECTIVES

This course explores the theory and practice of U.S. foreign policymaking, focusing on the process by which international economic and security decisions are actually made. The events of September 11th have restored, at least temporarily, the Presidential primacy characteristic of much of the Cold War, but many features of the post-Cold War environment remain: an assertive Congress, the rise of economic issues, and the fading of the distinction between matters domestic and international. . In this setting, institutions continue to fight for influence even as their roles fluctuate, and the decisionmaking process is as often dominated as much by personalities and political/societal trends as by institutional and constitutional prerogatives. Politics, in short, now affects the foreign policymaking process in much the same manner as it long has affected domestic policy.

To encourage specific understanding about how U.S. policy is actually made, the course will move quickly from consideration of the policy process in general (executive branch, Congress, civil society) to examination of economic and national security policymaking in successive Presidential administrations, beginning with those of John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. Students will examine the roles of key officials, relationships among them, and how they addressed major international security and economic issues in these particular contexts. In the process, we will explore repeatedly the relevance of theory to understanding of what actually happens. Readings will include contemporary documents as well as retrospective accounts by participants and academic analyses.

REQUIREMENTS

(1) ***Writing Assignments***: Students will write *three* memos and one short paper on a single topic of their choice. The topic must be an actual issue, involving a decision made by the President or his senior advisors. Pertinent examples include decisions to threaten sanctions against Japan on automobile trade in 1995, abandon support of the dollar in 1971, proceed with the Bay of Pigs operation in 1961, authorize Desert One to rescue the hostages in Iran in 1980, begin or end the Gulf War in 1991, drive down the dollar in 1985, go to war in Kosovo in 1999, agree to permanent normal trade relations and Chinese WTO membership in 2000, etc.

- ** The first memo should provide the necessary background information concerning the issue, including all the relevant factors needed to arrive at a decision.
- ** The two subsequent memos should be written to prepare the head of an agency for a meeting (whether historically real or assumed) at which the issue will be decided. Both memos should be for the same meeting, but written for different agency heads with clearly contrasting perspectives, (e.g., if the issue is the U.S. position on global warming prior to the 1992 Rio conference, the memos could be addressed to EPA Director Rielly, Treasury Secretary Brady, and/or Acting Secretary of State Eagleburger). The memos should take the information contained in the first memo as given and focus on preparing the agency head for the decision-making meeting by:
 - (a) describing the state of play on the issue within the Administration;
 - (b) suggesting the position the agency head should take on the issue;
 - (c) presenting a strategy to enhance the prospect that the issue will be decided in the agency's favor.
- ** Alternatively, one of these two memos can be written for someone outside the Executive Branch, e.g., a congressman concerned with the issue or the head of an NGO or private business with interests at stake. In that case, the memo should describe the state of play on the issue within the Administration and Congress, recommend a specific course of action, and present a strategy for pursuing it.

All memos should be no more than three pages in length (Courier 12 point, single-spaced, double-spaced between paragraphs), within 1" margins. The *first* memo should be resubmitted as an attachment to each of the subsequent two, revised in response to feedback from the instructor.

- ** The *final* writing assignment will be a short paper (about 5 pages, double-spaced, not to exceed 1700 words) that relates the issue and the decision process thereon to at least one theoretical proposition drawn from course readings. Further instructions will be circulated after spring break.

The due dates for the written assignments will be February 22, March 15, April 12, and May 3. Together they will constitute **45 percent** of each student's grade.

(2) ***A Take-home Final Examination***: this will call for critical analysis of an actual policy case--how it was handled and what changes or improvements in the process might have led to a better outcome--or a choice about management of the policy process. The exam will count for **30 percent** of the grade.

(3) ***Launching Class Discussions***: Starting in week 3, specific students will be tasked with bringing to class a question to help launch discussion of that week's readings (*not* of the cases). Those assigned for a given week should coordinate to avoid duplication. Particularly valuable are questions that relate the readings to issues involving the broader policy process that you find interesting and believe will generate reaction. Other members of the seminar will then respond based on what *they* have gleaned from the readings.

