

PUAF 780: The American Foreign Policymaking Process

Monday 1:30-4:00 pm, 1107 Van Munching Hall
Spring 2017

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OBJECTIVES

This course explores the theory and practice of U.S. foreign policymaking, focusing on the processes by which international economic and security decisions are made. It examines the actors and institutions that drive U.S. security and economic policy making and how policy making processes affect policy outcomes. The course also aims to demonstrate how U.S. leaders compete for influence at home even as they seek it abroad and how decision-making processes are being shaped at least as much by personalities and political/societal trends as by institutional and constitutional prerogatives.

To encourage specific understanding about the practice of U.S. foreign policymaking, the course presents a mix of historical cases and analyses of the policy process in general (models, the executive branch, Congress). After three introductory weeks centered mainly on general models and institutions, we will move to examination of economic and national security policymaking in particular administrations, beginning with those of John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. Students will examine the roles and inter-relationships of key officials, and how they addressed major international security and economic issues. In so doing, we will explore repeatedly the relevance of theory to understanding what actually happens. Readings will include contemporary documents, retrospective accounts by participants, and academic analyses.

Readings, revisions in this syllabus, course notices, and other relevant materials will be posted on Canvas (elms.umd.edu), a web interface open to all students taking the course. You are expected to read communications that are distributed via Canvas.

REQUIREMENTS

Summary of class assignments and due dates	
Assignment	Due date
Memo #1	February 27, 2017 - 11:59 pm
Memo #2	April 10, 2017 – 11:59 pm
Short paper	May 15, 2017 – 11:59 pm
Policy exercise materials	
Policy exercise #1	March 6, March 13, March 27 9:00 am
Policy exercise #2	April 24, May 1, May 8 – 9:00 am

(1) Writing Assignments

Students will write *two* memos on a single policy episode of their choice. This must be an actual issue addressed by a post-1945 president and his senior advisors—it is recommended that it be one in an administration treated in the course. Pertinent examples include decisions to impose sanctions against Japan on automobile trade in 1995, abandon support of the dollar in 1971, intervene in Libya’s civil war in 2011, negotiate on nuclear weapons with North Korea in 1994 or 2005, begin or end the Gulf War in 1991, withdraw troops from Lebanon in 1984, drive down the dollar in 1985, go to war in Iraq in 2003, agree to permanent normal trade relations with China in 2000, etc.

In writing the memos, a student should *assume the role of* a staff aide to a senior official (“your boss”), such as the secretary of state or defense. You should write *as if* working for that official *at the time the issue was being considered*. You should not, therefore, include information that was not available until after the decision was reached.

Memo #1. 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. Among the background information should be assessments of other stakeholders’ positions and interests, as well as other factors influencing the problem definition and policy development processes. The memo may be addressed to your “boss” or to a decision group (e.g., National Security Council). It should **not** include recommendations, and should be sufficiently objective that it will be viewed as such by officials with differing points of view.

Memo #2. The second will be a *briefing and advocacy* memo, addressed to your boss, a Cabinet member or agency head. This should be written to prepare her/him for a meeting (whether historically real or assumed) at which the issue will be decided. This memo 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, this second memo 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 policy choice, and present a strategy for getting that choice adopted.

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 is to be revised in response to feedback from class peers and resubmitted as an attachment to the second memo.

There is no *one right way* to draft a memo, but a few words about style and format are appropriate. First and most important, the writing should be *direct* and *terse* (in contrast to the discursive style of an essay). The central message should be conveyed *at the outset*, with details to follow. Both sentences and paragraphs should be short. Key points should be *highlighted*. Major sections should have *headings*. Pages should be numbered. Throughout, think of yourself as writing for a busy senior official—you must engage her interest, and *keep* it

Short paper. The *third* writing assignment will be a short analytic paper (about 5 pages, double-spaced, no longer than 1,700 words) that is a response to one of several questions/prompts provided by the instructor. This assignment will require you to change your role from that of participant/advocate to that of analyst and to explore an element of a substantive foreign policy decision and/or the process by which it was reached. This assignment will require that you draw on the theoretical readings from the initial weeks of the course, as well as your understanding of how the actions of different presidential administrations conformed to or challenged theoretical propositions. How you do this is up to you, but the essay is expected to relate theory to practice, and vice versa.

