

DRAFT: January 24, 2005

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICYMAKING PROCESS

Monday, 1:30-4:00 pm, Van Munching Hall 1107
Spring 2005

Professor I. M. (Mac) Destler
CISSM Room 4113A
(301) 405-6357; fax 403-8107
email: mdestler@umd.edu
website: www.puaf.umd.edu/faculty/destler
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. September 11th and its aftermath 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: a sometimes-assertive, increasingly partisan Congress; the rise of economic issues; and the fading of the distinction between matters “domestic” and “international.” In this setting, officials and institutions continue to fight for influence even as their roles fluctuate, and the decisionmaking process is 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 begin with consideration of the policy process in general (models, the executive branch, Congress, public opinion), but move rather quickly to examination of economic and national security policymaking in specific 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 so doing, we will explore repeatedly the relevance of theory to understanding of what actually happens. Readings will include contemporary documents, retrospective accounts by participants, and academic analyses.

Revisions in this syllabus, course notices, and other relevant materials will be posted on the professor’s website at: <http://www.puaf.umd.edu/faculty/papers/destler/courses.htm>.

REQUIREMENTS

(1) ***Writing Assignments:***¹ Students will write *three* memos and one short paper on a single policy episode of their choice. This must be an actual issue addressed by a post-1945 President

¹Ph.D. students taking the course may opt to write a full-length research paper instead.

and his senior advisors. Pertinent examples include decisions to impose sanctions against Japan on automobile trade in 1995, abandon support of the dollar in 1971, proceed with the Bay of Pigs operation against Fidel Castro in 1961, authorize Desert One to rescue the hostages in Iran in 1980, begin or end the Gulf War in 1991, withdraw from Lebanon in 1984, drive down the dollar in 1985, go to war in Kosovo in 1999 or Iraq in 2003, agree to permanent normal trade relations and Chinese WTO membership in 2000, etc.

- ** The first memo is an *information memo*: it should provide the necessary background concerning the issue, including all the relevant factors needed to arrive at a decision.
- ** Each of the two subsequent two will be *briefing* and *advocacy* memos, addressed to a particular official, typically a Cabinet member or agency head. They should be written to prepare her/him 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 putative “bosses” 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). These memos should take the information provided 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;
 - (c) presenting a strategy to enhance the prospect that the issue will be decided as your memo recommends.
- ** 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 revised in response to feedback from the instructor and resubmitted as an attachment to the second memo,.

- ** 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 posted and circulated after spring break.

The due dates for the written assignments will be February 18, March 11, April 8, and April 29. Together they will constitute **65 percent** of the base 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. It will require knowledge of the administrations studied in the course. The exam will count for **35 percent** of the base grade.

(3) ***Launching Class Discussions***: For weeks 3 through 8, 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 heavily on student discussion and dialogue with the professor. The philosophy is that is that we all learn better by active engagement than by being talked to. Discussion-based teaching helps to foster critical thinking and to internalize learning through an interactive process. But it requires active and full student participation.

Students with strong seminar participation will have points added to their base grade. Those who fail to participate regularly, or who exhibit ignorance of the readings being discussed, will have points subtracted. Since the difference between, say, an A- and a B+, is small, participation (or the lack thereof) will often have an important impact on a student's final grade.

READINGS

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

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

Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (Brookings, 2003).

Morris P. Fiorina, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* (Pearson Longman, 2005)

The 9/11 Commission Report (W.W. Norton and Company, 2004)

Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*, FOURTH EDITION!! (Rowman and Littlefield, 2004).

Selected **cases** from Pew Case Studies in International Affairs and the Kennedy School (marked **C** on the reading list) are to be purchased by students on the web: addresses are *guisd.org* and *xanedu.com*, respectively.

A **course reader** for the initial weeks will (hopefully) be available at the first session. Checks and IOUs will be accepted. This, and a subsequent reader, will include works (marked **P** on this reading list) that are not copyrighted or for which copying permission has been granted. NOTE: Readings are generally included in the order of their appearance in the syllabus. However, those assigned for more than one week (e.g., George and Stern, Dryden) are included *in full* at the point of their earliest use.

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.** Some of these materials (marked "jstor") are also available through the University of Maryland Library's electronic journal collection.

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 CISSM or the Brookings website, or purchased from CISSM (please allow time for reprinting—some are in short supply).

PART ONE: ACTORS AND PROCESSES

January 31 **Introduction: (a) Culture War?**

(b) The Security Complex and the Economic Complex

Reading: Acquire before class, and skim Fiorina, *Culture War?*—enough to get a sense for the author's basic arguments. We will begin with a discussion of the so-called "50-50 America." After the break we will turn to a general discussion of the institutions and processes that shape US international economic and security policy. (This double-agenda is forced by the reduction of one week in this year's course schedule.)