(4) **Class Participation**, based on timely completion of readings and reflection on their contents. This course will rely in part on case-teaching and in part on student-generated questions. The philosophy behind both is that we all learn better by active engagement than by being talked to. While lecturing has many benefits, discussion-based teaching helps to foster critical thinking and to internalize learning through an interactive process. Therefore, this course not only expects active and full student participation, it depends upon it.

Overall, class participation will count for about **25 percent** of students' grades: more in cases of particularly strong or egregiously inadequate performance. As a result, a student will not be able to get an A and will have difficulty getting a B without active participation in seminar discussions.

READINGS

The following three books contain required reading for the course and should be available in ample supply at the Maryland Book Exchange and the University Book Center.

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, SECOND EDITION!!, Addison Wesley Longman, 1999.

Rebecca K. C. Hersman, *Friends and Foes: How Congress and the President Really Make Foreign Policy*, Brookings Institution Press, 2000..

James M. Scott, editor, *After the End: Making U.S. Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War World*, Duke University Press, 1998.

Selected cases from Pew Case Studies in International Affairs and the Kennedy School (marked **C** on the reading list) will either be sold directly to students at modest prices--around \$3.00 per case or purchased by students on the web.

A course packet will be available for purchase on or before February 11th. It includes readings (indicated by **P** on your reading list) that are not copyrighted or for which copying permission has been granted.

Additional readings (indicated by **R**) are on "reserve" because of copyright restrictions. They will be located in a marked drawer in the file cabinet near the CISSM secretary's desk on the fourth floor in the MSPA building. You can check these out for two hours at a time, and you may make one photocopy for personal use. **Please sign the check-out sheet if you take materials away from the area..**

Finally, students are assigned three Oral History Roundtables, published by the Brookings-Maryland project on the National Security Council. These may be downloaded without charge from the Brookings website, or purchased from CISSM (please allow time for reprinting some are in short supply).

PART ONE: ACTORS AND PROCESSES

January 28: ***Introduction: The Security Complex and the Economic Complex***

Reading: None is *required*. We will begin by discussing Presidential and Congressional foreign policymaking in the George W. Bush administration, followed by a preliminary look at the distinct institutions that make US international economic and security policy.

February 4: ***Congress***

Readings: Hersman, *Friends and Foes*, pp. 1-84 and 105-116.

I. M. Destler, Congress and Foreign Policy at Century's End: Requiem on Cooperation? pp. 315-33 in Dodd and Oppenheimer, *Congress Reconsidered*, CQ Press, 2001. (to be distributed to students)

Case: Vincent Auger, *The War Powers Resolution and U.S. Policy in Lebanon* (C, Pew Case 358 purchase on web: <http://www.guisd.org/>.)

February 11: ***Executive Branch***

Readings: Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, Introduction and chaps. 1, 3, 5, and 7. (NOTE: Give particular attention to the paradigms, esp. Model III. Read (or skim) the rest for illustration and connection to other foreign policymaking and IR literatures.

Alexander George and Eric Stern, Presidential Management Styles and Models, in Alexander and Juliette George, *Presidential Personality and Performance*, Westview Press, 1998, pp. 199-210. [P]

OPTIONAL (but of possible relevance for the fourth paper assignment):

Robert Putnam, Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two Level Games, *International Organization*, Vol 42 (Summer 1988), pp. 427-60. [R]

February 18: **Civil Society**

Reading: Ole Holsti, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War, in Scott, *After the End*, 138-69.
 Steven Kull, Vox Americani, *Foreign Policy*, Sept/Oct 2001, pp. 29-37.
 (http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue_SeptOct_2001/kull.html)
 Steven Kull and I. M. Destler, *Misreading the Public: The Myth of a New Isolationism*, Brookings Institution Press, 1999, chaps. 7, 11 and 12. **(P)**
 James M. McCormick, Interest Groups and the Media in Post-Cold War U. S. Foreign Policy, in Scott, *After the End*, pp. 170-98

PART TWO: PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS

(Readings for some weeks after Spring Break will be expanded and perhaps revised)