(2) Policy making exercises.

To enhance insight into the process of policy making, students will participate in two policy making exercises throughout the semester—one focused on an international security problem, the other on an international economic problem. Each exercise will run over a three-week period—one in the middle of the semester and the other toward the end. The exercise will be run during class

time but will require students to prepare and complete written work outside of class as part of the assignment.

For each exercise, the class will be divided into two groups, each effectively constituting a presidential “administration.” The exercises will require each student to take on the role of a senior U.S. official and work with other officials in his or her administration to address a policy challenge provided by the instructor. During each of the first two weeks of each exercise, students will conduct 1-hour “national security council meetings” with their administrations. During the first meetings, the administrations will have to define the challenge it is facing given the set of events and circumstances. The second meetings will require the administrations to make a decision about what policy and action to pursue. The third week of the exercises will be used for the class to debrief and for students to critique each other’s “performances.”

Each student will be required to submit two 1-to-2-page memos, and a 2-page debriefing paper as part of his or her participation in each exercise. This amounts to four 1-to-2-page memos and two 2-page debriefing papers for both exercises. The debriefing papers will carry the most weight in evaluating participation in the simulations, so put particular thought and care into these papers. In addition, consistent, informed participation in the exercises will contribute to your overall participation grade.

(3) Class structure and participation

The class will be run as a seminar. The instructor will have an agenda of topics—built off of the week’s readings—to address during the each class, but the majority of class will be student driven, *not* lecture. As such, students are expected to contribute their ideas and questions about the readings and about the U.S. foreign policy process in general.

To facilitate discussion, each class session will require students to prepare in two ways, in addition to completing the assigned reading:

- The first is to be aware of recent foreign policy news and events—both security and economic related. This will involve reading, watching, or listening to news coverage of world affairs throughout the semester. The first 5-10 minutes of each class will be spent discussing a recent event, decision, crisis, and how it relates to the theory and practice reviewed in the class.
- The second is that groups of students will be asked to prepare brief presentations about one or more of the readings assigned for each week. The presentations should be no more than 10 minutes in length, present the main ideas and details of the reading(s), and include a list of unanswered questions/critical thoughts that were raised by the readings. These presentations should include no more than 3 presentation slides, the last of which should

include the list of questions and critical thoughts. Some weeks, case studies will require students to present the view points and analysis of particular policy actors in the case.

(4) Grading

Course grades will be based on grades for the assignments and tasks described above and will be divided as such:

Memos (15% each) and short paper (20%)– **50 percent** of grade
Simulation materials (15% for each simulation) – **30 percent** of grade
Class participation and other – **20 percent** of grade

MISCELLANEOUS

Students are expected to comply with the University of Maryland's Code of Academic Integrity and Code of Student Conduct throughout this course. The University is legally obligated to provide accommodations to students with disabilities. In order to obtain accommodations, students need to acquire an accommodation letter from the university's Disability Support Service and present it to the instructor by the drop/add date of the semester in question.

Class sessions - Readings

The following books are required reading for the course and should be purchased.

Ivo H. Daalder and I. M. Destler, *In the Shadow of the Oval Office: Profiles of the National Security Advisers and the Presidents They Served* (Simon and Schuster, 2009).

Richard Haass, *War of Necessity, War of Choice* (Simon and Schuster, 2009).

Many of the readings are available as PDF files via **Canvas**. Those on electronic reserve are labeled **Canvas CR**. Urls are included next to those readings available via links. Case studies (at guids.org) must be ordered directly due to copyright restrictions.