February 7: **Public Opinion****Reading:** Fiorina, *Culture War?*

Steven Kull et al, *Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus*, Program on International Policy Attitudes, CISSM, January 18, 2005, 37pp.. [P]
 (http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/mandatepoll/Report01_18_05.pdf)
 Wittkopf and McCormick, chap. 7 (Murray/Spinoza).

Steven Kull and I. M. Destler, *Misreading the Public: The Myth of a New Isolationism*, Brookings Institution Press, 1999, chap. 12. [P]

[For a broad survey, see Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, *GLOBAL VIEWS 2004*, 56pp. [P] (http://www.c CFR.org/globalviews2004/sub/pdf/Global_Views_2004_US.pdf). For a perspective in tension with Kull's, see: <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=236>.]

[For comprehensive survey information, go to <http://people-press.org>, www.Americans-world.org, and/or www.pipa.org.]

February 14: **Models of Policymaking**

Readings: Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, In order to get a minimum sense of the argument and the paradigms, read at least pp. 1-26, 143-47, 163-85, 255-63, 294-313, and 379-405. Skim other parts for illustrative examples, links to the broad policymaking and IR literatures, and fascinating interpretations of this classic crisis. And for the actual resolution of the crisis, you will surely want to read pp. 325-66—if not for this week, then when we discuss the Kennedy administration..
 RECOMMENDED (and 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, jstor]

February 21: **President and Congress**

Readings: 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]

Wittkopf and McCormick, *Domestic Sources*, chaps. 9 (Nelson), 10 (Fisher), 11 (Daalder/Destler), 12 (Lindsay), and 17 (Stokes/Choate).

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).[P]

Public Law 93-148, November 7, 1973 [P]

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

PART TWO: PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS

February 28: ***Kennedy Administration: National Security Policymaking***

Readings: Allison and Zelikow, pp. 109-120, 197-201, 217-36, 325-66.

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 22, 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 7: ***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/dybdocroot/fp/research/projects/nsc/transcripts/19981208.pdf>) OR (<http://www.cissm.umd.edu/documents/nixon.pdf>)

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]

W. Taylor Fain, "'We've always Done Well with the Daring Games': The Nixon Tapes, the Indo-Pakistani War, and the Travails of Detente," *Miller Center Report*, Fall 2002, pp. 29-35. [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: *SALT I: Getting from Nyet to Yes (A)*, Nancy Kates, Kennedy School of Government, 1988, available through *xanadu.com*. [C]

March 14: ***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]

[Spring Vacation]

Mar 28: ***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]

April 4: ***Reagan and Bush (Sr.) 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 11: ***Reagan and Bush (Sr.) Administrations: National Security***

- Readings:** NSDD 2: “National Security Council Structure” [P]
Report of the President’s Special Review Board (The Tower Commission) [P]
NSDD 276: “National Security Council Interagency Process” [P]
“National Security Council Organization,” White House Fact Sheet, April 17, 1989 [P]
George and Stern, “Presidential Management Styles,” pp. 222-41. [P]
The Bush Administration National Security Council, Brookings/CISSM Oral History Roundtable, April 29, 1999, 61 pp.
(<http://www.brookings.edu/fp/research/projects/nsc/transcripts/19990429.pdf>)
OR (<http://www.cissm.umd.edu/documents/bush.pdf>)
Wittkopf and McCormick, 23 (Western).
George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993), pp. 863-78. [R]
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]

April 18: ***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, 56pp.
(<http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/fp/research/projects/nsc/transcripts/20000927.pdf>) OR (<http://www.cissm.umd.edu/documents/clinton.pdf>)
George and Stern, “Presidential Management Styles, pp. 241-63 [P]
Wittkopf and McComick, chaps. 13 (Talbot) and 22 (Goldgeier) and pp. 363-75.
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]

April 25: ***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, *The National Economic Council: A Work in Progress* (Institute for International Economics, 1996), entire.[P]

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

Leonard Schoppa, "The Clinton Framework Talks, in *Bargaining With Japan: What American Pressure Can and Cannot Do* (Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 254-75. [R]

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

May 2 ***The George W. Bush Administration***

Reading: Daalder and Lindsay, *America Unbound*, entire book..

I. M. Destler, "Partisan Rancor and Trade Politics," *American Trade Politics*, 4th edition (IIE, forthcoming). [to be distributed separately]

May 9 **9/11 and All That**

Reading: *The 9/11 Commission Report*, selected chapters.