February 25: **Kennedy Administration: National Security Policymaking**

Readings: Allison and Zelikow, pp. 109-120, 197-201, 217-36, 325-47.
 I. M. Destler, Leslie H. Gelb and Anthony Lake, *Our Own Worst Enemy* (Simon and Schuster, 1984), pp. 182-94. **[P]**
 David K. Hall, *Implementing Multiple Advocacy in the National Security Council*, (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1982), pp. 434-87 (added pages provided). **[P]**
 George and Stern, Presidential Management Styles, pp. 210-212. **[P]**
 Selected Documents **[P]**
 John F. Kennedy, *State of the Union Address*, January 30, 1961.
 Bundy to Rusk re NSAMs, February 3, 1961;
 Bundy to Salinger re infrequent NSC meetings, February 28, 1961;
 Bundy to Kennedy, hand-written note, no date (probably May 1961)
 Bundy (?) to Kennedy, June 23, 1961;
 Bundy to O'Donnell, January 5, 1962;
 Bundy to Kennedy re: Chester Bowles speech, September 17, 1962
 NSAM 196 re: Executive Committee of NSC, October 22, 1962.
 Samuel W. Lewis, Random Musings about Chester Bowles and the Department of State, May 26, 1963.

March 4: **The Nixon Administration: National Security**

Readings: *The Nixon Administration National Security Council*, Oral History Roundtable sponsored by CISSM and the Brookings Institution, December 8, 1998. (<http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/nsc/transcripts/19981208.htm>).

Henry A. Kissinger, *White House Years*, Little, Brown, 1979, pp. 17-53. [R]

Richard Nixon, *U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's: A New Strategy For Peace*, February 18, 1970, pp. 17-23. [P]

Morton H. Halperin, "The 1969 NSC System," draft paper, September 1974. [P]

Destler, Gelb, and Lake, *Our Own Worst Enemy*, pp. 202-210. [P]

George and Stern, *Presidential Management Styles*, pp. 212-14. [P]

Documents [P]

Henry A. Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President-Elect," December 27, 1968.

Kissinger, Memorandum for the President-Elect, January 7, 1969.

Tony Lake, Memorandum for Henry A. Kissinger on Relations with the State Department, November 14, 1969, with attachments.

Case: To be announced.

March 11: **Nixon Administration: Trade and Economic**

Readings: Steve Dryden, *Trade Warriors: USTR and the American Crusade for Free Trade*, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 129-85. [P]

Joanne Gowa, *Closing the Gold Window: Domestic Politics and the End of Bretton Woods*, Cornell University Press, 1983, pp. 88-125, 147-170. [R]

Paul Volcker and Toyoo Gyohten, *Changing Fortunes: The World's Money and the Threat to American Leadership*, Times Books, 1992, pp. 59-90. [R]

March 18: **Carter Administration: Trade and Economic**

Readings: Dryden, *Trade Warriors*, pp. 207-253. [P]

George and Stern, *Presidential Management Styles and Models*, pp. 214-22 [P]

I. M. Destler and Thomas R. Graham, United States Congress and the Tokyo Round: Lessons of a Success Story, *The World Economy*, vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1980). [P]

Volcker and Gyohten, *Changing Fortunes*, pp. 139-50, 163-74. [R]

Herbert Stein, *Presidential Economics: The Making of Economic Policy From Roosevelt to Reagan*, Simon and Schuster, 1985, pp. 209-33. [R]

[Spring Vacation]

April 1: **Reagan and Bush Administrations: Trade and Economic**

Readings: Dryden, *Trade Warriors*, pp. 265-329, 355-380. [P]
 Volcker and Gyohten, *Changing Fortunes*, pp. 174-84, 228-47. [R]
 Stephen D. Cohen, The System Responds to Exchange Rate and Trade Balance Disequilibria, in Cohen, editor, *The Making of United States International Economic Policy*, (Praeger, 5th edition, 2000), pp. 209-223. [P]

Case: Yoichi Funabashi, The End of Unilateralism: The United States, in *Managing the Dollar: From the Plaza to the Louvre*, Institute for International Economics, 1987, pp. 65-86. [P]