Part One: Policy Making for National Security Issues

January 30: ***Course introduction and overview***

Readings: Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen, *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Cambridge Press, 2010), pp. 1-21, 25-37, 68-87. **Canvas file.**

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, September 1969, pp. 689-718. **Canvas Course Reserves.**

February 6: ***National Security: Models and Organization***

Readings: Morton Halperin, "The Decision to Deploy the ABM: Bureaucratic and Domestic Politics in the Johnson Administration," *World Politics*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Oct., 1972), pp. 62-95. **Canvas file.**

Alexander George, "The Case for Multiple Advocacy in Making Foreign Policy," *American Political Science Review*, June 1972, pp. 751-85. **Canvas CR.**

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

February 13: ***President and Congress***

Readings: Daalder and Destler, *In the Shadow of the Oval Office* (Simon and Schuster, 2009), chap. 1 (pp. 1-11). **Book for purchase**

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. **Canvas file**

Lee H. Hamilton, "Relations between the President and Congress in Wartime," in James Thurber (ed.) *Rivals for Power* (4th ed.) (Rowman and Littlefield, 2009), pp 285-308. **Canvas file**

Richard Grimmett, "Foreign Policy Roles of the President and Congress," CRS Report, June 1, 1999. **Canvas file**

Public Law 93-148, November 7, 1973. **Canvas CR**

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

February 20: ***The role of interest groups, news media, and public opinion***

Readings: Tony Smith, *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 85-129. **Canvas file**

Matthew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, “The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2008, pp. 39-65. **Canvas CR**

Steven Kull and I. M. Destler, *Misreading the Public* (Brookings Institution Press, 1999) pp. 229-265. **Canvas file**

OPTIONAL - John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy” (Kennedy School of Government Working Paper) pp. 1-42. Available at: <https://research.hks.harvard.edu/publications/getFile.aspx?Id=209>

February 27: ***Kennedy Administration***

Readings: Daalder and Destler, *In The Shadow of the Oval Office*, chap . 2.

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, (Longman, 2nd ed., 1999), chap. 6. **Canvas CR**

George and Stern, “Presidential Management Styles,” pp. 210-14. **Canvas CR**

John F. Kennedy, *State of the Union Address*, January 30, 1961. **Canvas link**

Samuel W. Lewis, “Random Musings about Chester Bowles and the Department of State,” May 26, 1963, in Bowles, *Promises to Keep..* **Canvas CR**

Selected Kennedy Documents **Canvas link**

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

Case: Lawrence, Stewart and Roger Hilsman, "U.S. Negotiations with the Republic of South Vietnam, 1961," (GUI SD Case #131).

Memo #1 due

Introduction to first policy making exercise.

March 6: *Nixon Administration*

Readings: Daalder and Destler, chap. 3.

George and Stern, pp. 212-14.

The Nixon Administration National Security Council, Oral History Roundtable sponsored by CISSM and the Brookings Institution, December 8, 1998. **Canvas file.**

Henry A. Kissinger, *White House Years*, Little, Brown, 1979, pp. 17-53. **Canvas files.** (Chapter 1, optional reading, is both amusing and illuminating.)

Selected Nixon Documents Available at:

<http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v02/ch1>

-Henry A. Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President-Elect," December 27, 1968, et. seq. [Read Documents 1, 7, and 8--skim those in between.]

-Tony Lake, "Memorandum for Henry A. Kissinger" on "Relations with the State Department," November 14, 1969, with attachments. [Document 86]

Policy-making exercise #1 – Day 1

March 13: *Reagan Administration*

Readings: Daalder and Destler, chap. 5.

NSDD2, "National Security Council Structure," January 12, 1982. **Canvas file.**

Report of the President's Special Review Board (The Tower Commission), February 26, 1987, Parts I through V. **Canvas file.**

George and Stern, pp. 222-34.

George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), pp. 863-78. **Canvas CR**

Policy-making exercise #1 – Day 2

March 20: **Spring Break** – No Class

March 27: ***Bush (41) Administration: National Security***
Readings: Haass, *War of Necessity, War of Choice*, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4

Daalder and Destler, chap. 6.

NSD-1, "Organization of the National Security Council System," January 30, 1989.
Canvas file

George and Stern, pp. 234-41.

George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, (Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), pp. 16-36, 416-49. **Canvas CR**

Policy-making exercise #1 – Day 3

April 3: ***Clinton Administration: National Security***
Readings: Daalder and Destler, chap. 7.

PDD2: Organization of the National Security Council, January 20, 1993. **Canvas file.**

George and Stern, pp. 241-61.

James M. Goldgeier, "NATO Expansion," in Wittkopf and McCormick, *Domestic Sources*. **Canvas CR**

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *The Atlantic*, September 2001, 30 pp.
Available at:
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/09/bystanders-to-genocide/304571/>

Case: Daalder, Ivo H., "Anthony Lake and the War in Bosnia" (GUISD Case #213)

April 10: ***Bush (43) and Obama Administrations***

Readings: Daalder and Destler, chap. 8.

NSPD-1: "Organization of the National Security Council System," February 13, 2001. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-1.htm>

Jeffrey S. Lantis and Eric Moskovitz, "The Return of the Imperial Presidency? The Bush Doctrine and U. S. Intervention in Iraq," pp. 38-73 in Ralph G. Carter, editor, *Contemporary Cases in U. S. Foreign Policy*. **Canvas CR.**

James P. Pfiffner, "Policy Making in the Bush White House," Paper presented at annual meeting of American Political Science Association, August 2008. **Canvas file.**

James P. Pfiffner, "Decision Making in the Obama White House," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, June 2011, pp. 244-62. **Canvas CR.**

Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," *The Atlantic*, April 2016.

Memo #2 due

Introduce PE #2

Part Two : Policy Making for International Economic Issues

April 17: ***Foreign Economic Policymaking***

Readings: Stephen D. Cohen, "The Content of International Economic Policy," in *The Making of United States International Economic Policy: Principles, Problems, and Proposals for Reform*, chap. 1 (3-24) **Canvas CR**

I. M. Destler, "The Foreign Economic Bureaucracy," draft article for *Handbook of American Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2012), pp. 217-30. **Canvas file**

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. **Canvas CR**

Case: Lovely, Mary E., "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally: Congressman Jim Walsh and the NAFTA Vote" (GUISD Case #190).

April 24: *Nixon Administration*

Readings: Steve Dryden, "Typhoon Eberle," and "Semi-Tough," pp. 151-85 in *Trade Warriors: USTR and the American Crusade for Free Trade*, (Oxford University Press, 1995). **Canvas CR**

Joanne Gowa, "The Role of Structure and Process" (pp. 88-125), and "The Camp David Meeting" (pp. 147-70), in *Closing the Gold Window: Domestic Politics and the End of Bretton Woods*, (Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 88-125, 147-170. **Canvas CR**

Paul Volcker and Toyoo Gyohten, "Breakdown" (pp. 59-90) in *Changing Fortunes: The World's Money and the Threat to American Leadership*, (Times Books, 1992), pp. 59-90. **Canvas CR**

Policy-making exercise #2 – Day 1

May 1: *Carter and Reagan Administrations*

Readings: Dryden, "Days of Glory" and "That Old GATT Magic," *Trade Warriors*, pp. 207-253. **Canvas CR**

George and Stern, "Presidential Management Styles and Models," pp. 214-22.

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). **Canvas CR**

Volcker and Gyohten, *Changing Fortunes*, ("Experiments in Coordination," pp. 136-51, "Taking On Inflation," pp. 163-84, "Bringing Down Superdollar," pp. 228-248) **Canvas CR**

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. **Canvas CR**

Policy-making exercise #2 – Day 2

May 8: ***Clinton and Bush (43) Administration***
Readings: Presidential Executive Order 12835 and PDD/NEC-2 **Canvas CR**

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. **Canvas CR**

I. M. Destler, *The National Economic Council: A Work in Progress* (Institute for International Economics, November 1996), pp. 1-41 and 61-68. **Canvas file.**

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

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

Policy-making exercise #2 – Day 3

May 15: **Short paper due**