April 8: **Reagan Administration: National Security**

Readings: NSDD 2: National Security Council Structure [P]
Report of the President's Special Review Board (The Tower Commission) [P]
 NSDD 266: Implementation of the Recommendations of the President's Special Review Board [P]
 NSDD 276: National Security Council Interagency Process [P]
 George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993, pp. 863-78. [R]
 George and Stern, Presidential Management Styles, pp. 222-34. [P]
 James M. Scott, Interbranch Rivalry and the Reagan Doctrine in Nicaragua, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 112, no. 2 (Summer 1997), pp. 237-60. [R]

Case: *The Reagan Administration and Lebanon* (JFK) [C]

April 15: **Bush (Sr.) Administration: National Security**

Readings: National Security Council Organization, White House Fact Sheet, April 17, 1989 [P] *The Bush Administration National Security Council*, Brookings/CISSM Oral History Roundtable, April 29, 1999, 61 pp.
 (<http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/nsc/transcripts/19990429.htm>)

George and Stern, Presidential Management Styles, pp. 234-41 [P]

James A. Baker III, *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War & Peace, 1989-1992*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995, pp. 1-16. [R]

George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1998, pp. 16-36, 416-49. [R]

Bruce Jentleson, *With Friends Like These: Reagan, Bush, and Saddam 1982-90*, pp. 94-138. [R]

April 22: **Clinton Administration: National Security**

Readings: PDD2: Organization of the National Security Council. [P]

Clinton Administration National Security Council, Brookings-CISSM Oral History Roundtable, September 27, 2000, 56 pp.

(<http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/nsc/transcripts/20000927.htm>)

George and Stern, Presidential Management Styles, pp. 241-63 [P]

Hersman, *Friends and Foes*, pp. 85-104.

Anthony Lake, The Sixth Nightmare: Washington, D.C., in *6 Nightmares* (Little, Brown & Co., 2000), pp. 235-73. [R]

Samantha Power, Bystanders to Genocide, *The Atlantic*, September 2001, 30pp. (<http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2001/09/power.htm>). [R]

Jeremy D. Rosner, American Assistance to the Former Soviet States in 1993-1994, in Scott, *After the End*, pp. 225-50.

Ivo H. Daalder, *Getting to Dayton: The Making of America's Bosnia Policy* (Brookings Institution, 2000, pp. 1-36, 81-116, and 162-89. [P] OR

James Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO*, (Brookings Institution Press, 1999), pp. 1-13, 45-76, and 152-74. [P]

April 29 **Clinton Administration: Trade and Economic**

Readings: Presidential Executive Order 12835 and PDD/NEC-2 [P]

Stephen D. Cohen, The Non-Making of International Economic Policy: The Process of Paralysis, 1996-20?? in *Making US International Economic Policy*, pp.239-59. [P]

I. M. Destler, Foreign Economic Policy Making under Bill Clinton, in Scott, *After the End*, pp. 89-107.

Dryden, *Trade Warriors*, pp. 381-94.[P]

Richard Feinberg, *Summitry in the Americas*, Institute for International Economics, 1997, pp. 55-61 and 206-207. [P]

Renee G. Scherlen, NAFTA and Beyond: The Politics of Trade in the Post-Cold War World, in *Scott, After the End*, pp. 358-85.

Leonard Schoppa, The Clinton Framework Talks, in *Bargaining With Japan: What American Pressure Can and Cannot Do*, pp. 254-75. [R]

Case: Vincent A. Auger, Human Rights and Trade: The Clinton Administration and China, Pew Case Study 168 (www.guisd.org).

May 6: **The George W. Bush Administration**

Ivo H. Daalder and I. M. Destler, A New NSC for a New Administration, Brookings Institution Policy Brief #68, November 2000.

Assessing the Bush Foreign Policy Transition, Brookings-UMd-AEI Roundtable Discussion, April 18, 2001 (<http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/nsc/transcripts/20010418.htm>)

Stephen Fidler, Economics Emerges from the Shadow of US Security Policy, *Financial Times*, April 12, 2001.

David E. Sanger, Bush Plans to Stress Effects of Economics on Security, *New York Times*, January 16, 2001.

Other Readings to be discovered.

May 13: **Organizing for Homeland Security**